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MATERIALS FOR A RECONSTRUCTION

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HAMITO-SEMITIC ETYMOLOGICAL DICTIONARY  
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DICTIONARY

MATERIALS FOR A RECONSTRUCTION

BY

VLADIMIR E. OREL AND OLGA V. STOLBOVA



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*And the whole earth was of one language, and of one speech . . . And the Lord said, Behold, the people is one, and they have all one language; and this they begin to do: and now nothing will be withheld from them, which they have schemed to do. Come, let us go down, and there confound their language, that they may not understand one another's speech. So the Lord scattered them abroad from there upon the face of all earth: and they ceased to build the city.*

Genesis 11: 1, 6–8

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## INTRODUCTION

The present Dictionary comprises the reconstruction of the main lexical stock of Hamito-Semitic (Afro-Asiatic).<sup>1</sup> It is based on previous studies in the field (including such works as COHEN 1947 and DJAKONOV 1981–1986) as well as on the results of our joint research in 1987–1993. The authors were and are quite aware of the challenge presented by the present project as well as of numerous shortcomings and potential fallacies of the resulting work. However, we are certain that the absolutely clear necessity of such a work in the Hamito-Semitic field outweighs eventual drawbacks and imperfections in what we are presently suggesting to the reader. Moreover, we consider it an inevitable fate of our Dictionary to be in constant use and, therefore, to be constantly verified and corrected in the course of time. We will be grateful to all our prospective readers for their amendments, notes and marginalia as well as for more general constructive discussion.

The term Hamito-Semitic is used as a name of a protolanguage and of a linguistic phylum whose limits are explicitly shown below, in the classification of Hamito-Semitic languages. Proto-Hamito-Semitic was spoken not later than 10,000–9,000 B.C.E.<sup>2</sup> in the areas of Levant and/or North Africa (see OREL 1995). The present Dictionary may be used as a source of lexical data reflecting the Proto-Hamito-Semitic culture and homeland.

Main families belonging to the Hamito-Semitic phylum are traditionally described as Semitic, Berber, Egyptian, Chadic and Cushitic. Indeed, some of these families (Egyptian) are characterized by more or less definite boundaries and inner structure, or at least, by well-determined outer contours (Semitic, Berber, Chadic).

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<sup>1</sup> We use here a triad of terms *phylum—family—branch* in order to facilitate the description technically and not to use the same term in a confusing way for different time depths and different positions in the taxonomy. There is no theoretical difference between the three. As to the term *Hamito-Semitic* itself, it is used as an absolute synonym of *Semito-Hamitic* and *Afro-Asiatic*. Our choice of this particular variant reflects a long tradition which, from our point of view, is the only relevant factor in terminology.

<sup>2</sup> Approximate time of divergence according to the glotto-chronological evaluation based on the *Star* programme. See also MILITAREV 1984.

In the case of Cushitic even the limits of the family are not exactly known and have to be established on a certain level of approximation, cf. the famous case of Mbugu ~ Mao (see COPLAND 1933–1934; GOODMAN 1971) which we do not include in the Dictionary.<sup>3</sup>

It seemed practically justified to present Chadic and Cushitic data without recurring to Common Chadic and Common Cushitic reconstructions. Even though Common Chadic reconstructions are possible, both theoretically and practically, and may correspond to a certain historical reality, a Proto-Chadic language, it seemed much more convenient to group Chadic material under three headings: West, Central and East Chadic. These (sub)families also seem to be a linguo-historical reality. At the same time, using them allows us to group Chadic data into more compact and manageable clusters. Thus, our presentation of Chadic as separate West, Central and East Chadic is purely conventional. We deal similarly with Cushitic but for different reasons. Cushitic material appears in the Dictionary not as an integral whole but as a number of separate (sub)families (e.g. Werizoid or Omotic), some of them consisting of one language (Beja, Mogogodo, Dahalo).

In contrast to Chadic, our reasons, as far as Cushitic is concerned, are less technical. Although all Cushitic (sub)families belong to the Hamito-Semitic phylum, we cannot be absolutely sure whether their prehistory included a stage that might be called “Cushitic” (see OREL, STOLBOVA 1992d). It is quite possible that grammatical and lexical features which are similar in Cushitic languages but differ from other Hamito-Semitic idioms are, in fact, nothing more than a result of a series of secondary interactions. If so, Cushitic is an areal but not a genetic union, a Sprachbund of certain Hamito-Semitic dialects. But even if Proto-Cushitic existed, the relations between its branches are so vague that is, obviously, rational to present the material of different branches separately as it is, in fact, done in our Dictionary. Thus, the presentation of Cushitic data on the level of subfamilies and without a Proto-Cushitic reconstruction may be treated either as a pure technicality or as a meaningful solution depending upon the view of the reader.

<sup>3</sup> This is a technical decision having no immediate connection with our opinion on the actual position of Mbugu ~ Mao.

Within the individual families, their classification (whenever it is well established and defensible) is reflected by the order in which data are presented in the Dictionary.

Unfortunately, numerous elements of the Hamito-Semitic linguistic taxonomy are known to have more than one name. In such cases, our practical solutions are usually traditional and have no theoretical or extralinguistic implications.

The resulting classification of Hamito-Semitic languages is as follows:<sup>4</sup>

#### (A) SEMITIC

- Akkadian;
- Ugaritic, Phoenician, Punic, Amoraitic, Moabite, Hebrew, Aramaic (Syriac, Palestinian etc.);
- Arabic;
- South Arabian (Sabaic, Minaean etc.);
- Ge‘ez, Tigre, Tigray, Amharic, Argobba, Gafat, Harari, Gurage (Selti, Gogot etc.);
- Mehri, Jibbali, Shheri, Harsusi, Soqotri.

#### (B) BERBER

- Shilh (Semlali, Ntifa, Baamrani, Aksimen), Tamazight (Izdeg, Izayan, Segrushen);
- Rif, Iznasen, Snus, Menaser, Shenua, Senhaja, Kabyle, Shauya, Figig, Mzab, Wargla, Sened, Jerba;
- Awjila, Nefusa, Ghadames, Siwa, Sokna;
- Ghat, Ayr, Ahaggar, Tawlemt, Taneslemt;
- Zenaga;
- Guanche;
- Libyan.

#### (C) EGYPTIAN

- Egyptian, Demotic, Coptic (Old Coptic, Fayumian etc.).

#### (D) CHADIC

##### (D<sup>1</sup>) WEST CHADIC

- Hausa, Gwandara;
- Sura, Angas, Ankwe, Mupun, Chip, Montol, Gerka;

<sup>4</sup> See the *List of Abbreviations*.

- Bolewa, Karekare, Dera, Tangale, Pero, Ngamo, Maha, Bele, Kirfi, Gera, Galambu, Geruma;
- Warji, Kariya, Diri, Miya, Paa, Cagu, Siri, Mburku, Jimbin, Jimi;
- Boghom, Kir, Mangas, Geji, Tala, Burma, Guruntum, Buu, Zul, Buli, Polchi, Zem, Tule, Dokshi, Dwot, Zakshi, Zaar, Sayanchi;
- Fyer, Bokkos, Sha, Kulere, Dafo-Butura;
- Ngizim, Bade.

(D<sup>2</sup>) *CENTRAL CHADIC*

- Tera, Jara, Gaanda, Gabin, Boga, Hwona;
- Bura, Chibak, Kilba, Ngwahi, Margi, Wamdiu, Heba, Hildi;
- Higi Futu, Higi Nkafa, Higi Ghye, Fali Kiri, Fali Gili, Kapiski;
- Dghwede, Mandara, Padokwo, Glavda, Guduf, Zeghwana, Gvoko, Gava, Nakaci, Lamang;
- Matakam, Mofu, Mafa, Gisiga, Balda, Muktele;
- Sukur;
- Daba, Musgoy;
- Musgum, Mbara, Munjuk;
- Bata, Bachama, Gude, Gudu, Nzangi, Fali Jilvu, Fali Mubi, Fali Muchela, Fali Bwagira, Mwulyen;
- Logone, Buduma, Gulfey, Kuseri, Afade;
- Gidar;
- Lame, Lame Pewe, Zime, Zime Bata;
- Masa, Mesme, Banana.

(D<sup>3</sup>) *EAST CHADIC*

- Somray, Sibine, Tumak, Ndam;
- Nanchere, Tobanga, Lele, Gabri, Kabalay, Dorma;
- Kera, Kwan, Mobu, Ngam;
- Dangla, Migama, Jankor, Jegu, Bidiya;
- Mubi, Birgit;
- Mokilko;
- Sokoro, Barayn.

(E) *BEJA*(G) *AGAW*

- Bilin;

- Xamir, Xamta;
- Kwara, Dembea, Kemant;
- Aungi, Damot.

(H) “*EAST CUSHITIC*”(H<sup>1</sup>) *SAHO – AFAR*

- Saho, Afar.

(H<sup>2</sup>) *LOWLAND EAST CUSHITIC*

- Somali, Oromo, Boni, Rendille, Bayso;
- Arbore, Dume, Geleba, Konso, Gato, Bussa, Gidole.

(H<sup>3</sup>) *WERIZOID*

- Warazi, Gawwada, Dullay, Gobeze, Camay, Harso, Dobeze, Gollango, Gorrose, Gaba.

(H<sup>4</sup>) *HIGHLAND EAST CUSHITIC*

- Sidamo, Darasa, Hadiya, Alaba, Kabenna, Bambala, Kambata, Tambaro.

(I) *DAHALO*(J) *MOGOGODO*(K) *OMOTIC*

- Ometo (Gidicho, Basketo etc.);
- Yamma, Kaficho, Mocha, Bworo, Anfila;
- Hozo, Sezo, Gim, Nao, Sheko, Maji;
- Dime, Ari, Banna, Hamer, Karo, Basada.

(L) *RIFT (“SOUTH CUSHITIC”)*

- Iraqw (dial.: Gorowa), Alagwa, Burunge;
- Asa, Kwadza.

Within the framework of the present Dictionary, several types of lexical items appear. Some of the reconstructed roots are not only

Proto-Hamito-Semitic; they may be also called Common Hamito-Semitic. In other words, they are present in all or nearly all families and branches of the Hamito-Semitic phylum. Proto-Hamito-Semitic \**les*- ‘‘tongue’’ is also a part of Common Hamito-Semitic heritage as it is found in Semitic (\**lišan*- id., derivative with a suffix \*-*ān*-), Berber (\**lV*s- id.), Egyptian (Eg *ns* id., Copt \**les*), Chadic (WCh \**ha-lis-um*- id., CCh \**ṽV-lyas*- id., ECh \**lyas*- id.) and Cushitic (Omot \**mi-las*- id., with a prefix \**mi*-). A similar case is represented by Proto-Hamito-Semitic \**hab*-/\**habi*²- ‘‘vessel’’ which is also Common Hamito-Semitic registered in Semitic (Sem \**ḥabi*²-/\**ḥabiy*- ‘‘jug, bowl’’), Berber (\**ḥVb*- ‘‘big wooden plate’’), Egyptian (*ḥbb* ‘‘vessel’’), Chadic (WCh \**ḥabi*(²)- ‘‘pot, gourd’’) and Cushitic (LEC \**ḥabub*- ‘‘kind of gourd’’). Cf. other roots attested in numerous branches of Hamito-Semitic: \**sim*- (Sem \**šVmVw*-/\**šVmVy*- ‘‘call, give name’’, Berb \**sVm*- ‘‘call, name’’ (v.), Eg *sm*y ‘‘tell’’ (n), CCh \**syam-sim*- ‘‘whisper’’, LEC \**sim*- ‘‘welcome (v.)’’), \**kün*- (Sem \**kann*-/\**kinn*- ‘‘co-wife, female in-law’’, Berb \**kVn*- ‘‘co-wife’’, WCh \**kin*- ‘‘co-wife, sister’’, Agaw \**kwin*- ‘‘woman’’).

However, Common Hamito-Semitic words and roots form only a modest part of the reconstructed Proto-Hamito-Semitic vocabulary. Common Hamito-Semitic status is not a *conditio sine qua non* for a root to be unequivocally reconstructed as a Proto-Hamito-Semitic element. According to the theories accepted in modern historical linguistics and, particularly, in Indo-European linguistics, weaker requirements are acceptable (see SZEMERÉNYI 1962; PORZIG 1954). The reconstructed word may be attested in three or even in two branches if they are known not to be in direct contact. Thus, fairly acceptable are such Hamito-Semitic reconstructions as, e.g., \**bür*- (Sem \**birr*- ‘‘grill, lettuce (of doors, windows)’’, Berb \**bur*- ‘‘door’’, LEC \**bor*- ‘‘back (of a house)’’), \**tin*- (Sem \**tin*- ‘‘clay, earth, dirt’’, Eg *tn*, *twtn* ‘‘earth’’, CCh \**tVn*- id.), \**ga*²- (Sem \**gVṽVy*- ‘‘rise, be high’’, ECh \**ga*²ay- ‘‘increase’’, Agaw \**gwi*²- ‘‘be high’’, or even \**kün*- (Eg *tny* ‘‘raise high’’, WCh \**kunwa*-), \**eb*- (Eg *bw* ‘‘kind of bird’’, WCh \**Hyabi*- ‘‘hen, chicken’’), \**šab*- (ECh \**šVb*- ‘‘rib’’, Rift \**šab*- ‘‘diaphragm, rib’’), \**mabar*- (WCh \**mabar*- ‘‘mouth’’, Bed *ambar* id.), \**pasuq*- (Sem \**pašḥ*- ‘‘spear’’, WCh \**pasuq*- ‘‘arrow’’). Exclusive isoglosses linking peripheral branches are of particular value since they are believed to reflect lexical archaisms, cf., e.g., isoglosses between Semitic and Rift that may be compared to Indo-Celtic isoglosses of Indo-European.

In some cases, morphological and/or phonological peculiarities lead us to a reconstruction of a Hamito-Semitic root based on the data of *one* branch. Such a reconstruction may be justified as an archaic relic of a root, better preserved in derivatives as in the case of \**ab*- ‘‘stone’’ registered in several Cushitic languages (Agaw \**ab*- ‘‘mountain’’, Bed *awe* ‘‘stone’’, LEC \**eb*- id.). This root is reconstructed as Hamito-Semitic because its derivative \**abun*- ‘‘stone, millstone’’ is a well-attested Hamito-Semitic lexical element. Another example of a similar approach is our reconstruction of HS \**bay*- ‘‘build’’ based exclusively on CCh \**bV*- id. and ECh \**bay*- id. Such a reconstruction, as we believe, is justified by the archaic status of this verb whose derivative \**bayit*- ‘‘house’’ is attested in Semitic as well as in Chadic.

Unfortunately, our knowledge of the Hamito-Semitic languages is extremely limited and most of the languages belonging to the Hamito-Semitic phylum have a very short written tradition or have no such tradition at all. Naturally, many of our reconstructions are based on scarce lexical material which is often excerpted from recently published sources. This may diminish or deteriorate the credibility of certain reconstructions for lack of additional data. However, we prefer to adduce this kind of material as well, hoping that in future it will be partly supported by new discoveries and partly discarded. At the present stage, it is obviously preferable to create an extensive data base open to a profound critical study. Thus, we tend to adduce even comparisons based on a very limited number of facts as, e.g., in \**kaber*- (CCh \**kabyar*- ‘‘bull’’: Bud *kāber* ~ HEC \**ko-bir*- ‘‘buffalo’’: Had *kobira*), \**nawač*- (Sem \**na/wjaš*- ‘‘kind of beer’’: Akk *nāsu* ~ Eg *wnš.t* ‘‘wine’’), \**ro*²- (Eg *rj*² ‘‘snake’’ ~ WCh \**rwa*²- ‘‘cobra’’: DB *rwa*). As in other cases, we treat peripheral isoglosses as more reliable. A study of the Hamito-Semitic isoglosses may be an objective *per se* that in future will constitute a special sub-discipline similar to the linguistic geography of Indo-European (see OREL, STOLBOVA 1989; 1992a; 1992c).

Historical and comparative phonology of Hamito-Semitic is *terra incognita* no more. As a whole, it was adequately summarized in a number of recent publications, see, e.g., an outline of the reconstruction suggested in DJAKONOV ET AL. 1987; cf. also DJAKONOV 1988. As far as the phonological inventory of Hamito-Semitic is concerned, only a few corrections must be made in Djakonov’s phonological inventory. Thus, we do not accept his reconstruction of

labialized consonants (\**k<sup>w</sup>*, \**k<sup>h</sup>*, \**g<sup>w</sup>* etc.) because, in individual families and branches of the phylum, they may be explained as secondary reflexes of velars and laryngeals before rounded vowels (see below). We also abstain from accepting highly hypothetical reconstruction of sonants and laryngeals in *syllabic* function. As far as stops are concerned, the reader will notice that \**p*, even though it is present in our reconstructions of West Chadic, is missing in Hamito-Semitic. Despite a number of tentative etymologies suggested by GREENBERG 1958 and DJAKONOV 1965, we do not have sufficient evidence to corroborate the existence of this Hamito-Semitic phoneme and prefer to interpret a few cases where it was reconstructed as a result of various individual irregularities in the development of \**b* and \**p*.

The inventory of Hamito-Semitic consonants is shown in table 1.

Table 1. Hamito-Semitic consonants.

	Stops		Fricatives		Affricates				
Labial	<i>p</i>		<i>b</i>	<i>f</i>					
Dental	<i>t</i>	<i>t̥</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>c</i>	<i>c̥</i>	<i>č</i>		
Lateral				<i>ʃ</i>	<i>č</i>	<i>č̥</i>			
Velar	<i>k</i>	<i>k̥</i>	<i>g</i>						
Postvelar	<i>q</i>	<i>q̥</i>		<i>ɣ</i>	<i>g̊</i>				Sonants
Pharyngeal				<i>ħ</i>					
Laryngeal			<i>ʕ</i>	<i>h</i>			<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>l</i>
								<i>r</i>	<i>y</i>

Some of the roots included in the present Dictionary reflect various alternations of consonants on the level of reconstructed Proto-Hamito-Semitic. The most important cases show us alternations of \**w*, \**y* and \**ʔ*. We tend to register them in the notes, hoping that the phenomenon will be further studied and analyzed on the basis of our material.

On the level of individual branches and families, some elementary notes are necessary as far as their consonantal systems (and their transliterations) are concerned. The presentation of Semitic material is fairly traditional (see, for example, DJAKONOV 1967); note only \**ś* vs. \**š* as Semitic correspondences of Hamito-Semitic \**ś* vs. \**š*. Thus, we reconstruct Semitic \**śib*- ‘wind’ (Akk *šub-tu*, Soq *šiboh*) and also \**śVb*- ‘burn, be hot, set fire’ (Akk *šabābu*, Arab *šbb*, Soq *šbb*) but \**šaʕr*- ‘hair, wool’ (Akk *šārtu*, Ug *šʕrt*, Hbr *šēʕār*,

*šaʕarā*, Aram (Syr) *šaʕrō*, Arab *šaʕr*-, Gz *šeʕert*, Soq *šaʕihor*). It is also worth notice that we follow certain conventions as far as the consonantal skeleton of the root is concerned. Namely, Semitic verbal roots *C<sup>1</sup>VC<sup>2</sup>VC<sup>2</sup>*- as well as most of the roots with *C<sup>2</sup>* or *C<sup>3</sup>* = \**w*, \**y*, \**ʔ* are usually reconstructed as \**C<sup>1</sup>VC<sup>2</sup>*- if the third consonant or the ‘weak’ consonant is not supported etymologically in other branches of Hamito-Semitic.<sup>5</sup> Thus, we reconstruct Semitic \**hVš*- ‘cut’ (Arab *ḥšš*), \**hVr*- ‘be dry, be dried up’ (Akk *erēru*, Gz *hrr*), \**kVd*- ‘cut, tear’ (Hbr *qdd*, Aram *qdd*, Arab *qdd*, Gz *qdd*, Tgr *qdd*, Amh *qdd*, Arg *qdd*, Hrr *qdd*, Gur *qdd*), \**rVm*- ‘be high’ (Hbr *rum*). In Semitic nouns where an alternation of *C<sup>1</sup>aC<sup>2</sup>C<sup>2</sup>*- and *C<sup>1</sup>aC<sup>2</sup>*- is possible, we always reconstruct *C<sup>1</sup>aC<sup>2</sup>C<sup>2</sup>*- as, for example, in \**dabb*-/ \**dubb*- ‘bear’.

The reconstruction of the Proto-Berber consonantism is comparatively much less definite. The system accepted in our Dictionary has one important peculiarity to be noted here: reflexes of Hamito-Semitic unvoiced consonants are believed to remain *unvoiced* in Proto-Berber. Thus, the overall change of unvoiced phonemes to voiced ones is projected on a later chronological level while Proto-Berber lexical units appear as, for example, \**cVlay*- ‘goat’ (Siwa *zalaq*, Ayr *ə-zolaq*, Ahg *a-hulaq*, Twl *e-zolaq*, Sha *zalaq*) or \**čVp*- ‘marry’ (Ayr *əttəf*). The problem of the initial Hamito-Semitic \**b*- in Berber still remains to be solved. In the Dictionary, we prefer to abstain from reconstructing two different reflexes, \**b*- and \**β*-, and use the symbol \**b*- in all cases including the words where the merger \**b*- > *h*- is observed. Thus, we reconstruct \**bVy*- ‘drive, bring, come’ (Ghd *əbbi*, Siwa *əbba*, Ayr *hiii-ət*, Twl *hiii-ət*, Ahg *əhi*, Tsl *ihai*), \**bag*-/\**bagag*- ‘calf, lamb, kid, ram’ (Nfs *byu*, Ayr *a-bagag*, Ahg *a-bayuy*, Twl *a-bagag*), \**baq*- ‘hair disease’ (Ahg *ta-haya*), \**bVḳ*- ‘soak, contain (liquid)’ (Kby *əbbəy*, Ahg *a-həy*), \**b(V)war*- ‘lion’ (Nfs *wār*, Ght *ā-ḥər*, Ayr *a-har*, Twl *a-har*, Zng *war*), \**ubay*- ‘camel’s hump’ (Ghat *t-uhī*, Ayr *t-uhəy*, Ahg *t-uhə*, Twl *t-uhəy*, Sml *ta-yūy*).

Egyptian data appear in a usual transliteration, but, in contrast to ERMAN, GRAPOW 1957, *s* stands for the unvoiced sibilant and *z*—for the voiced one. Coptic material is adduced in Common Coptic (supradialectic) reconstruction together with dialectal forms (for a detailed description see OREL, STOLBOVA 1990).

<sup>5</sup> Sometimes in our notes we use the obsolete terms *bi*- and *trilateral*. The reader is expected to understand them as a poetic licence used instead of *bi*- and *triconsonantal*.

Reconstructions of Chadic consonantism, both at the Common Chadic level and at the level of West, Central and East branches, are presented in STOLBOVA 1987 (West Chadic) and STOLBOVA 1995. In our Dictionary, however, we chose not to operate on the Common Chadic level. As far as our orthographic conventions for Chadic are concerned, the situation is rather complicated. In most cases, when our data come from old sources, we have to follow the outdated transcriptions of the original texts. At the same time, we try to unify our transliteration wherever it seems possible (thus, various signs for *t* and *t'* are reflected as *t* in the Dictionary while numerous ways of expressing pre- or postnasalization are uniformly replaced with superscript *n*). The same is true of Cushitic orthographies where similar problems arise and similar 'half-measures' are taken. As to the phonological reconstructions of Cushitic branches, they are tentative and highly hypothetical. Although the general picture seems to be more or less understandable, a number of minor phonological questions remain unsolved. To some extent, our reconstructions are based on the unpublished materials on several branches prepared by OREL (a few publications are forthcoming), partly, on HEINE 1978 (Lowland East Cushitic), SASSE 1979, 1982 and HUDSON 1989 (Highland East Cushitic), EHRET 1980 (Rift). However, the basic work of reference on Cushitic comparative phonology and etymology remains DOLGOPOLSKIJ 1973.

Basic correspondences of consonants are demonstrated in tables 2–4 (double reflexes of a phoneme either are in a complementary distribution to each other or remain unclear).

Table 2. Hamito-Semitic occlusives.

HS	Sem	Berb	Eg	WCh	CCh	ECh	Agaw	Bed
*p	*p	*f	p	*p, *p <sup>1</sup>	*p	*p	*p, *f	f
*f	*p	*f	f	*f	*f	*p	*f	f
*b	*b	*b	b	*b	*b	*b	*b	b
*t	*t	*t	t	*t	*t	*t	*t	t
*t	*t	*t	t, d <sup>2</sup>	*t	*t	*t	*t	d
*d	*d	*d	d	*d	*d	*d	*d	d
*k	*k	*k	k <sup>3</sup>	*k	*k	*k	*k	k
*k	*k	*k	k <sup>3</sup>	*k	*k	*k, *g <sup>4</sup>	*k	k, k
*g	*g	*g	g <sup>3</sup>	*g	*g	*g	*g	g

Notes. 1. \*p is a WCh innovation. 2. The distribution is unknown. 3. In certain conditions, after and before palatal and rounded vowels, > *t*, *d*. 4. \*g-, mainly in the intervocalic position.

Table 2. Continued.

HS	SA	LEC	Wrz	HEC	Dhl	Mgg	Omot	Rift
*p	*f, *p	*f, *p	*p	*f, *p <sup>1</sup>	p		*p, *f	*p
*f	*f	*f	*f	*f	f		*f, *p	*f
*b	*b	*b	*b	*b	b, β/β		*b	*b
*t	*t	*t	*t	*t	t, t'	t	*t	*t
*t	*d	*d		*t	t		*t	
*d	*d	*d		*d	d	d	*d	*d
*k	*k	*k	*k, *x	*k	k	k(h)	*k	*k
*k	*k	*k	*k, *k	*k	k'		*k	*k
*g	*g	*g	*k	*g	g	k	*g	*g

Note. 1. \*p in the intervocalic position.

Table 3. Hamito-Semitic affricates and sibilants

HS	Sem	Berb	Eg	WCh	CCh	ECh	Agaw	Bed
*s	*š	*s	s	*s	*s	*s	*s, *š	s, š
*c	*s	*c	s	*c	*c	*s	*c <sup>1</sup>	*s
*ç	*š	*ç	d	*ç	*c	*s	*ç <sup>1</sup>	
*z	*z	*z	z	*z	*z	*z	*z	s
*ç	*t	*s, *ç	s, šs	*ç	*ç	*ç		
*ç	*ç	s, d	*ç	*ç	*ç <sup>2</sup>	*ç		
*z	d	*z	d	*z	*z	*z	*z	d, š
*š	*š	*s	š	*š	*š	*š <sup>3</sup>		š
*ç	*š	*c	š	*ç	*ç	*ç <sup>4</sup>	*š, *s	s
*ç	*š	*ç	d	*ç	*š/*z	*ç <sup>5</sup>	*š	

Notes. 1. Orthographically, also ç. 2. Reconstructed on the basis of the inlaut continuants -č- ~ -d-. 3. Yielding in most languages to *l* but appearing as *s* in Lele. 4. Generally, reflected as *s* but preserved as *ç* in Bid. 5. Note Bid *çy* ~ *z* as a regular reflex. Our reconstruction of ECh \*ç ~ \*ç is purely conventional as far as their real phonological value is concerned. However, the opposition between these two elements, separating them from \*c ~ \*ç and \*ç ~ \*ç, is beyond any doubt.

HS	SA	LEC	Wrz	HEC	Dhl	Mgg	Omot	Rift
*s	*s	*s, *š	*š	*s, *š	s		*s, *š	*s
*c	*s	*s, *ç	*s	*ç, *s	t, t		*ç <sup>1</sup>	*c
*ç	*s	*ç	*ç	*ç <sup>1</sup>	ts, t		*ç <sup>1</sup>	*ç
*z	*z, *š	*z		*ç, *ç	t, ts		*z	*z, *s
*ç	*š	*s, *š		*ç <sup>1</sup>	t		*ç <sup>1</sup>	*ç
*ç	*ç	*ç		*ç	dz, d		*z	*z, *d
*z	*z, *z	*z, *z	*t	*z	hl, l'		*z	*z
*š	*s	*s	*s	*s, *š	hl, l'		*š	*š
*ç	*s	*ç		*ç	l, t'		*ç	*ç

Note. 1. Orthographically, also ç. 2. -t'- between vowels.

Table 4. Hamito-Semitic laryngeals

HS	Sem	Berb	Eg	WCh	CCh	ECh	Agaw	Bed
*ɔ	*ɔ	*ɔ	ɔ, i <sup>1</sup>	*ɔ	*ɔ	*ɔ	*ɔ	0
*c	*c	*ɔ, *h	c	*c	*ɔ	*ɔ 2	*c, *ɔ	ɔ
*h	*h	*h	h	*h	*h	*h	*ɔ	h
*ħ	*ħ	*h	h	*ħ	*χ	*ɔ, *h		h, 0
*b	*b	*b	b, ħ <sup>3</sup>	*b	*γ	*γ	*χ	h
*g	*g	*γ	c	*g	*γ	*g	*χ	
*q	*b	*k, *g	b, ħ	*q	*q	*k	*χ	
*q̣	*b	*γ	b, ħ	*q̣	*q̣	*k, *g	*k	k

Notes. 1. The distribution is regulated by a set of not fully known rules. 2. Occasional -h- in Kera and Birgit seems to reflect ECh \*-c- different from \*-ɔ- < HS \*-ɔ-. 3. Rules of distribution unknown.

HS	SA	LEC	Wrz	HEC	Dhl	Mgg	Omot	Rift
*ɔ	*ɔ, *c	*ɔ	*ɔ	*ɔ	0	0	*ɔ	*ɔ
*c	*c, *ɔ	*c, *ɔ	*c	*c, *h	ɔ	0	*ɔ	*c, *ɔ
*h	*h	*h		*h	h		*h	*h
*ħ	*h	*ħ		*h	h, ħ		*h	*h, *ħ
*b	*h, *ħ	*h, *ħ		*h	h, ħ			*h, *ħ
*g	*c	*c, *g		*g	k'		*k	
*q					k			*b
*q̣		*k	*χ		k'		*k	*b

Table 5. Hamito-Semitic sonants

HS	Sem	Berb	Eg	WCh	CCh	ECh	Agaw	Bed
*m	*m	*m	m	*m	*m	*m	*m	m
*n	*n	*n	n	*n	*n	*n	*n	
*r	*r	*r	l, n, r <sup>1</sup>	*r	*r	*r	*r	r
*l	*l	*l	l, n, r <sup>1</sup>	*l	*l	*l	*l	l, n
*w	*w	*w	w	*w	*w	*w	*w	
*y	*y	*y	l, y	*y	*y	*y	*y	y

Note. 1. Distribution of variants remains unknown.

HS	SA	LEC	Wrz	HEC	Dhl	Mgg	Omot	Rift
*m	*m	*m	*m	*m	m	m	*m	*m
*n	*n	*n	*n	*n	n		*n	*n
*r	*r	*r	*r	*r	r		*r	*r
*l	*l	*l	*l	*l	λ, l		*l	*l
*w	*w	*w	*w	*w			*w	*c
*y	*y	*y	*y		*y		*y	*y

The Hamito-Semitic system of vowels as an important part of the phonological structure has been traditionally neglected. Deep changes of vocalism and vocalic alternations in individual branches of Hamito-Semitic, primarily in Semitic, prevented scholars from reconstructing a consistent system of vowels. In DJAKONOV ET AL. 1987 a binomial pattern was suggested in the form of an opposition \*a vs. \*ə (the latter suggested as a further source of much later \*i and \*u). A new attempt of reconstruction has been recently undertaken in OREL, STOLBOVA 1989–1990 and 1992. Our tentative results are used in the present Dictionary and, therefore, Hamito-Semitic roots are correspondingly vocalized, thus allowing other scholars to proceed in the studies of the vowel structure of Hamito-Semitic. Our potential opponents are welcome to replace vowel signs with generalized *V* or *Λ* symbols, thus arriving at a more usual variant of the Hamito-Semitic reconstruction.

The system of Hamito-Semitic vowels is represented in Table 5. Its reconstruction is based on Semitic, Chadic, Egyptian (Ancient and Coptic) and Cushitic data.

Table 6. Hamito-Semitic vowels.

i	ü	u
ε	o	
a		

It may be shown that in Hamito-Semitic there existed certain distributional rules which were applied to the vocalism and which were similar to the rules that may be established for reconstructed Proto-Chadic, namely, two middle vowels (\*e and \*o) could not appear within one *G<sup>1</sup>VC<sup>2</sup>VC<sup>3</sup>*-root. Some of the vocalic alternations observed in Hamito-Semitic seem to have no immediate phonetic explanation, a factor caused by certain morphological factors (e.g., grammatical number) and thus similar to the ablaut (*alias* apophony) of Indo-European and Kartvelian languages (see BRUGMANN 1904; KURYLOWICZ 1956; GAMKRELIDZE, MACHAVARIANI 1965). Such alternations may be described as Hamito-Semitic ablaut (cf. OREL 1994; an early and extremely contradictory sketch of the ablaut in Semitic is represented in KURYLOWICZ 1961). Within the Dictionary we prefer not to use this term, leaving morphonological alternations of vowels to be studied later, on the basis of the present collection of material.

On the level of separate branches, some clarifications are necessary. In Semitic, a “usual” inventory of vowels is traditionally limited to the reconstruction of nouns. It is generally believed that, in the verbal system, all traces of the ancient vocalism were completely destroyed due to a process of total rebuilding of verbal morphology. As we tried to demonstrate in OREL, STOLBOVA 1990, certain forms of the Semitic (actually, of Arabic) verb display reasonable correspondences with Chadic verbs. Such forms, including the vowel of the second syllable in the imperfect, are regularly shown in the Dictionary and used as a basis for the corresponding Proto-Semitic reconstruction. Thus, along with vocalized nominal forms such as \**ʔiṣṣ*- ‘fire’, \**dam*- ‘blood’, \**dim*- ‘cheetah, cat’, \**gabr*- ‘man’, \**ḥūṣ*- ‘leaf’, \**ṣahr*- ‘new moon’, \**lāḥin*- ‘molar’, the Dictionary presents vocalized reconstructions of Semitic biconsonantal and triconsonantal verbs, e.g. \**gad*- ‘be considerable, be respectable (of men)’ (Arab *gdd* [-a-]), \**gVla*- ‘throw, overturn’ (Arab *glʔ* [-a-]), \**ḥuṣ*- ‘cut’ (Arab *ḥṣṣ* [-u-]), \**ḥVyal*- ‘imagine’ (Arab *ḥyl* [-a-]), \**nVpaḥ*- ‘strike (with a sabre)’ (Arab *nḥ* [-a-]), \**nVṣaḥ*- ‘smell’ (Arab *nṣq* [-a-]), \**pid*- ‘shout, call’ (Arab *fdd* [-i-]). It is also possible that some Arabic *masdars* preserve the original vocalism of the verbal root. At the same time, both on Semitic and Hamito-Semitic levels there exists a certain correlation between the grammatical meaning of a verbal root and its vocalism. While it is relatively well described on the Semitic level, this phenomenon still remains practically unknown as far as its Hamito-Semitic manifestations are concerned. We hope that the present Dictionary will be useful to those who will study the vocalism of the Hamito-Semitic verb in the future.

It is worth noticing that Hamito-Semitic vowels in verbs are also sporadically reflected by the “weak” consonants of Semitic roots. Thus, in a number of cases, Hamito-Semitic verbs with \**o*, \**u* may have Semitic continuants of *CūC*- structure while some of the Hamito-Semitic verbs with front vowels correspond to Proto-Semitic *CīC*-.

A similar phenomenon may be hypothetically presumed for Berber. In verbal roots, structures *CVwVC*- and *CVyVC*- seem to form correspondences to Hamito-Semitic roots with front and rounded vowels, correspondingly. In nouns, the reflexes of the ancient vocalism also seem to be close to Semitic.

In Egyptian, ancient vowels are graphically reflected as *matres lectionis*, namely as *ṣ*, *w*, *y*, that are optionally used when positioned

between two consonants or in the beginning, or in the end of a word, to denote root vowels, cf., e.g.: *ḳṣb.t* ‘knee’ (BD) < HS \**ḳab*-, *ḥṣy* ‘capture’ (MK) < HS \**hay*-, *ḥṣb* ‘hyppopotamus’ (OK) < HS \**ḥab*-, *ṣḥṣ.t* ‘herd of donkeys’ (OK) < HS \**caḥ*-, *ṣsb* ‘burn’ (BD) < HS \**sab*-, *syṣ.w* ‘kite’ (gr) < HS \**ci*ʔ-, *lmny* ‘Sun-god’ (reg) < HS \**[i]men*-, *rwhṣ* ‘evening’ (n) < \**ruh*-, *swḥ* ‘wind’ (XXII) < HS \**suh*-. Sometimes, the original vocalism may be also reconstructed on the basis of Egyptian palatalizations of velars (yielding to *ḏ* and *ṭ* in contact with front and rounded vowels) in such cases as *ḏs* ‘person’ (pyr), *ḏr* ‘calf’ (MK), *ḏwy* ‘call, say’ (pyr), *ḏbṣ* ‘palace’ (OK), *ṭb.t*, *ṭbw* ‘sandal’ (pyr), *ṭy* ‘man’ (pyr), *ṭy* ‘take, catch, seize’ (pyr). Coptic material is also of certain value since Coptic vowels seem to result from the ancient Egyptian vocalism, in its turn going back to the original Hamito-Semitic system (see OREL, STOLBOVA 1990), cf. such correspondences as Copt \**kas* ‘bone’ (Boh *kas*, Shd *kas*) < HS \**kas*-, Copt \**halme* ‘source’ (Lyc *halme*) < HS \**haram*-, Copt \**[l]ōw* ‘mountain’ (Boh *tōou*, Shd *toou*) < HS \**go*(ʔ)-, Copt \**sēh* ‘young of an ass’ (Boh *sēh*, Shd *sēh*) < HS \**sek*-, Copt \**rē* ‘sun, Sun-god’ (Akh *ri*, Boh *rē*, Shd *rē*) < HS \**rī*ʔ-.

Chadic vocalism is one of the most important sources for the reconstruction of Hamito-Semitic vowels. On the level of Chadic subfamilies, historical vocalism was reconstructed, including hypothetically accepted vowels of the second syllable (see OREL, STOLBOVA 1990; STOLBOVA 1995). We prefer to reconstruct middle vowels in Chadic as \**ya* < \**e* and \**wa* < \**o* since individual Chadic languages tend to use both *ya* and *e*, *wa* and *o* indiscriminately. At the same time, in contact with velars, they are normally reflected as diphthongs or even as combinations of labiovelars with a vowel. Hence a natural assumption that, on the Proto-Chadic level Hamito-Semitic middle vowels were represented by \**ya* and \**wa*. As far as Cushitic vocalism is concerned, preliminary notes on the reconstruction and basic correspondences may be found in OREL, STOLBOVA 1992. Cushitic vowels still represent an interesting field of future research.

Basic correspondences of Hamito-Semitic vowels are demonstrated in Table 7.



Table 7. Hamito-Semitic vowels

HS	Sem	Berb	Eg	WCh	CCh	ECh	Agaw	Bed
*a	*a		ɜ	*a	*a	*a	*a	a, e
*e	*i, *y	*i, *y	ɜ, y	*ya	*ya	*ya, *i	*a, *i	e, a
*i	*i, *y	*i, *y	y, l	*i	*i	*i, *ya	*i	i
*o	*u, *w <sup>1</sup>	*u, *w	ɜ, w	*wa	*wa	*wa, *u	*wa, *a	o, u
*u	*u, *w <sup>1</sup>	*u, *w	w	*u	*u	*u, *wa	*u	u
*ü	*i	*i, *y	y, w	*u, *wi	*u	*u	*(w)i	i, wi

Note. 1. Also \*a in contact with labials.

Within the framework of the phonological reconstruction certain conventions are observed. The alphabetical order of the transliteration and transcription signs is as follows:

ˆ a b c ç ċ ĉ ċ d e f g ġ ħ h ħ H i k k  
l m n o p q q̣ r s š ṣ̌ t ṭ u ü V w y z ž

We also use certain additional symbols: *V* and *C* stand for any or unknown vowel and consonant, *R* stands for any sonant. A symbol in ( ) means that it is optional: \*duḥ(h)- may be read as \*duḥh- or \*duḥ-. A symbol in [ ] means that its reconstruction is probable but not certain: \*da[p]- implies that the reconstruction \*dap- is more probable than any other (eventually, than \*daf-). / stands for “and” whenever variants of the same root or phoneme are reconstructed: \*da²-/ \*daw- indicates that both \*da²- and \*daw- existed in Hamito-Semitic. Alternations are denoted by ~. Different meanings of a word within one linguistic branch are tagged with superscript numbers.

In a number of our comparisons we have to accept metathesis in order to reconstruct Hamito-Semitic prototypes. Quite often, the phonological phenomenon described as a metathesis may be more exactly defined as a shift of a laryngeal, i.e., of a phoneme especially unstable and liable to morphonologically irrelevant movements within the root. Thus, we have to deal with metathesis in such cases as Sem \*ʔadam- “earth” ~ ECh \*dVHVm- “field”; Sem \*ʔVlVt- “drive, press close” ~ WCh \*la²ač- “press”; Sem \*bV²uš- “be strong” ~ ECh \*basu²- id.; CCh \*baraw- “arrow, bow” ~ ECh \*ʔa-bawar- id.; Sem \*dūr- “turn” ~ ECh \*wVdVr- id.; Sem \*ʔVbal-/ \*ʔbul- “be thick” ~ WCh \*baHal- “big, be abundant” ~ ECh \*bVHVl- “big”; Eg ḥsr “arm” ~ WCh \*saHar- “hand, arm”; Eg ḥzd “rot” (n.) ~ ECh \*ʔaHwad- “rotten”. Another typical case in

which we are ready to accept a comparison implying a metathesis is that of a “long” word, i.e., of a composite or of an otherwise abnormally long structure exceeding the bounds of a standard triliteral pattern. Such structures are expected to be unstable, in particular, as far as order of phonemes is concerned, cf., for example: Sem \*ʔargāb- “intestines” ~ CCh \*bVrwag- “intestines” ~ ECh \*burwag- “stomach”; Sem \*binVḫur- “vulva” ~ CCh \*pičurin- “testicles”; Sem \*ḥanzab- “kind of pot” ~ Eg ḥnbʒs “vessel”. In some cases, we also deal with metathesis in usual triliteral roots: Sem \*bVḫun- “be pregnant, have a big belly” ~ Eg bnd “difficult delivery”; Sem \*sVlVḫ- “gather” ~ CCh \*caḫal- “gather, collect”; Sem \*diman- “insect” ~ Eg dnm “worms” ~ WCh \*dyaman- “spider”. It is worth noticing, that under the same name *metathesis* we also deal with some regular correspondences that have not been sufficiently studied, e.g. such cases as Sem \*šakin- “knife” ~ WCh \*čank- id. and Sem \*dagan- “corn” ~ WCh \*dang- id.

Within the Dictionary, words with derivational peculiarities that may be projected on the Hamito-Semitic level are, normally, placed under separate entries. Thus, words going back to \*ʔi-nas- “man” and \*nūs- id. form separate articles although there is no doubt that they belong to one and the same Hamito-Semitic root. In other words, the Dictionary is organized according to the *lexical* and not the *radical* principle. Correspondingly, we prefer to separate nouns from verbs and, whenever it is possible, to put them under different headings. If, for some reason, a noun and a verb are brought together, under the same reconstruction, their corresponding meanings in the heading are separated with a semi-colon. Some of the words in Hamito-Semitic, as in any other linguistic family, have a dubious status of onomatopoeia. As we cannot guarantee their antiquity or disprove it, we mark such words as *descriptive stems*. As to loanwords and elements of old cultural vocabulary, they are also marked correspondingly in the notes.

While phonologically, all lexical comparisons adduced in the present Dictionary were checked and corrected in accordance with established phonetic correspondences, the problem of semantic verification turned out to be much more complicated. In order to minimize the arbitrariness in our lexical comparisons, we followed certain heuristic rules. Within the framework of the present Dictionary, preference is always given to comparisons based on complete semantic identity, cf., for example:

- \**iben*- ‘‘sleep’’: Eg *ibɛn* id. (pyr) ~ CCh \**HVbyan*- id.  
 \**calaḡ*- ‘‘gather’’: Sem \**sVIVḡ*- id. ~ Eg *sɣḡ* id. (pyr) ~ CCh \**caḡal*- id.  
 \**dibūr*-/ \**dubūr*- ‘‘back’’: Sem \**dubr*- ‘‘back’’ ~ CCh \**di(m)bur*- ‘‘back’’.  
 \**gač*- ‘‘spear’’: WCh \**gač*- id. ~ CCh \**gač*- id. ~ SA \**gaš*- id.  
 \**hak*- ‘‘stone’’: Eg *hḡ* id. (n) ~ WCh \**hVḡ*- id. ~ CCh \**ḡakwa*- id.  
 \**mag*- ‘‘be bad’’: WCh \**mug*- id. ~ Bed *maag* id. ~ LEC \**mag*- id.  
 \**la²*- ‘‘eat’’: Sem \**tV²*-/ \**tVw*- id. ~ WCh \**la²*-/ \**ti²*- id. ~ CCh \**ti*- id. ~ ECh \**ta(y)*-/ \**ti(y)*- id.  
 \**war*- ‘‘throw’’: Sem \**wur*- id. ~ ECh \**war*- id. ~ Agaw \**wawVr*- id.  
 \**ṣaḡaf*- ‘‘drag (oneself)’’: Sem \**zVḡVp*- id. ~ LEC \**ṣaHaf*- id.

If the meanings of compared words are not identical, the comparison is still treated as valid if the ‘‘semantic distance’’ between two meanings may be covered in *one derivational step* (whatever the concrete meaning of this vague term may be). Thus, we accept the following comparisons:

- \**igan*- ‘‘vessel’’: Sem \**igān*- ‘‘cup, bowl’’ ~ LEC \**agan*-/ \**gaHan*- ‘‘jar’’.  
 \**oraḡ*- ‘‘way, road’’: Sem \**ur(a)ḡ*- ‘‘way’’ ~ WCh \**wara*- ‘‘road’’ ~ ECh \**war*- ‘‘road’’ ~ HEC \**or*- ‘‘road’’ ~ Rift \**uruw*- ‘‘path, way’’.  
 \**ba²*- ‘‘bush, tree’’: Eg *bɔ.t* ‘‘bush’’ (a) ~ WCh \**ba²*- ‘‘tree’’ ~ CCh \**bwaH*- ‘‘bush’’ ~ SA \**bah*- ‘‘wood’’.  
 \**baᶜ*- ‘‘dirt, mud’’: CCh \**ba*- ‘‘dirt’’ ~ Rift \**baᶜ*- ‘‘mud’’.  
 \**baḡ*-/ \**biḡ*- ‘‘burn, be hot’’: Eg *bḡḡ* ‘‘burn’’ (reg) ~ WCh \**baH*- ‘‘hot’’ ~ CCh \**bVH-bVH*- ‘‘hot’’ ~ ECh \**biHwa*- ‘‘roast’’.  
 \**gab*- ‘‘weapon’’: Sem \**gabāb*- ‘‘sling’’ ~ HEC \**gab*- ‘‘bow and arrow’’.  
 \**yara²*-/ \**yaraw*- ‘‘reed’’: Sem \**yara²*- ‘‘reed not used for writing’’ ~ Eg *lɔrw* ‘‘reed, rush’’ (pyr) ~ WCh \**yVraw*- ‘‘reed’’.

If the semantic distance between the words seems to be critically big, then we consider it a compulsory measure to confirm the possibility of such a comparison with typological parallels. Thus, we accept the reconstruction of \**adid*- ‘‘female relative’’ based on ECh \**adid*-

‘‘daughter-in-law’’ ~ LEC \**adad*-/ \**aded*- ‘‘aunt’’ ~ HEC \**adad*- ‘‘maternal aunt’’ ~ Wrz \**atit*- ‘‘elder sister’’ because similar types of semantic development are attested outside Hamito-Semitic, cf. Alb *motër* ‘‘sister’’ ~ Eng *mother*, Lith *moša* ‘‘sister-in-law’’ ~ OPrus *moazo* ‘‘aunt’’. We also feel free to reconstruct \**tibin*- ‘‘brain, marrow’’ on the basis of Eg *tbn* ‘‘marrow’’ (med) and CCh \**tibin*- ‘‘brain’’ since in a number of languages the same word is used for ‘‘brain’’ and ‘‘marrow’’, cf. Russ *mozg* and NPers *mayz*. We also accept the reconstruction of \**da²*-/ \**daw*- ‘‘man, chief’’ including such forms as CCh \**da²i*- ‘‘man, people’’ and Rift \**daH*- ‘‘stranger’’ because of the corresponding typological data (see BENVENISTE 1970, 92 f.).

The present Dictionary covers all categories of lexical units with the exception of numerals, pronouns, prepositions and particles. These grammatical and semi-grammatical elements will be analyzed and etymologized elsewhere. Basically, the words within the Dictionary are either nouns or predicates. The latter group includes verbs, adjectives (usually translated as verbs, i.e., not *red* but *be red* etc.) and some adverbs.

\* \* \*

The present project was started in 1986 in Moscow and, after August 1990, continued simultaneously in Israel and Russia. Three main types of work were carried out:

- (a) processing of the previously published comparative material;
- (b) search for phonologically predictable counterparts of already known forms;
- (c) semantic screening.

While (a) and (b) are traditionally used methods of data processing in comparative linguistics, (c) was an innovation. To carry it out, semantic card indices (databases) of individual linguistic branches were created. In such a database, words were grouped under generalized semantic headings, e.g., in the West Chadic card index, a card with a heading *WALK* contained various words for ‘‘go’’, ‘‘come’’, ‘‘enter’’, ‘‘run’’ and so on, in various West Chadic languages. A card with a heading *HOUSE* contained words for ‘‘house’’, ‘‘town’’, ‘‘compound’’, ‘‘hut’’, ‘‘fence’’, ‘‘roof’’ and the like. In some cases, when a certain language was of particular importance for the study of vocabulary, we created card indices of

individual languages (e.g. of Akkadian). At the next stage, databases were used for semantic screening, i.e. for a cross-comparison of semantic units within the limits of semantically and phonologically acceptable parallels (see above).

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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

a(ncient)	Bwo(ro)
adj. – adjective	Cam(ay)
Afd – Afade	CCh – Central Chadic
Ahg – Ahaggar	Ch(adic)
Akh(mimian)	Chb – Chibak
Akk(adian)	Copt(ic)
Aks(imen)	Cush(itic)
Ala(ba)	
Alb(anian)	DB – Dafo-Butura
Alg – Alagwa	Dar(asa)
Amh(anic)	Dem(otic)
Amor(aic)	Dgh(wede)
Anf(illa)	Dhl – Dahalo
Ang(as)	Dmb – Dembea
Ank(we)	Dmt – Damot
Arab(ic)	Dng – Dangla
Aram(aic)	Dok(shi)
Arb(ore)	Dor(ma)
Arg(oba)	Dul(ay)
Aun(gi)	
Av(estan)	ECh – East Chadic
Awj(ila)	Eg(yptian)
	Eng(lish)
Ban(na)	
Bay(so)	FBw – Fali Bwagira
Bch – Bachama	Fgg – Figig
BD – Book of the Dead	FGl – Fali Gili
Berb(er)	FJl – Fali Jilvu
Bgh – Boghom	FKi – Fali Kiria
Bid(iya)	FMb – Fali Mubi
Bil(in)	FMch – Fali Mucella
Bks – Bokkos	Fym – Fayumian
Bld – Balda	
Bmb – Bambala	Gaa(nda)
Bmr – Baamrani	Gaf(at)
Bnn – Banana	Gaw(wata)
Boh(airian)	Gbn – Gabin
Bol(ewa)	Gbr – Gabri
Bret(on)	Gdf – Guduf
Brg – Birgit	Gdl – Gidole
Brm – Burma	Gel(eba)
Brw – Barawa	Ghd – Ghadames
Bry – Barayn	Gid(ar)
Bsd – Basada	Gis(iga)
Bud(uma)	Gk – Greek
Bur(unge)	Gll – Gollango
Bus(so)	

Gob(eze)	Kwr-Kwara
Gog(ot)	Kwz-Kwadza
Gor(owa)	
Goth(ic)	l(ate)
gr-Greek papyri	Lat(in)
Grm-Geruma	LEC-Lowland East Cushitic
Grn-Geruntum	Lib(yan)
Gul(fey)	Lith(uanian)
Gur(age)	Lmn-Lamang
Gvo(ko)	Log(one)
Gwn-Gwandara	LPe-Lame Pewe
Gz-Geez	Lyc(opolitan)
Had(iya)	math(ematical papyri)
Hbr-Hebrew	Mba(ra)
HEC-Highland East Cushitic	Mbu(rku)
HF-Higi Futu	Mch-Mocha
HGh-Higi Ghye	med(ical papyri)
Hil(di)	Mgg-Mogogodo
Hmr-Hamar	MHG-Middle High German
HNk-Higi Nkafa	Mhr-Mehri
Hrr-Harari	Mig(ama)
Hrs-Harso	MK-Middle Kingdom
Hs-Hausa	Mkk-Mokilko
HS-Hamito-Semitic	Mnd-Mandara
Hss-Harsusi	Mng-Mangas
Hwn-Hwona	Mnj-Munjuk
IE-Indo-European	Mns-Menaser
Irq-Iraqw	Mnt-Montol
Izd(eg)	Moab(ite)
Izn(asen)	Mpn-Mupun
Izy-Izayan	Mrg-Margi
Jib(bali)	Msg-Musgum
Jmb-Jimbin	Msm-Mesme
Jnk-Jonkor	Mtk-Matakam
Kab(enna)	Muk(tele)
Kaf(fa)	Mus(goy)
Kap(iski)	Mwu(lyen)
Kbl-Kabalay	n(ew)
Kby-Kabyle	n.-noun
Kem(ant)	Nak(aci)
Klb-Kilba	Nch-Nanchere
Klr-Kulere	Nfs-Nefusa
Kmb-Kambatta	Ngm-Ngamo
Kon(so)	Ngw(ahi)
Kr-Karekare	Ngz-Ngizim
Krf-Kirfi	Nlr-New Irish
Kry-Kariya	NK-New Kingdom
Kus(eri)	NPers-New Persian
Kwn-Kwang	Ntf-Ntifa
	Nz(angi)

OCopt-Old Coptic	Smr-Sumray
OEng-Old English	Snh-Senhaja
OIr-Old Irish	Sok(oro)
OK-Old Kingdom	Som(ali)
Ome(to)	Soq(otri)
Omot(ic)	Sp(anish)
ON-Old Norse	Suk(ur)
OPers-Old Persian	Syr(ian)
OPrus-Old Prussian	
Or-Oromo	Tgr-Tigre
Ox(yrinhian)	Tgy-Tigray
Pad(uko)	Tmb-Tambaro
Phn-Phoenician	Tng-Tangale
PIE-Proto-Indo-European	Tob(anga)
pl.-plural	Tsl-Taneslemmet
Pol(chi)	Tum(ak)
Pun(ic)	Twl-Tawlemmet
pyr(amids)	Ug(aritic)
reg-royal tombs	v.-verb
Rnd-Rendille	
Russ(ian)	W(elsh)
SA-Saho-Afar	War(azi)
SAr-South Arabian	WCh-West Chadic
sarc(ophagi)	Westc(art)
Say(anchi)	Wmd-Wamdiu
Sbn-Sibine	Wrg-Wargla
Sbn-Sibine	Wrj-Warji
Sem(itic)	Wrz-Werizoid
sg.-singular	
Sgr-Segrushen	Xmr-Xamir
Shd-Sahidic	Xmt-Xamta
Shh-Sheri	
Shk-Sheko	Yam(ma)
Shn-Shenua	
Sid(amo)	Zak(shi)
Skt-Sanskrit	ZBt-Zime Batua
Slav(ic)	Zgh-Zeghwana
Slt-Selti	Zng-Zenaga
Sml-Semlal	

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\*ɔ

## 1 \*ɔa- "walk, go"

Eg ɔ "walk" (Westc.).

WCh \*ɔa- "come": Diri ɔa-.

ECh \*ɔa- "go": Tum a-, Mkk ɔaa-.

Partial reduplication in Mkk?

Cf. a possible derivative in \*ɔay- "come, run".

## 2 \*ɔab- "father"

Sem \*ɔab- "father": Akk *abu*, Ug ɔab, Phn ɔb, Pun ɔb, Hbr ɔāb, Aram ɔab, Syr ɔabbā, Arab ɔab-, SAR ɔb, Gz ɔab, Tgy ɔabbo, Amh *abbat*, Har *āw*, Soq ɔeb, Mhr *hayb*, Hss *hayb*, Shh ɔiy.

Berb \*ɔab(b)- "father": Twl *abba*, Izy *ibba*, Izn *ebbwa*.

Eg ɔb.t "family" (OK), "parents" (n).

Since the semantic relationship between "family" and "father" is quite obvious, Eg ɔb.t may well be a derivative of an initial word for "father".

CCh \*ɔab- "father": Bud *aba*.

Hardly an Arabic loanword.

Agaw \*ɔab- "father": Bil *abba*, Kem *abaa*.

SA \*ɔab- "father": Saho *abba*.

LEC \*ɔab- "father": Som *aba*, *aaba*, Or *abbaa*.

HEC \*ɔab- "father, uncle": Sid *aabbo*, Dar *aabbo*, Bmb *aabbo*.

Rift \*ɔab- "father": Asa *aba*.

Doubtlessly, an onomatopoeia similar to numerous forms outside Hamito-Semitic. Cf. a similar stem in WCh \*ɔub- "father": Hs *ubā*. Cush forms may be borrowed from Sem.

## 3 \*ɔab- "stone"

Agaw \*ɔab- "mountain": Xmr *abaa*, Xmt *aaba*, Kwr *abaa*.

Bed *awe* "stone".

Note \*-b- > -w- in the intervocalic position.



LEC \*ʔeb- ‘‘stone’’: Bay *eʔebo*.

Secondary \*eʔ

Present only in Cush. Probably, an archaism from which a widely attested derivative \*ʔabun- ‘‘stone, millstone’’ was formed.

#### 4 \*ʔab-/ʔub- ‘‘fall, descend’’

ECh \*ʔab- ‘‘fall’’: Tum *ab*, Mubi *ebī*.

SA \*ʔob- ‘‘descend’’: Saho *ob-*, Afar *oob-*.

\*o < \*a before a labial.

HEC \*ʔub- ‘‘fall’’: Sid *ub-*, Had *ub-*.

Alternation \*a ~ \*u.

#### 5 \*ʔabac- ‘‘house, manger’’

Sem \*ʔabūs- ‘‘warehouse’’<sup>1</sup>, ‘‘manger’’<sup>2</sup>: Akk *abūsu*<sup>1</sup>, Hbr *ʔēbūs*<sup>2</sup>.

Secondary labialization of HS \*a > Sem \*u after a labial.

Related to Arab *ʔbš* ‘‘collect, gather’’?

WCh \*ʔac- < \*HVbac- ‘‘compound, farm’’: DB *ḥas*, Bks *ḥas*.

An earlier laryngeal indicated by the emphatic occlusive.

#### 6 \*ʔabaw- ‘‘plant’’

Sem \*ʔab-/ʔabaw- ‘‘water-lily’’: Akk *abu*, Hbr *ʔēbe*, Arab *ʔabā-*.

Eg *ʔbw* ‘‘plant used in medicine’’ (med).

#### 7 \*ʔa-biḳ- ‘‘run (back)’’

Sem \*ʔVbiḳ- ‘‘run away (of slaves)’’: Arab *ʔbq* [-i-].

WCh \*HVbaḳ- ‘‘return’’: Ank *bak*.

The prefix is manifested by initial voiced b-. Note the irregular root vowel.

Omot \*biḳ- ‘‘run away’’: Ome *biḳ-ič-*.

Derived from HS \*baḳ-/buḳ- ‘‘run’’.

#### 8 \*ʔabol- ‘‘genitals’’

Sem \*ʔabal- ‘‘genitals’’<sup>1</sup>, ‘‘body’’<sup>2</sup>: Gz *ʔabāl*<sup>1</sup>, Tgr *ḥabəl*<sup>1</sup>, Tgy *abal*<sup>2</sup>, Amh *abal*<sup>1 2</sup>, Gur *abal*<sup>1 2</sup>.

WCh \*ḥwal- < \*HVbwal- ‘‘penis’’: Bks *ḥwel*.

CCh \*bwal- ‘‘penis’’: Bata *bolle*.

#### 9 \*ʔabun- ‘‘stone, millstone’’

Sem \*ʔabn- ‘‘stone’’: Akk *abn-*, Ug *ʔabn*, Hbr *ʔeben*, Pun *ʔbn*, Aram (Emp) *ʔbn*, (Syr) *ʔabnā*, (Mand) *abna*, Src *ʔabnaʔ*, SAr *ʔbn*, Soq *ʔoben*, Sha *ḥōbin*, Mhr *ḥaubīn*, Gz *ʔəbn*, Tgr *ʔəbn*, Tgy *ʔəmnī*, Har *un*.

Eg *bnw.t* ‘‘stone, millstone’’ (MK).

No traces of the initial ʔ-.

WCh \*ʔabun(i)- ‘‘millstone’’: Bol *buni*, Krk *buni*, Dera *buni*, Ngm *buni*, Krf *bini*, Ger *bini*, Glm *biin*, Grm *bigni*, Wrj *vən-ay*, Paa *van-ka*, Mbu *avəna*.

Forms with -i- seem to have appeared under the influence of -i- in the last syllable. Otherwise WCh \*ʔabun- /ʔabin- should be reconstructed.

CCh \*bun- < \*ʔVbun- ‘‘millstone’’: Dgh *vra*, Mnd *uvra*, Log *funi*, Gid *buna*, ZBt *vəna*.

Rhotacism \*-n- > -r- in Dgh and Mnd. Initial v- in individual languages reflects \*ʔ-.

Status of \*ʔa- is not quite clear. Presumably, it is a prefix not preserved in Eg. On the other hand, cf. HS \*ʔab- suggesting a segmentation \*ʔab-un-.

#### 10 \*ʔabVnan- ‘‘bird’’

Sem \*ʔabun(n)- ‘‘kind of bird’’: Akk *abbunnu*.

Eg *ʔbnn* ‘‘kind of bird’’ (NK).

ECh \*bVnan- ‘‘duck’’: Ndm *bənan*.

Looks like a derivative of unattested \*ʔabVn-. Sem \*-u- may go back to HS \*-a- after a labial.

#### 11 \*ʔa-cin-H- ‘‘leg, foot’’

WCh \*ʔacin-H- ‘‘leg’’: Gej *ašən*, Brw *asən*, Say *yasən*, Grn *ʔasaṇ*, Dwot *ʔazuṇ*, Buli *asin*, Wnd *ʔasən*, Tala *asən*.

The final cluster \*-nH- or \*-nVH- is normally reflected as -ṇ-.

CCh \*Hasin- ‘‘knee’’: Hnk *šini*, FKİ *šini*, Kap *yašine*.

Morpheme \*-H- shifted to the beginning of the word and appearing as a prefix.

ECh \*ᵃ[a]sin-H- ‘‘leg’’: Mig ᵃasin, Jeg ᵃisin-to, Bid ᵃeseeno, Mubi sin, Brg ᵃisij, Mkk zina.

Bid may go back to \*ᵃsiHVn- with -ee- < \*-iHV-.

Agaw \*sin-H- ‘‘calf’’: Bil sij.

HS \*ᵃa- seems to be a prefix not preserved in Agaw. Note a potential Sem reflex in Arab ᵃsn ‘‘kick with a foot’’. Cf. \*cin-/ \*cun- ‘‘leg’’

## 12 \*ᵃacir- ‘‘bind, tie’’

Sem \*ᵃVsr- ‘‘bind, join’’<sup>1</sup>, ‘‘hobble’’<sup>2</sup>: Akk *esēru*<sup>1</sup>, Ug ᵃsr<sup>1</sup>, Hbr ᵃsr<sup>1</sup>, Arab ᵃsr [-i-]<sup>1</sup>, Jib ᵃesər<sup>2</sup>, Hss *wesōr*, Mhr *wesōr*, Shh ᵃesor. CCh \*ca-car- ‘‘plait, weave’’<sup>1</sup>, ‘‘tie’’<sup>2</sup>: Mofu - *sasər*-<sup>1</sup>, Mafa *cacar*<sup>2</sup>.

Partial reduplication.

ECh \*saᵃir- ‘‘tie’’: Tum *hīr*, Kbl *sa:rr*, Lele *saar*.

Metathesis.

HEC \*ᵃusur- ‘‘tie’’: Sid *usur*-, Kmb *usur*-.

Unexpected \*-s- and irregular vocalism.

## 13 \*ᵃač-/ᵃič- ‘‘meat’’

CCh \*ᵃič- ‘‘flesh’’: Gis ᵃiše.

An isolated form. A Cush loanword?

Agaw \*ᵃVč- ‘‘meat’’: Aun *əšši*.

Omot \*ᵃač- ‘‘meat, body’’: Ome *ačo*, Mch ᵃačo, Yam *ašaa*, Gim *ač*, Nao *aš-ku*, Shk *aš-ko*, Maji *ač-ku*.

Alternation \*a ~ \*i.

## 14 \*ᵃaĈVw-/ᵃaĈVy- ‘‘illness’’

Sem \*ᵃašVy- ‘‘kind of illness’’: Akk *ašū*.

Eg ᵃšy.t ‘‘kind of illness’’ (med).

ECh \*ᵃVsVw- ‘‘fever’’: Sok *osso*.

Assimilation of vowels.

The vowel of the second syllable may be \*a. The root displays an alternation of sonants \*w ~ \*y.

## 15 \*ᵃad- ‘‘skin, hide’’

Bed *ada* ‘‘skin, hide’’.

SA \*ᵃad(d)- ‘‘hide’’: Afar *adday*.

Mgg *ata* ‘‘bull hide’’.

The word is preserved only in Cush branches. However, cf. a possible derivative in HS \*ᵃadam- attesting the HS status of the present root.

## 16 \*ᵃadam- ‘‘earth, field’’

Sem \*ᵃadam- ‘‘earth’’: Pun ᵃdmt ‘‘country’’, Hbr ᵃadāmā, Aram ᵃadamtā.

WCh \*dam- ‘‘place’’: Tng *təm*.

No traces of the initial laryngeal.

CCh \*dam- ‘‘field’’<sup>1</sup>, ‘‘place’’<sup>2</sup>: Tera *dam*<sup>1</sup>, Ngw *dama*<sup>2</sup>.

May reflect an earlier \*ᵃadam-. However, considering ECh data, we could reconstruct \*daᵃam > \*dam-.

ECh \*dVHVm- ‘‘field’’: Mkk *doome*.

Mkk -oo- does not necessarily imply ECh \*-wa-. It may also go back to \*-aHa- or \*-awa-. Metathesis of the original \*ᵃadam-.

HEC \*ᵃud(V)m- ‘‘desert’’: Kmb *udmaᵃa*.

A derivational and semantic variant of the original HS stem?

The alternative HS reconstruction is \*daᵃam-.

## 17 \*ᵃadam- ‘‘skin’’

Sem \*ᵃadam-/ᵃadīm- ‘‘skin’’: Arab ᵃadam-, ᵃadīm-.

Probably related to Arab ᵃdm ‘‘be brown’’.

WCh \*ᵃadam- ‘‘skin’’: Tng *hadam*.

If not borrowed from Arab.

Derived from HS \*ᵃad- ‘‘skin, hide’’. Cf. also LEC \*ᵃidim- ‘‘tanned hide’’: Som *idin* (pl. *idmo*). It may continue \*ᵃadīm- with a regular change of Som -m > -n in the auslaut.

## 18 \*ᵃadar- ‘‘vessel’’

Sem \*ᵃadar- ‘‘metal vessel’’: Akk *adaru*.

WCh \**dyar*- < \**dVHVr*- ‘‘pot’’: Brm *der*.

LEC \**ʔadar*- ‘‘pot’’: Som *adar*.

Cf. Eg *idj* ‘‘expression related to the polishing of vessels’’ (OK) < \**idVr*-.

### 19 \**ʔader*- ‘‘master, lord’’

Sem \**ʔadīr*- ‘‘majestic, powerful’’: Ug *ʔdr*, Phn *ʔdr*, Pun *ʔdr*, Hbr *ʔaddīr*.

Agaw \**ʔadir*- ‘‘master, lord’’ <sup>1</sup>, ‘‘God’’ <sup>2</sup>: Bil *adāraa* <sup>1</sup>, Xmr *iederaa*, *adāraa* <sup>2</sup>, Xmt *adaraa* <sup>2</sup>, Kwr *adarte* <sup>1</sup>, Kem *adaraa* <sup>1 2</sup>.

LEC \**ʔader*- ‘‘uncle’’: Som *adeer*, Or *adeeraa*.

Rift \**daʔar*- ‘‘chief’’: Gor *daari*.

Metathesis.

Semantically, the HS word may go back to an adjective with a meaning similar to Sem.

### 20 \**ʔadid*- ‘‘female relative’’

ECh \**ʔadid*- ‘‘daughter-in-law’’: Kera *adīdā*.

LEC \**ʔadad*-/ \**ʔaded*- ‘‘aunt’’: Som *eddo*, Or *adada*.

Presumably, Som *eddo* < *ededo* < *adedo*.

HEC \**ʔadad*- ‘‘maternal aunt’’: Sid *adaada*, Dar *adaada*.

Assimilation of vowels.

Wrz \**ʔatit*- ‘‘elder sister’’: Gaw *ta-atite*.

Cf. Sem \**ʔad*- ‘‘lady’’: Ug *ʔdt*, Phn *ʔdt*, Aram (Palm) *ʔdt*. A descriptive stem.

### 21 \**ʔadil*- ‘‘dress’’

Sem \**ʔadil*- ‘‘attire, garment’’: Akk *adīlu*, Gz *ʔadl*.

\**ʔa*- may be a prefix.

Eg *dʔy* ‘‘coat’’ (pyr).

Reflects an earlier \**dil*- (with \**l* > *j*).

An alternative reconstruction may be \**dil*-. A cultural (loan)word?

### 22 \**ʔadus*- ‘‘wall’’

Sem \**ʔaduš*- ‘‘wall’’: Akk *aduššu*.

CCh \**ʔadus*- ‘‘fence’’ <sup>1</sup>, ‘‘town’’ <sup>2</sup>: Gude *ēdsa* <sup>1</sup>, LPe *duso* <sup>2</sup>, Lame *mba-dušo* <sup>2</sup>.

The anlaut in Gude reflects an intermediary stage of \**ʔadus*- < \**ʔadus*-.

Cf. a corresponding verb in LEC \**HVdis*- ‘‘build’’ (Boni *dis*)?

### 23 \**ʔah*- ‘‘brother’’

Sem \**ʔah*- ‘‘brother’’: Akk *aḥu*, Ug *ʔah*, Phn *ʔh*, Pun *ʔh*, Hbr *ʔāh*, Aram (Epigr) *ʔh*, (Syr) *ʔahā*, (Mand) *aha*, Arab *ʔah*-, SAR *ʔh*, Soq *ʔaḥa*, Mhr *ga*, Shr (*e*)*ga*, Gz *ʔahəw*, Tgr *hu*, Har *əh*.

WCh \**ʔah(ya)*- ‘‘uncle’’ <sup>1</sup>, ‘‘brother’’ <sup>2</sup>: Klr *ahy*- <sup>1</sup>, Wrj *yahə*- <sup>2</sup>.

Initial *ya*- in Wrj reflects the influence of the second syllable.

CCh \**ʔay*- ‘‘son’’: Msg *aḥī*.

Msg auslaut *-ī* may go back to \**-ya*.

### 24 \**ʔah*- ‘‘fire’’

Eg *ʔh.t* ‘‘fire’’ (BD).

CCH \**ʔay(u)*- ‘‘fire’’: Bura *ʔuʔu*, Klb *huʔu*, FKl *uyu*, Kus *ahu*, Gul *u*, Bud *au*, Mba *hū*.

Assimilation of vowels in several languages. In Gul, *u* goes back to \**uyu*- with the consequent loss of the second syllable. Reduplication in Bura and Klb.

### 25 \**ʔahuš*- ‘‘take’’

Sem \**ʔVḥud*- ‘‘take’’: Akk *aḥāzu*, Ug *ʔhd*, Hbr *ʔhz*, Moab *ʔhz*, Aram (Epigr) *ʔhd*, (Palest) *ʔahad*, (Syr) *ʔehad*, (Mand) *ahad*, Arab *ʔḥd* [-*u*-], SAR *ʔḥd*, Gz *ʔhz*, Amh *yazā*.

Agaw \**ʔaʒ*- ‘‘take’’: Bil *ad*-, Kwr *az*-, Aun *as*-.

Reflexes of intervocalic \**-ʒ-* in Agaw are extremely unstable.

The intervocalic laryngeal is completely lost.

HEC \**ʔaḏ*- < \**ʔaHVʒ*- ‘‘take’’: Sid *aḏ*-.

Emphatic *-ḏ*- seems to reflect the lost laryngeal.

## 26 \*ʔakür- “till”

- Sem \*ʔVkir- “till”: Aram (Syr) ʔakar, (Mand) ʔkr, Arab ʔkr [-i-].  
 Sem \*-i- indicates HS \*e, \*i or \*ü.  
 CCh \*kur- “hoe, prepare field for sewing”: Mofu kərɯ, Lame kura.  
 Cf. Hwn kūra “hoe” (n.), Bnn kawira id., Zime kura.  
 ECh \*kur- “hoe”: Jegu kur-gees.  
 The laryngeal left no traces.  
 Connected with HS \*ʔekar- “farmer”.

## 27 \*ʔal- “fat”

- Sem \*aly- “fat tail (of sheep)”<sup>1</sup>, “fat (of leg)”<sup>2</sup>: Hbr ʔalyā<sup>1</sup>, Aram (Palest) ʔaly<sup>etā</sup><sup>1</sup>, Arab ʔaly-at-<sup>2</sup>.  
 Cf. Akk ellu “sesame oil”.  
 LEC \*ʔal-ʔal- “fat” (n.): Or alala.  
 Reduplication.  
 Dhl ʔahli “fat, oil”.  
 Note lateral -hl- reflecting HS \*-l-!  
 Note the Rift form reflecting \*-ʃ- (Kwz aš-ito) as Dhl.

## 28 \*ʔal-/ʔil- “be”

- Berb \*ʔil- “be, become”: Izn ili, Snh ili, Tua ili.  
 LEC \*ʔal-/ʔil- “be”: Som -aal, -iil.  
 CCh \*ʔal- “be”: Mofu ala, Log āli, li.

Alternation \*a ~ \*i.

## 29 \*ʔal-/ʔul- “stick”

- Sem \*ʔal- “stick, club”: Hbr ʔalā.  
 WCh \*ʔal- “stick”: Tng ala, wala, Bks yal.  
 Tng w- and Bks y- are occasional reflections of \*ʔ- in the initial position.  
 LEC \*ʔul- “stick”: Som ul, Or ulle.  
 Wrz \*ʔul- “stick”: Gaw ul-itte.  
 Cf. SA \*ʔil- “stick” (Saho ʕiloo, Afar ʕiloo) with initial \*ʕ-.

## 30 \*ʔalaç- “press”

- Sem \*ʔVVt- “drive”<sup>1</sup>, “press close”<sup>2</sup>: Hbr ʔlʃ<sup>1</sup>, Aram (Syr) ʔelaʃ<sup>2</sup>.  
 WCh \*laʔaç- “press”: Hs lāça, Tng laɖ-.  
 Metathesis.  
 Another possible reconstruction is \*laʔaç-.

## 31 \*ʔalan-/ʔalun- “tree”

- Sem \*ʔalān- “oak”: Akk allānu, Hbr ʔallōn.  
 WCh \*lan- “bush”: DB lan.  
 The first syllable completely lost.  
 CCh \*luʔan- “tree”: Mba luɣ, Msg lūɣ, pl. lūaɣai.  
 Metathesis. Cf. also a partial reduplication in \*ʔalan-H- “kind of tree”: Mofu lalaɣ.  
 Related to \*ʔal-/ʔul- “stick”?

## 32 \*ʔalVk- “bite, chew”

- Sem \*ʔVVk- “bite, champ (the bit)”<sup>1</sup>: Arab ʔlk.  
 Bed ʔayək<sup>w</sup>- “chew”.  
 Note intervocalic \*-l- > -y-. The labiovelar may reflect a back vowel in the second syllable.  
 Related to \*ʔilik- “tooth”.

## 33 \*ʔam- “arm”

- Sem \*ʔam(m)- “elbow”: Akk ammatu, Ug ʔamt, Hbr ʔammā, Aram (Epigr) ʔmh, (Syr) ʔama, ʔamta, (Mand) ama, SAr ʔmt, Gz ʔammat, Tgr ʔammat.  
 WCh \*ʔam- “arm”: Bgh am-ʃi, Kir wam, Pol am, Geji wom-ʒi, Ngz amai.  
 Kir wa- indicated a rounded vowel of the second syllable.  
 Related to \*ʔam- “catch, seize” (for the semantic development cf., for example, Lith ranka “hand” ~ rinkti “grasp, seize”).

## 34 \*ʔam- “woman”

Sem \*ʔam- “maid, girl”: Akk *amtu*, Ug *ʔamt*, Phn *ʔmt*, Pun *ʔmt*, Hbr *ʔāmā*, Aram (Emp) *ʔmh*, (Syr, Palest) *ʔamtā*, (Mand) *amta*, *amuta*, Arab *ʔam-at-*, Gz *ʔamal*, Tgr *ʔamāl*.

WCh \*ʔam- “woman”: Wrj *amai*, Kry *am*, Diri *am*, Cagu *omey*, Jmb *ama*, Sha *ʔamuy*, Ngz *ama*.

Cagu *o-* < \**a-* before a labial.

HEC \*ʔam- “mother, wife, woman”: Sid *ama*, Had *ama*, Dar *ama*, Bmb *aama*, Kmb *ama-la*.

Rift \*ʔam- “grandmother”<sup>1</sup>, “sister”<sup>2</sup>, “mother”<sup>3</sup>, “girl”<sup>4</sup>: Irq *ama*<sup>1</sup>, Bur *ama*<sup>2</sup>, Kwz *ama*<sup>3</sup>, Asa *ʔama-ʔeto*<sup>4</sup>, ʔamama<sup>1</sup>.

Onomatopoeia.

## 35 \*ʔam- “catch, seize”

Eg *ʔmm* “catch, seize” (pyr).

Partial reduplication.

CCh \*ʔam-/ʔim- “catch, seize”: Tera *ōom*, Msg *ima*, *ime*.

Tera indicates \**Hwa-ʔam-*. The original form must have been \*ʔam-.

ECh \*ʔam- “catch”: Lele *ōm*, Kbl *am*.

Lele *ō-* either reflects \**a-* before a labial or goes back to \**Hwa-ʔa-* as in Tera, see CCh.

Related to \*ʔam- “hand, arm”.

## 36 \*ʔamam- “honey”

Sem \*ʔamūm- “kind of spice”: Akk *amūmu*.

Secondary \**-ū-* influenced by surrounding labials.

Berb \*ʔamVm- “honey”: Izn *tammemr*.

CCh \*ʔamam- “honey”: Bld *ʔamam*, Mofu *amam*, Glv *māma*, Gvo *mama*, Mnd *nama*, Mrg *mumu*.

Root vowel in Mrg assimilated to the auslaut.

Probably, a reduplication of a root preserved in ECh \*ʔim-/ʔum- “bee, honey”: Mubi *ūm*, Jegu *ʔimo*, Brg *imiyyu*.

## 37 \*ʔaman- “believe, know”

Sem \*ʔVman- “be certain, believe”: Hbr *ʔmn*, Aram (Palest) *hēmīn*,

Arab *ʔmn* [-*a-*], Shr *ōmen*, Mhr *hāmōn*, Hss *ʔāmōn*.

Related are SAR *hʔmn* “confide”, Sab *ʔmn* “belief”, Jib *ʔun*.

WCh \*ʔaman- “know”: Sura *man*, Ang *man*, Ank *man*, Tal *āman*, Mnt *man*, Maha *monayo*, Bol *mon-*.

The first syllable is preserved only in Tal.

Agaw \*ʔamVn- “believe”: Aun *amn-əṅ*.

Borrowed from Sem?

Wrz \*ʔemen- “see”: Cam *emena*.

Secondary vocalism.

## 38 \*ʔamas- “darkness, evening”

Sem \*ʔamš- “night”<sup>1</sup>, “evening”<sup>2</sup>: Akk *mūšu*<sup>1</sup>, Hbr *ʔemeš*<sup>2</sup>, Arab *ʔams-*<sup>2</sup>.

Cf. also Akk *amšali* “yesterday”, Hss *yemši* id., Mhr *yemši* id.

CCh \**mVs-* “shadow”: Gudu *məšū*.

From \*ʔVmVs-.

Bed *amas* “late evening”.

Borrowing from Sem?

Rift \*ʔamas- “middle of the night”<sup>1</sup>, “tomorrow”<sup>2</sup>: Irq *əmsi*<sup>1</sup>, Gor *amsi*<sup>1</sup>, Alg *amasi*<sup>1</sup>, Bur *amasi*<sup>1</sup>, Kwz *amasiya*<sup>2</sup>.

Borrowing from Sem?

## 39 \*ʔambür- “termite”

CCh \**mVbur-* “termite”: Gude *mubəra*, Bch *mburey*, Mwu *muburu*, FG *mbur-tə*, FJb *mubəle*.

-*u-* in Gude and Mwu may be influenced by the initial *m-*.

Bed *embira* “termite”.

In the anlaut, *e-* is due to the influence of the following vowel.

LEC \*ʔabor- “termites”: Som *aboor*.

HS \**-mb-* > LEC \**-b-*, cf. LEC in HS \*ʔanbab-/ʔanbib- “plant, flower”. LEC \**-o-* is a regular reflex of HS \**-ü-*.

As in a few other cases initial \*ʔam- in Cush corresponds to Chadic \**mV-*, \**ma-*. There are serious reasons to believe that both Cush \*ʔam- and Chadic \**ma-* are prefixes going back to the same HS source. The alternative HS reconstruction is \**mabür-*.

## 40 \*ʔan- ‘‘speak’’

Berb \*ʔVn- ‘‘say, tell’’: Izn *ini*, Snh *ini*.

WCh \*ʔan- ‘‘speak’’: Ngm *aq*.

In fact, the WCh prototype must be reconstructed as \*ʔan-H- with a non-etymological laryngeal suffix.

ECh \*ʔan- ‘‘speak’’: Ndm *ane*, Kwn *ane*, Dng *ane*.

Related to Kwn *ə:ne* ‘‘argue’’?

Bed *an-* ‘‘say’’.

Related to Sem \*ʔVn- ‘‘moan’’ (Arab *ʔnn* and the like)?

## 41 \*ʔan- ‘‘go, walk’’

WCh \*ʔanwa- ‘‘go’’: Bol *ʔon-*, DB *wan-*.

CCh \*ʔan- ‘‘return’’: Heba *anu*.

ECh \*ʔVnwa- ‘‘come, enter’’: Mkk *ʔinn-*, Jeg *ʔony-*, ʔeny-, Mig *ʔunyo-*.

Mig and Jegu reflect initial \*ʔwa-.

LEC \*ʔan- ‘‘walk’’: Kns *anna*.

Omot \*ʔan-H- ‘‘go’’: Ome *aq-*.

No external justification for the laryngeal in the auslaut.

## 42 \*ʔan-/\*ʔayin- ‘‘sheep’’

Berb \*ʔan- ‘‘sheep’’: Gua *ana*, *haña*.

WCh \*ʔyān- < \*ʔyayVn- ‘‘she-goat’’: Siri *yāni*.

Contraction.

ECh \*ʔayin- ‘‘goat’’: Mig *ʔīnu*, Brg *ʔayney*, Jegu *ʔēn* (pl.).

Bed *ano* ‘‘sheep’’.

Berb and Bed seem to reflect HS \*ʔan-. Note the root-variant with an inlaut sonant.

## 43 \*ʔanbab- ‘‘plant, flower’’

Sem \*ʔanbūb- ‘‘reed’’: Akk *embūbu*, NHbr *ʔabbūb*, *ʔibbūb*, Aram (Syr) *ʔabbūbā*, Arab *ʔanbūb-*.

Tgr *ʔembobā* and the like are borrowed from Cush. In the second syllable, \*-ū- is explained by the influence of surrounding labials.

WCh \*ʔanbVb- ‘‘flower’’: Pero *anbibi*.

Secondary vocalism of the second syllable influenced by final -i.

Agaw \*ʔambab- ‘‘flower’’: Bil *amboobaa*, Kem *ambaab*.

Bil -oo- < \*-a- in the contact with labials.

LEC \*ʔabab- ‘‘kind of flower’’: Som *ababo*.

Lack of nasalization may be a result of later change \*-nb- > \*-b- or, on the contrary, an archaic feature.

Unusual root structure with a prenasalized -C<sup>2</sup>-.

## 44 \*ʔankol- ‘‘liver, kidneys’’

ECh \*ʔakwal- ‘‘liver’’: Brg *ʔokolo*.

Note \*-nk- > ECh \*-k-. Assimilation of vowels.

Bed *ʔank<sup>w</sup>elʔa* ‘‘kidneys’’.

Prefix \*ʔa-/\*ʔan-. Related to \*kul- ‘‘kidney’’.

## 45 \*ʔantuʔ-/\*ʔantaw- ‘‘mouse, rat’’

CCh \*ʔanduwa- < \*ma-ʔanduwa- ‘‘rat’’: Gis *monduwa-ŋ*, Mtk *mudu-wa*, Mkt *madawa*.

Prefix \*ma-.

SA \*ʔandaw- ‘‘mouse, rat’’: Saho *andowa*, Afar *andawaa*.

LEC \*ʔantu- ‘‘mouse’’: Or *antu-ta*.

Voiced *d* of CCh and SA are not regular correspondences of LEC *t*. However, \*-nt- seems to be a more probable reconstruction. The variants of the auslaut are reminiscent of usual alternations of ʔ ~ w ~ y. A cultural term with an irregular phonology.

## 46 \*ʔap- ‘‘mouth’’

Sem \*ʔanp- ‘‘nose’’: Hbr *ʔāp*, Aram (Syr) *ʔa(n)pā*, Arab *ʔanf-*.

Consonantal assimilation in Hbr. Secondary assimilation and change of meaning on the Semitic level.

Bed *yaaf* ‘‘mouth’’.

Prothetic y-. Cf. HS \*ʔap-/\*wap- ‘‘yawn, open mouth’’?

Agaw \*ʔaff- ‘‘mouth’’: Bil *ʔāb*, Kwr *af*.

Bil -b- is believed to reflect an unvoiced geminate.

SA \*ʔaf- ‘‘mouth’’: Saho *af*, Afar *af*.

LEC \*ʔaf- ‘‘mouth’’: Som *af*, Or *af-an*, Rnd *af*, Arb *oho*, Gel *aaf*, Kns *afa*.

HEC \*ʔaf- ‘‘mouth’’: Sid *afo*, Dar *afaʔo*, Had *afoʔo*, Ala *afo*, Bmb *afay*, Kmb *afo*.

Dhl *afo* ‘‘mouth’’.

Omot \*ʔaf-/\*ʔap- ‘‘mouth’’: Dime ʔ*appo*, Gll *afa*, Ari *aaffa*, Ban *aapo*, Hmr *a(a)fo*.

Rift \*ʔaf- ‘‘mouth’’: Irq *afa*, Alg *aafa*, Bur *aafa*, Asa ʔ*af-ok*, Kwz ʔ*afu-ko*.

Related to \*ʔap-/\*wap- ‘‘yawn, open mouth’’.

#### 47 \*ʔap-/\*wap- ‘‘yawn, open mouth’’

Eg *wp*, *wpy* ‘‘open (mouth)’’.

WCh \*ʔap- ‘‘throw into the mouth’’<sup>1</sup>, ‘‘yawn’’<sup>2</sup>: Hs *afa*<sup>1</sup>, Sura *ap*<sup>2</sup>, Ang *ep*<sup>2</sup>.

Note a consonantal alternation in the anlaut. If the present stem is *not* related to the HS word for ‘‘mouth’’, it may be compared with HEC \*ʔaf-/\*ʔif- ‘‘spread (in the sun)’’: Bmb *af-*, Kmb *if-is-*.

#### 48 \*ʔaq- ‘‘field’’

Sem \*ʔah- ‘‘meadow’’: Ug ʔ*ah*.

Eg ʔ*h.t* ‘‘fertile land’’ (NK).

ECh \*ʔak- ‘‘field’’: Kera *aka*.

ECh \*-k- is a regular reflex of HS \*-q-.

#### 49 \*ʔar- ‘‘husband’’

Sem \*ʔaray- ‘‘family member, relative’’: Ug ʔ*ary*, Arab ʔ*arā*.

Agaw \*ʔar- ‘‘husband’’: Aun ʔ*ära*.

Prefix ʔ-.

HEC \*ʔar- ‘‘husband’’: Sid *aroo*, Had *aroʔo*, Dar *aroʔo*.

Omot \*ʔar- ‘‘husband’’: Anf *aroo*.

Borrowing from Sid?

#### 50 \*ʔar- ‘‘ram, goat’’

Berb \*ʔar- ‘‘she-goat’’: Gua *ara*.

LEC \*ʔar- ‘‘sheep’’: Boni *eriya*, Rnd *ari*.

Cf. Arb ʔ*aar* ‘‘bull’’.

HEC \*ʔaray- ‘‘sheep’’ (pl.): Bmb *araay*.

Rift \*ʔar- ‘‘goat’’: Irq *ari*, Alg *ara* (pl.), Bur *ara* (pl.), Kwz *ali-to*.

Note Kwz -l- < \*-r-.

Cf. also WCh \*ʔar- ‘‘meat’’: Dera *ara*.

#### 51 \*ʔar- ‘‘vegetable’’

Sem \*ʔār- ‘‘greens, vegetables’’: Ug ʔ*ar-t*, Hbr ʔ*ōrā*.

WCh \*ʔar- ‘‘vegetable’’: Pero *ara*.

#### 52 \*ʔar-/\*war- ‘‘eagle’’

Sem \*ʔarVw- ‘‘eagle’’: Akk *arū*.

WCh \*war- ‘‘sea-eagle’’: Hs *wāra*.

CCh \*war- ‘‘kite’’: HNk *wəri*, HGh *wəri*, HF *wari*, Kap *wəri*.

A consonantal alternation \*ʔ- ~ \*w- in the anlaut.

#### 53 \*ʔaram- ‘‘enclosed dwelling’’

Sem \*ʔaramm- ‘‘dam’’<sup>1</sup>, ‘‘road’’<sup>2</sup>: Akk ʔ*arammu*<sup>1</sup>, Hss *wōrem*<sup>2</sup>.

Cf. a derivative in Hbr ʔ*armōn* ‘‘fortress, palace’’.

Berb \*rVm- ‘‘town, village’’: Ahg *a-rrem*.

Complete loss of the first syllable.

WCh \*ram- ‘‘land, place’’<sup>1</sup>, ‘‘town, village’’<sup>2</sup>: Bks *ram*<sup>1</sup>, Sha *ram*<sup>2</sup>, Klr *ram*<sup>2</sup>.

No traces of the initial laryngeal.

CCh \*ʔrVm- ‘‘house’’: Ngw ʔ*ərəma*.

#### 54 \*ʔariç- ‘‘earth’’

Sem \*ʔarç- ‘‘earth’’: Akk *eršetü*, Ug ʔ*arç*, Phn ʔ*rç*, Pun ʔ*rç*, Moab ʔ*rç*,

Hbr ʔ*eres*, Aram (Emp) ʔ*rç*, (Nab, Palm) ʔ*rç*, (Bibl) ʔ*araç*, (Palest,

Syr) ʔ*arçō*, (Mand) *arqa*, *arda*, Arab ʔ*arç*, SAR ʔ*rç*, Jib ʔ*erç*.

WCh \*HVriç- ‘‘earth’’: Paa *riṣa*, Cagu *hiṣe*, Siri *rəṣu*, Mbu *riṣi*.

ECh \*ʔiraç- ‘‘valley’’: Bid ʔ*iraadya*.

Metathesis of vowels.

May be connected with HEC \*ʔirVš- ‘‘farm’’ (Sid *irša*) and Agaw \*ʔaris- ‘‘till, plough’’ (Aun *ares-əṯ*).

### 55 \*ʔariw- ‘‘metal’’

Sem \*ʔVrVw- ‘‘copper’’: Akk *werû*, *erû*.

CCh \*ʔariy- ‘‘iron’’: Bld ʔariya, Mnd ʔire.

CCh \*-iwa- > -iya-.

ECh \*ʔaraw- ‘‘iron’’: Jegu ʔarro.

Assimilation of vowels.

### 56 \*ʔa-ruw-/ʔa-ruy- ‘‘lion’’

Sem \*ʔarway-/ʔarwiy- ‘‘lion’’<sup>1</sup>, ‘‘ferocious animal, beast’’<sup>2</sup>: Hbr ʔarî, ʔaryē<sup>1</sup>, Aram (Palm) ʔry<sup>1</sup>, (Bibl, Syr) ʔaryō<sup>1</sup>, (Mand) arya<sup>1</sup>, Gz ʔarwē<sup>2</sup>.

Derived from \*ʔarw-. Cf. Arab ʔarwīy-at- ‘‘wild sheep’’?

Eg *rw* ‘‘lion’’ (pyr).

Probably, a form without prefix reflecting \*ruw-.

CCh \*ʔVruw- ‘‘hyaena’’<sup>1</sup>, ‘‘lion’’<sup>2</sup>: FKi řu<sup>1</sup>, Mwu řu<sup>1</sup>, Mnd ʔuruw-vəri<sup>2</sup>, FJl luwi<sup>1</sup>.

In Mnd -u- of the 1st syllable was influenced by the next vowel.

FKi and Mwu may go back directly to \*ruw- < HS \*ruw- and correspond exactly to Eg *rw*.

ECh \*ʔaruw- ‘‘leopard’’<sup>1</sup>, ‘‘lion’’<sup>2</sup>: Tum ərəw<sup>1</sup>, Mubi orūwa<sup>2</sup>.

Mubi o- is influenced by the following vowel.

LEC \*ʔar- ‘‘lion’’: Som *ar*.

Cf. also Som *awr* ‘‘he-camel’’, Rnd *or* id. < \*ʔawr-?

\*ʔa- seems to be a prefix that is not reflected (or not preserved?) in Eg and, partially, in CCh.

### 57 \*ʔarVḶ- ‘‘cattle’’

Sem \*ʔarḶ- ‘‘kind of cattle’’: Akk *arḫu*, Ug ʔarḫ, Tgr ʔarḫi, Tgy ʔarḫi.

HEC \*ʔar(H)- ‘‘calf’’: Bmb aʔre.

The function of inlaut -ʔ- is not clear.

Related to HS \*raḫil- ‘‘sheep, ram’’? Cf. Eg ʔḫ.t ‘‘divine cow, priestess’’ (gr).

### 58 \*ʔas- ‘‘seize, grasp’’

Sem \*ʔVš- ‘‘grasp’’: Akk *ašāšu*.

WCh \*ʔas- ‘‘take away’’: Kr ʔas.

CCh \*ʔVy- ‘‘seize’’: Klb *asiya*.

Derivative of \*si-?

### 59 \*ʔas- ‘‘come’’

Berb \*ʔVs- ‘‘arrive’’: Tua *as*, Kby *as*.

WCh \*ʔas-/ʔis- ‘‘come’’: Gwn *iso*, Bks *yes*, DB *yes*.

Bks and DB y- may go back to \*-.

ECh \*ʔas- ‘‘come’’: Dng *ase*, Jnk ʔasso, Jegu ʔas, Brg ʔasi, Bid ʔaseṯ.

Wrz \*ʔas- ‘‘go’’: Gaw *ašš-*.

### 60 \*ʔaseʔ- ‘‘iron’’

Sem \*ʔašīʔ- ‘‘iron’’: Akk *ašiu*.

CCh \*ʔsiʔ- ‘‘iron’’: Glf *siu*, Bud *hyu*.

The initial laryngeal lost.

ECh \*ʔsyay- < \*ʔyaʔ- ‘‘iron’’: Lele *sayu*, Mubi *ma-siyo*.

Prefix \*ma- in Mubi.

### 61 \*ʔaš- ‘‘send’’

Sem \*ʔVšVy- ‘‘send’’: SAr ʔšy.

HEC \*ʔas(s)- ‘‘send’’: Had *ass-eʔ-*.

Derivative in -ʔe-.

### 62 \*ʔašaf- ‘‘burning’’

Eg *išf* ‘‘burn’’ (XX), ‘‘be painful’’ (n).

Unexpected *i-* before a non-palatal vowel as in some other cases.

WCh \*ʔaʔaf- ‘‘heat, pain’’: Hs *zāfi*.

Metathesis.

Reconstruction \*ʔaʔaf- is also possible.



## 63 \*ʔat- “walk, come”

Sem \*ʔt- “come”<sup>1</sup>, “pass”<sup>2</sup>, “come back”<sup>3</sup>: Ug ʔatw<sup>1</sup>, Hbr ʔty<sup>1</sup>, Aram (Emp) ʔty<sup>1</sup>, (Nab) ʔt<sup>1</sup>, (Palm) ʔt<sup>1</sup>, (Palest) ʔatā<sup>1</sup>, (Syr) ʔeta<sup>1</sup>, (Mand) ata<sup>1</sup>, Arab ʔty<sup>1</sup>, SAr ʔtw, ʔty<sup>1</sup>, Soq ʔete<sup>2</sup>, Gz ʔatawa<sup>3</sup>, Tgy ʔatawa<sup>3</sup>, Tgr ʔata<sup>3</sup>.

Various derivations of the original \*ʔt- using *w*, *y* and *ʔ* as C<sup>3</sup>.

WCh \*ʔat- “ride”: Bks ʔat.

Bed ʔat- “tread”.

SA \*ʔat- “tread”: Afar ʔat-.

Irregular ʔ-.

Omot \*ʔat- “come”: Gim at-.

## 64 \*ʔawan-/ʔawin- “time”

Sem \*ʔawān- “time, moment, season”: Arab ʔawān-.

Cf. also secondary morphonological variants ʔān- id., ʔiwān- id.

WCh \*win- “evening time”<sup>1</sup>, “day”<sup>2</sup>: Tng wini<sup>1</sup>, Ngz wəna<sup>2</sup>.

The initial laryngeal lost.

CCh \*wan- “year”: Nza wane, Mwl wan-ti, Bch wan-to.

No traces of the initial laryngeal.

HEC \*ʔawin- “month, moon”: Bmb awin-co.

Wrz \*ʔawVn- “evening”: Gaw awne.

Since CCh might have lost \*ʔa- for phonetic reasons, it is not clear if it is a prefix or a part of the root. Is there any connection with Agaw \*ʔiman- “time” (Bil *emaana*), SA \*ʔaman- id. (Saho *amaana*) and LEC \*ʔamin- id. (Som *amin*)?

## 65 \*ʔay- “come, run”

Sem \*ʔi- “go and stay”: Arab ʔy.

Based on \*ʔy-.

Berb \*ʔy- “come”: Tua *ayu*.

ECh \*ʔaw-/ʔay- “go”<sup>1</sup>, “gallop”<sup>2</sup>: Ndm ao<sup>1</sup>, Sbn ʔaya<sup>2</sup>.

An ancient morphonological variant \*ʔaw- preserved only in ECh?

Bed ee- “come”.

From \*ʔay-.

HEC \*ʔe- “enter”: Sid ʔe-.

From \*ʔay-.

Omot \*ʔay- “come”: Omet *ai*.

In Bed and HEC development \*ʔay- > \*-e- seems to be possible. Is there any connection between \*ʔay- and \*ʔa- “walk, go”?

## 66 \*ʔayal- “deer”

Sem \*ʔayal- “deer, ibex”: Ug ʔayl, Pun ʔyl, Hbr ʔayyāl, Aram (Emp) ʔyl, (Palest) ʔayyālā, (Syr) ʔaylā, (Mand) *ayala*, *ayla*, SAr ʔyl, Arab ʔayyil-, ʔyyal-, Gz *hayyal*.

Eg *lyr* “deer” (1), Dem ʔywr id., Copt \*ʔeyul: Boh *eoul*, Shd (*e*)*eioul*.

Borrowed from Sem?

LEC \*ʔēl- < \*ʔayVl- “gazelle”: Som *eelo*.

Dhl ʔeele “hartebeest”.

From \*ʔayal-.

Cf. HEC \*ʔayan- “gazelle” (Bmb *ayaane*) and SA \*ʔal- “goats (coll.), she-goat” (Saho *ala*, Afar *alaa*).

## 67 \*ʔa-yil- “ram, sheep”

Sem \*ʔayil- “mythological bull”<sup>1</sup>, “ram”<sup>2</sup>: Akk ʔālu<sup>1</sup>, Ug ʔil<sup>2</sup>, Phn (pl.) ʔlm<sup>2</sup>, Hbr ʔayil<sup>2</sup>.

Berb \*ʔyl-/ʔil- “sheep”: Nfs *t-ili*, Sml *t-ili*.

SA \*ʔyl-/ʔil- “sheep”: Saho *ille*, *illi*, Afar *ille*, *illi*.

Though a phonetic process leading to the loss of \*ʔa- is not excluded, \*ʔa- is, more probably, a prefix. The connection with \*ʔayal- “deer” is problematic.

## 68 \*ʔayVm- “snake”

Sem \*ʔaym- “snake”: Arab ʔaym-.

WCh \*ʔam- “python”: Klr ʔamo.

WCh \*ʔam- < \*ʔaym- as \*ʔac- “dog” < \*ʔawc- (see WCh \*ʔaw[a]c- “dog, wolf”). This type of development may reflect a specific variety of roots with no vowel between C<sup>2</sup> and C<sup>3</sup>.

## 69 \*ʔekam- “mountain”

Sem \*ʔakam- “hill”: Arab ʔakam-at-.

Assimilation of vowels \*ʔakam- < \*ʔikam-.

WCh \*kyaʔam- ‘‘mountain’’: Bgh *kyaam*.

Metathesis.

The alternative HS reconstruction is \*keʔam-.

#### 70 \*ʔekar- ‘‘farmer’’

Sem \*ʔikkar- ‘‘farmer, plougher’’: Akk ʔikkar-, Hbr ʔikkār, Aram (Syr) ʔakārā, Arab ʔakkar-.

Assimilation of vowels in Aram and Arab. An alleged Sum loanword in Sem.

Eg ʔkr ‘‘Earth-god’’ (a).

Initial ʔ- makes the reconstruction of \*e more probable. Semantically, ‘‘Earth-god’’ ← ‘‘plougher’’. Semitic loanword?

The root is etymologically connected with HS \*ʔakūr- ‘‘till’’.

#### 71 \*ʔel- ‘‘leather sack’’

Sem \*ʔil- ‘‘leather sack’’: Akk ʔilu.

WCh \*ʔal-ay- < \*ʔyal-ay- ‘‘skin bottle used as an oil container’’: Hs ālāya.

#### 72 \*ʔem- ‘‘be hot, burn’’

Eg ʔm, ʔm ‘‘burn’’ (pyr).

No palatalization of ʔ-.

WCh \*ʔyam- ‘‘hot’’: Ngm *yam*.

#### 73 \*ʔen- ‘‘child’’

WCh \*ʔyan- ‘‘boy’’: Grk *a-yan*.

Prefix *a-* in Grk.

LEC \*ʔin- ‘‘child’’: Kon *ina*.

#### 74 \*ʔer- ‘‘tongue’’

LEC \*ʔer- ‘‘tongue’’: Gel *ere*.

Mgg *erei* ‘‘tongue’’.

Omo \*ʔer- ‘‘tongue’’: Anf *erri-co*.

Although this stem is present only in Cush, its derivatives are found elsewhere and, therefore, it is treated as a HS archaism.

#### 75 \*ʔer- ‘‘see, know’’

ECh \*ʔyar- ‘‘see’’: Smr *yēro*, Sbn *yara*.

Bed *iray-*, *iree* ‘‘see’’.

Agaw \*ʔar(V)- ‘‘know’’: Bil *arʔ-*.

The source of -ʔ- is not clear. Note \*-a- in the root.

Wrz \*ʔar- ‘‘know’’: War *aʔari*, Gaw *ara*, Gob *ʔaar*, Cam *ara*, Hss *ar-*,

Dob *ar-*, Gll *ar-*.

Secondary \*-a-.

Omot \*ʔer- ‘‘know’’: Ome ʔer-, *ere*, Mch *ari(hä)*, Anf *erri*, Gim *err-*, *era*.

Rift \*ʔar- ‘‘see’’: Irq *ara*, Alg *ar-*, Bur *ar-im-*.

Secondary \*-a-.

Related to HS \*ʔir- ‘‘eye’’? Some of the above forms may reflect HS \*ʔar-.

#### 76 \*ʔer- ‘‘woman’’

Eg *irw.t* ‘‘women’’ (pyr).

ECh \*ʔyar- ‘‘woman’’: Mkk ʔere, ʔerowo.

Probably related to LEC \*ʔor- ‘‘wife’’: Som *oori*. If Mkk ʔerowo goes back to ECh \*ʔyaraw-, one could think of HS \*ʔeraw- as a prototype of both Eg and ECh.

#### 77 \*ʔer- ‘‘tremble’’

Sem \*ʔVr- ‘‘tremble’’: Akk *arāru*, *harāru*.

ECh \*ʔyar- ‘‘tremble’’: Tob *yore*.

#### 78 \*ʔerar- ‘‘container’’

Eg *irr* ‘‘vessel’’ (n).

*i-* reflects a front vowel.

LEC \*ʔarar- ‘‘basket’’: Arb ʔarar.

Assimilation of vowels.

## 79 \*ʔeray- ‘‘word, speech’’

WCh \*ʔaray- ‘‘language’’: Hs *yārē*.

LEC \*ʔeray- ‘‘word, speech’’: Som ʔeray, ʔeray.

Derived from \*ʔer- ‘‘tongue’’.

## 80 \*ʔerib- ‘‘sew, tie’’

Sem \*ʔrib- ‘‘tie (a knot)’’: Arab ʔrb [-i-].

WCh \*ʔrVhib- > \*ʔrib- ‘‘sew’’: Wnd *rip*, Zaar *ri:p*, Pol *reḥ-in*, Dwot *rip*.

ECh \*ʔrVb- ‘‘sew’’<sup>1</sup>, ‘‘untie’’<sup>2</sup>: Brg ʔorbi<sup>1</sup>, Tum *arəb*<sup>2</sup>.

Brg -o- is secondary.

SA \*ʔrib- ‘‘sew’’: Saho *rib*, Afar *rib*.

LEC \*ʔerVb- ‘‘sew’’: Or *erba*.

## 81 \*ʔerin- ‘‘tongue’’

CCh \*ʔirVn- ‘‘tongue’’: Gis ʔirne, Mtk ʔerne, Mofu ʔerne.

Probably, from an earlier \*ʔarin-?

Omot \*ʔeren- ‘‘tongue’’: Ome *eren-šaa*.

Assimilation of vowels, from \*ʔerin-.

Derived from HS \*ʔer- ‘‘tongue’’.

## 82 \*ʔes- ‘‘fire’’

Sem \*ʔiṣ- ‘‘fire’’: Akk ʔiṣat-, Ug ʔiṣt, Hbr ʔeš, Phn ʔš, Aram (Emp) ʔšh, (Bibl) ʔeššā, (Palest) ʔiṣṣātā, (Mand) ʔiṣṣ, Gz ʔəsāt, Tgr ʔəsāt, Amh *əsāt*.

Berb \*HVṣ- ‘‘big fire’’: Ahg *a-həs*.

WCh \*ʔyas- ‘‘fire’’: Ang *wus*, Chip *wus*, Ank *wuss*, Grk *wus*, Bol *osi*, Krk *yasi*, Ngm *yasi*, Maha *woši*, Bele *ihi*, Krf *wūši*, Gera *wusi*, Glm *wuši*, Grm *uši*, Gej *iši*, Klr *waše*.

Forms in \*w- are not clear. Contamination with \*wuš- ‘‘roast’’?

ECh \*ʔis- ‘‘fire’’: Brg ʔissi.

Probably, from an earlier \*ʔyasi-.

Cf. Rift \*ʔaš- ‘‘fire’’ (Irq *aša*, Gor *aša*, Alg *aša*, Bur *aša*) with a lateral \*š-. An alternative reconstruction of the HS word for

‘‘fire’’ may be based on the fact of *wi*- pattern forbidden in Sem. If initial HS \*wi- (or \*we-) yielded to Sem \*ʔi-, it could also explain dubious WCh forms in \*w-.

## 83 \*ʔet- ‘‘eat’’

WCh \*ʔyat- ‘‘eat’’: Fyer ʔet.

HEC \*ʔit- ‘‘eat’’: Sid *it*-, Bmb *it*-.

## 84 \*ʔew- ‘‘be old’’

Eg *iḵwy* ‘‘be old’’ (OK).

-j- and -y are a joint reflection of \*e.

ECh \*ʔyaw- ‘‘be old’’: Sbn *yə*, Kera *hiwi*, Mobu *yewe*.

Another possibility should be considered if Eg -j- goes back to HS \*r. In this case, comparison with CCh \*ʔir- ‘‘old’’ (Mw *iḵiri*, Bch *iyrey* and the like) leads to the reconstruction of HS \*ʔir- ‘‘be old’’.

## 85 \*ʔi- ‘‘time, period of time’’

Eg *j.t* ‘‘time’’ (MK).

Cf. *lḫ.t* ‘‘moment of time’’ reflecting a front vowel.

WCh \*ʔyi- < \*ʔi- ‘‘year’’<sup>1</sup>, ‘‘time’’<sup>2</sup>: Ang *yi*-, Mnt *yi*-, Grk *yi* <sup>1</sup>.

Any relation to HS \*ʔi(w)- ‘‘be, become’’?

## 86 \*ʔib- ‘‘thirst’’

Eg *ib.t* ‘‘thirst’’ (pyr), Copt \*ʔibi id.: Fym *ibi*, Ahm *eibe*, Bhm *ibi*, Shd *eibe*.

WCh \*ʔyib- < \*ʔib- ‘‘thirst’’: Bgh *yip*, Kir *yip*.

Secondary y- reflecting \*ʔ- before a front vowel.

Cf. Arab ʔbb [-u-] ‘‘desire’’?

## 87 \*ʔibad- ‘‘lose, be lost’’

Sem \*ʔVbVd- ‘‘lose, be lost’’: Ug ʔbd, Phn *yʔbd*, Hbr ʔbd, Aram (Epigr) ʔbd, (Palest) ʔabad, (Mand) *abad*.

CCh \*ʔbidVH- ‘‘lose’’: Zime *viḵi*.

SA \**bad-* ‘perish, be extinguished’: Saho *bad-*, Afar *baad-*.

No traces of the initial syllable.

LEC \**bad-* ‘be lost’: Or *bad-*, Gel *bad-*.

No traces of the initial syllable.

Wrz \**pat-* ‘get lost, disappear’: Gaw *pat-*, Hss *pat-*, Gol *pat-*.

No traces of the initial syllable.

### 88 \*ʔibaq- ‘insect’

Sem \*ʔibḥ- ‘kind of bug’: Akk *ibḥu*.

Berb \**bay-* ‘insect’: Izy *aḥḥu*.

Irregular reflex of \*-q-.

ECh \**bag-* ‘locust’<sup>1</sup>, ‘cricket’<sup>2</sup>, ‘spider’<sup>3</sup>: Jegu *bago*<sup>1</sup>, Bid *bago*<sup>2</sup>, Kbl *bagəbago*<sup>3</sup>.

### 89 \*ʔiben- ‘sleep’

Eg *ibʔn* ‘sleep’ (pyr).

Eg *i-* indicates HS \*ʔe- or \*ʔi-. Note intervocalic -ʔ- reflecting a middle vowel.

CCh \**HVbyan-* ‘sleep’: Boka *ḥweni*, Hwn *ḥena*.

In Boka -*we-* < -*ya-* after a labial.

Since HS \*ʔeben- is hardly possible from the point of view of the vowel pattern, \*ʔiben- remains the only tenable reconstruction.

### 90 \*ʔi-bil- ‘camel, donkey’

Sem \*ʔib(i)l- ‘camel’: Arab ʔibil-, ʔibl-, SAR ʔbl, Hss *ḥe-ybīt*, Mhr *ḥe-ybīt*, Shh *yit*.

ECh \**bil-* ‘donkey’: Lele *bila-he*.

The first syllable left no traces.

The initial \*ʔi- is either a prefix (preserved only in Sem), or a part of the root (lost in ECh for phonetic reasons). In the anlaut HS \*ʔe- is also possible.

### 91 \*ʔic- ‘tooth’

WCh \**ḥa-ʔic-* ‘tooth’: Ang *ās*, Chip ʔayas, Mnt ʔəəs, Ank *hag-has*, Grk *yas*, Bol *udo*, Krk *wudo*, Tng *wudo*, Dera *wuro*, Ngm *udo*,

Maha *udo*, Krf *iččo*, Gera *waša*, Glm *yiizu*, Grm *očoŋ*, Mpn *ōs*.

Prefix \**ḥa-*. Note some difficult forms with initial *w-*, cf. our notes to \*ʔes- ‘fire’.

HEC \*ʔis- ‘tooth’: Dar *isso*.

Omot \*ʔic- ‘tooth’: Dime *icu*.

### 92 \*ʔicay- ‘be sad, be angry’

Sem \*ʔVsay- ‘be sad’: Arab ʔsy [-a-].

For Sem \*-s- cf. a derivative in Hbr ʔās-ōn ‘misfortune’.

ECh \*ʔisV- ‘bad’: Lele *isiya*.

-*iya* may be a Lele suffix.

### 93 \*ʔid- ‘eye’

WCh \*ʔid- ‘eye’: Hs *ido*, Sura *yit*, Ang *yit*, *yid*, Mnt *yit*, Ank *has-yid*, Grk *yit*, Bol ʔido, Krk ʔido, Dera *yero*, Tng *idu*, Ngm *ido*, Maha *ida*, Bele *ido*, Krf *iro*, Gera *iidi*, Glm *iirya*, Grm *ida*, Diri *adō*, Jmb *ida*, Ngz *da*.

Some forms with -*r-* may go back to HS \*ʔir- ‘eye’ as well.

CCh \*ʔid- ‘eye’: Tera *idi*, Nza *di*.

ECh \*ʔid-/ʔud- ‘eye’: Dng *udā*, Mig ʔide, Jeg ʔude, Sok *id-*.

ECh \*ʔud- < \*ʔidu- or a trace of an apophony?

Although this root is preserved only in Chadic, its derivatives also occur in Cush, see HS \*ʔind- ‘eye’ and we may, therefore, consider it as a HS archaism.

### 94 \*ʔigan- ‘vessel’

Sem \*ʔigān- ‘cup, bowl’: Akk *agannu*, Hbr ʔaggān, Arab ʔiggān-at-.

Assimilation of vowels in Akk and Hbr?

LEC \*ʔagan-/ʔgaHan- ‘jar’: Som *agaan*, Or *gaanii*.

Assimilation of vowels.

### 95 \*ʔi‘al- ‘snake’

Eg *i‘r.t* ‘snake’ (pyr).

ECh \*ʔi‘al- ‘snake’: Dng *aalo*, Bid ʔaalo, Jegu ʔillo, Brg ʔeli.

Assimilation of vowels in Dng and Bid.

An unusual combination of -ʔ- and -<sup>c</sup>- in one root.

### 96 \*ʔikoy- ‘‘hold, seize’’

Eg *ily* ‘‘take, catch, seize’’ (pyr), Copt \**ṭi*: Boh *ṭi*, Sd *ṭi*.

Initial *i*- indicates \**i*- or \**e*-. *-ṭi*- is palatalized before \**-o*-.

WCh \**kway*- < \**HVkway*- ‘‘hold’’<sup>1</sup>, ‘‘seize, grasp’’<sup>2</sup>: Dera *kway*<sup>1</sup>, Miya *kwi*<sup>1</sup>, Bgh *kye*<sup>1</sup>, Bks *kʔay*<sup>2</sup>, DB *kay*<sup>2</sup>.

The first syllable lost without traces.

Since \**e* and \**o* seem to be incompatible within one root, the reconstruction \**ʔekoy*- is less probable.

### 97 \*ʔiküč- ‘‘relative’’

Sem \**ikīš*- ‘‘family member’’: Akk *ikīšu*.

WCh \**kīʔuč*- ‘‘child’’: Ang *keus*, Ngz *kušai* (pl.).

Metathesis.

An alternative reconstruction is \**kīʔüč*-.

### 98 \*ʔil- ‘‘swear; oath’’

Sem \**ʔl*- ‘‘swear’’: Hbr *ʔly*, Arab *ʔly* [-*i*-], SAr *ʔlh*.

Dhl *ʔilo* ‘‘oath’’.

Cf. Rift \**loʔ*- ‘‘oath’’ (Irq *loʔi*)?

### 99 \*ʔil- ‘‘bring’’

Eg *iny* ‘‘bring’’ (pyr), Copt \**ini*: Fym *ini*, Ahm *eine*, Boh *ini*, Sd *eine*.

HS \**-l*- > Eg *-n*-. *-y* in the auslaut as well as initial *i*- suggest a front vowel in the root.

WCh \**ʔal*-/\**ʔil*- ‘‘bring’’: Bol *ʔal*-, Krk *ʔil*-.

Traces of old alternation \**a* ~ \**i*?

### 100 \*ʔilab- ‘‘wall’’

Eg *inb* ‘‘wall’’ (OK).

ECh \**labiʔ*- ‘‘fence’’: Kera *laḫi*.

Metathesis.

Another possible reconstruction is HS \**labiʔ*-.

### 101 \*ʔilam- ‘‘skin’’

Eg *inm* ‘‘skin’’ (pyr), Copt \**ʔanom* id.: Boh *anom*.

Seems to have no connection with HS \**ʔadam*-/\**ʔadim*- ‘‘skin’’.

WCh \**ʔVlam*- ‘‘hide’’: Bade *alm-ən*.

Cf. a denominative verb: Bks *lamoʔ*, DB *lamoʔ*, Sha *lamoʔ* ‘‘skin’’ (v.).

### 102 \*ʔilaw-/\*ʔilay ‘‘saliva’’

Sem \**ʔilaw*-/\**ʔilay*- ‘‘saliva’’: Akk *illātu*.

ECh \**ʔVlaw*-/\**ʔVlay*- ‘‘saliva’’: Mkk *lee*, Mubi *lawe*, Mig *ʔolo*.

Consonantal alternation \**-w*- ~ \**-y*-.

### 103 \*ʔilik- ‘‘tooth’’

Agaw \**ʔilVk*- ‘‘tooth’’: Bil *ʔəlkwī*, *eruk*, Xmr *erək<sup>w</sup>*, Xmt *erək<sup>w</sup>*, Kwr *yerkw*, Kem *yərko*, Aw *ərkwī*.

LEC \**ʔilik*- ‘‘tooth’’: Som *ilig*, pl. *ilko*, Bay *ilko*, Rnd *ilko*, Or *ilka*,

Kon *ilga*, Bus *iliča*, Gid *ilit*, Arb *ilk<sup>w</sup>a*, Arb *ʔilig*.

Wrz \**ʔilVg*- ‘‘tooth’’: Gaw *əlge*, Gob *əlago*, War *ilge*.

HEC \**ʔilVk*- ‘‘tooth’’: Had *inḳe*, Bmb *ilkaa*, *irḳa*, Kmb *inḳu-ta*.

Other HEC forms reflect \**in(V)k*-.

Related to \**ʔalVk*- ‘‘bite, chew’’. Even though exact correspondences between \**l* and other laterals in Cush remain uncertain, cf. Rift \**ʔisik*- ‘‘tooth’’ (Kwz *išikuko*). The word for tooth looks like a Cush deverbative innovation and is preserved here because of the HS status of the corresponding verb.

### 104 \*ʔi-maʔ- ‘‘(be) good’’

Eg *imʔ* ‘‘good’’ (pyr).

ECh \**maʔi*- ‘‘good’’: Sok *maia*.

\**ʔi*- may be a prefix or a part of the root (phonetically lost in ECh).

## 105 \*ᵐimen- “sun, day”

Eg *imny* “Sun-god” (reg).

Initial *t-* stands for HS \*ᵐi-.

WCh \**myan-* “day”: Mnt *mene*.

CCh \**myan-* “day”: Dng *mena*, Mig *me:ne*.

HS \*ᵐi- may be a prefix.

## 106 \*ᵐin- “cord, tie”

Eg *iny* “cord” (MK).

Ancient deverbative?

WCh \*ᵐin- “tie”: Diri *in*.

CCh \*ᵐin- “tie”: Gude ᵐ*in-*, FB ᵐ*iyi-*, FM ᵐ*in-*, FJ ᵐ*in-*.

Secondary -*yi-* < \*-*i-* in Gude and FB. Note -*ḡ-* < \*-*n-* reflecting a former shift of the laryngeal.

ECh \*ᵐVn-/ᵐVwVn- “tie”: Kera *ən-tiⁿ*, Kwn *en-tē*, Mig ᵐ*onno*, Sok *una*, Mubi *ewen*, Brg ᵐ*unaayi*.

The vowel in Kwn could point out to ECh \**ya-*. Other forms are explained by contraction.

## 107 \*ᵐin- “flow, be wet”

Sem \*ᵐin- “spread (of water)”: Arab ᵐ*nn* [-*i-*].

Imperfect may reflect an original \*ᵐin-.

WCh \*ᵐVn- “be wet”: Jim *nu*, Tala ᵐ*unu*.

## 108 \*ᵐi-nas- “man”

Sem \*ᵐin(a)š- “man”: Hbr ᵐ*nōš*, Aram (Syr) (ᵐ)*naš*, Arab ᵐ*ins-*, SAR ᵐ*ns*, Jib ᵐ*ensi*.

Berb \*ᵐinVš- “young man”: Ahg *a-ynəs*.

Agaw \*ᵐanVš- “in-law”: Kem *anš-ən*.

By assimilation, from \*ᵐinaš-.

Derived from HS \**nūs*-“man”.

## 109 \*ᵐinawal-/ᵐinayal- “plant”

Eg *inwn* “kind of plant” (med).

ECh \*ᵐinayal- “grass”: Mig *nyālu*, Mubi *inālo*.

Both Mig -*yā-* and Mubi -*ā-* reflect a contraction of \*-*aya-*.

An ancient composite or a structure with a prefix \*ᵐi-?

## 110 \*ᵐind- “eye”

CCh \*ᵐVnd- “eye”: Dgh *nde*.

No traces of the original first syllable.

SA \*ᵐint- “eyes” (pl.): Saho *intit*, Afar *intit*.

Unvoiced \*-*t-* < HS \*-*d-* is not clear.

LEC \*ᵐind- “eye”: Som *inḡo-* (pl.), Rnd *indo*, Arb *iynda*, Gdl *iinda*.

Secondary -*ḡ-* in Som and Arb?

Derived from \*ᵐid- “eye” with a nasal infix.

## 111 \*ᵐi(n)t- “louse”

ECh \*ᵐint- “louse”: Dng *itta-*, Jegu ᵐ*int-aalo*, Mig *itata*.

Assimilation \*-*nt-* > -*tt-* in Dng and > -*t-* in Mig.

Agaw \*ᵐant-/ᵐint- “louse”: Aun *inti*, *antii*.

The vowel is fluctuating.

Dhl ᵐ*ittoni*, *ita* “louse”.

Rift \*ᵐit- “louse”: Irq *itna* (pl.), Bur *ita*, Alg *ita*, Asa *ita*.

Dhl and Rift either display a specific morphonological variant of the root without infix (\*ᵐit-) or are explained from assimilations of \*-*nt-*.

## 112 \*ᵐir- “eye”

Eg *ir.t* “eye” (pyr), Dem *yr.t* id., Copt \**yiri* id.: Lyc *ieire*.

WCh \*ᵐir-/ᵐyir- “eye”: Pol *yir*, Say *yir*, Grn *yerr*, Kir *yir*, Tala *ge-ir*,

Fyr *yeer*.

\**yir-* is a result of further development of \*ᵐir-. Note a prefix in Tala.

CCh \*ᵐir- “eye”: Lame *iri*, Msm *ir*, Bnn *ira*.

Related to \*ᵐir- is a CCh derivative \*ᵐaray- “eye” (< \*ᵐiray-?):

Bld ᵐ*aray*, Mnj *aray*, Masa *arai*.

ECh \*ᵐir- “eye”: Mubi *ir-in*.

## 113 \*ʔiruʔ- “caviar, fish roe”

Sem \*ʔiruʔ- “caviar”: Akk *erūtu*.

Eg *lʔr.t* “part of fish” (med).

Metathesis.

Derived from \*ʔur- “fish”.

## 114 \*ʔirVy- “stick”

Sem \*ʔiry- “twig, stick”<sup>1</sup>, “stake”<sup>2</sup>: Akk *urū*<sup>1</sup>, Arab *ʔiry*-<sup>2</sup>.

Cf. also Akk *aru*, *ḥaru* id.

Eg *ʔry.t* “kind of stick” (MK).

Cf. ECh \*ʔwar- “stick”: Jegu *ʔorra*. Related to \*ʔariw- “tree”?

## 115 \*ʔisVʔ-/ʔisVw- “piece of wood”

Sem \*ʔisVʔ- “fir-tree splinter”: Akk *eššeʔu*.

Eg *lsw.t* “thick wooden bar” (n).

A cultural *Wanderwort*? Note the consonantal alternation  
\*w ~ \*ʔ.

## 116 \*ʔitah- “pull”

Eg *ith* “pull” (pyr).

Eg *l-* stands for \*ʔi-.

CCh \**taH-* “pull”: LPe *taʔ*, Msm *ta*.

The initial syllable completely lost.

HS \*ʔi- may be a prefix.

## 117 \*ʔi(w)- “be, become”

Eg *lw* “be” (pyr).

WCh \*ʔi- “become”<sup>1</sup>, “be”<sup>2</sup>: Ang *gʔyi*<sup>1</sup>, Bol *i-*<sup>1 2</sup>.

CCh \*ʔya- “become”: Gis *ye-*.

Related to \*ʔiw-/ʔiy- “come”, cf. Eng *become* ~ *come*? Note that the original root seems to have a structure *CV-*, i.e. \*ʔi-.

## 118 \*ʔiw-/ʔiy- “come”

Eg *iy*, *lw* “come”, Copt \*ʔy id.: Bhr *i*, Shd *ey*.

CCh \*ʔiy- “go, come”: Masa *iy*.

Bed *ʔi-* “come”.

LEC \*ʔi- “go”: Arb *ʔiʔit-*.

Consonantal alternation of \*w ~ \*y. Cush data may indicate an earlier form of the root, namely, \*ʔi-.

## 119 \*ʔiw-/ʔiy- “jackal, dog”

Sem \*ʔiy- “jackal”: Hbr *ʔi*.

Eg *lw* “dog” (MK).

WCh \*ʔiy- “dog”: Wrj *iyē-na*.

Suffix in Wrj.

LEC \*ʔiy- “wild cat”: Or *iyṽaa*.

Consonantal alternation of \*w ~ \*y.

## 120 \*ʔor- “vomit”

Sem \*ʔrVw- “vomit”: Akk *arū*.

Based on an earlier biconsonantal \*ʔVr-.

ECh \*ʔwar- “vomit”: Mig *werro*, Mobu *wære*.

Cf. also Smr *hūrə* reflecting the same root with a prefix.

## 121 \*ʔor- “curse, insult” (v.)

Sem \*ʔur- “curse”: Akk *arāru*, Hbr *ʔrr*, Soq *ʔerer*.

Eg *wʔr* “curse” (XXII).

Vocalic w-.

WCh \*ʔar- < \*ʔwar- “insult, scold”: Wrj *ār-*, Kry *ār-*, Ngz *aru*.

CCh \*ʔir- “insult”: Zime *ir*.

Unexpected vocalism.

ECh \*ʔwar- “insult”: Dng *ware*.

HEC \*ʔar- “be angry, be annoyed”: Sid *aar-*, Dar *aar-*, Bmb *aar-*.

Vocalism of a stative.

## 122 \*ʔorah- “road, way”

Sem \*ʔur(a)ḥ- “way”: Akk *ʔurḫu*, *ʔarḫu*, Hbr *ʔōrah*, Aram (Emp,

Palm) ʔrh, (Syr) ʔūrḥā, (Mand) ʕwḥr, (Naram) ʔurḥ.  
 WCh \*ʔwara- < \*ʔwaraH- ‘road’: Sura ar, Ang ar, Ank war, Klr ʔaraw.

\*-H- is, probably, preserved as -w- in Klr but lost elsewhere.

ECh \*ʔwar- ‘road’: Bid ʔoora.

An alternative reconstruction could be \*ʔwaHar- with a metathesis and a regular contraction of \*-waHa- > Bid -oo-.

HEC \*ʔor- ‘road’: Dar ora.

No traces of the laryngeal.

Rift \*ʔuruw- ‘path, way’: Gor uruwa.

Secondary formation in -uwa. The loss of the laryngeal in Rift is irregular.

### 123 \*ʔow-/ʔoy- ‘river, tide’

Eg wɔw ‘tide’ (a).

Initial w- is a vowel sign.

ECh \*ʔway- ‘water, river’: Mkk ʔooye.

Certainly connected with WCh \*(ʔ)waw- ‘pour’ (Glm waaw-).

Note the consonantal alternation \*-w- ~ \*-y-.

### 124 \*ʔubun- ‘vessel’

Sem \*ʔubun- ‘vessel’: Akk ubbunu.

CCh \*bun-H- ‘water pot’: Wmd buḡ.

Metathesis of the laryngeal forming a cluster with \*-n-: \*-nʔ- > -ḡ.

Note LEC \*ʔub- ‘vessel’: Som ubbo.

### 125 \*ʔucok- ‘temple’ (anat.)

Sem \*ʔusuk- ‘temple’: Akk usukku.

Eg sskʔ ‘temple’ (BD).

Initial ss- may reflect \*c. -ʔ probably indicates \*o, or may be a result of the metathesis.

### 126 \*ʔudun-/ʔušun- ‘ear’

Sem \*ʔudn- ‘ear’: Akk ʔuzn-, Ug ʔudn, Hbr ʔozen, Aram ʔudnā, (Syr)

ʔednō, (Emp) ʔdn, Arab ʔudn-, SAr ʔdn, Soq ʔidiḥen, Shr iden, Mhr heydēn, Gz ʔəzn, Tgr ʔəzn, Tgy ʔəzni, Har uzun.

Eg idn ‘ear’ (a).

l- palatalized from \*ʔ- under the influence of \*-u-.

ECh \*ʔudun-H- ‘ear’: Jegu ʔuduge, Brg uduji.

-ḡ- may be explained by the shift of the laryngeal.

An unexpected \*d ~ \*ʒ variation in the root.

### 127 \*ʔudur- ‘heart’

Eg idr ‘heart’ (l).

l- palatalized from \*ʔ- under the influence of \*-u-.

WCh \*ʔudur- ‘chest’<sup>1</sup>, ‘heart’<sup>2</sup>: Sura tugur<sup>1</sup>, Ang dur<sup>1 2</sup>.

Sura inlaut -g- is regular. The first syllable is reconstructed on the basis of the anlaut in Sura and Ang.

ECh \*dur- ‘middle’: Lele duro ni.

Dhl duura ‘gut’.

### 128 \*ʔuf- ‘body, meat’

Eg iuf, if ‘flesh’ (pyr), ‘body (med).

Eg -w- indicates HS \*u palatalizing the preceding aleph \*ʔ- > l-.

CCh \*ʔ[u]fwa- ‘body’: Bud fu, Gis vaa, Mofu vaw, Tera və-də, Gbn fə-tə, Gudu fūā-si.

The initial syllable is lost. Cf. also Kap guva id., Glv vuya id., Zgh vuya id., Mnd vuwa id. If these forms belong to the CCh root, they may continue \*γV-ʔufwa- with a prefix \*γV-.

### 129 \*ʔug- ‘burn’

Sem \*ʔug- ‘burn’: Arab ḡg [-u-].

ECh \*ʔig-/ʔug- ‘burn’<sup>1</sup>, ‘fry’<sup>2</sup>: Ndm yuga<sup>1</sup>, Mig ʔiggo.

Ndm yu- < \*ʔu-.

Related to LEC \*ʔeg- ‘fire’: Arb ʔeeg.

### 130 \*ʔukok- ‘jump, run’

Eg itt ‘fly’ (pyr).



Palatalization of *\*k* > *ɟ* after labials.

WCh *\*kwak-* ‘jump, gallop’: Ang *kwok*.

The first syllable completely lost.

ECh *\*ʔukVɬ-* ‘run’: Mig *ʔukk-*, Mkk *ʔukke*.

*\*-o-* reconstructed on the basis of reflexes in WCh. Cf. Dhl *ʔukʼ-* ‘rise’ with emphatic *-kʼ-*.

### 131 *\*ʔum-* ‘people’

Sem *\*ʔumm-* ‘people, clan’: Ug *ʔum-t*, Hbr *ʔummā*, Arab *ʔumm-at-*.

Rift *\*ʔim-* ‘people’<sup>1</sup>, ‘crowd’<sup>2</sup>: Irq *imi*<sup>1</sup>, Alg *imi*<sup>2</sup>, Bur *im-et*<sup>1</sup>.

Assimilation of vowels.

### 132 *\*ʔun-* ‘today’

Eg *in* ‘today’ (BD).

CCh *\*ʔunya-* ‘today’: Klb *ʔunya*.

### 133 *\*ʔunay-* ‘meat’

Sem *\*ʔunVɣ-* ‘kind of meat’: Akk *unū*.

CCh *\*ʔay-* ‘meat’: Bld *ne*.

No trace of the first syllable.

### 134 *\*ʔup-* ‘goat, sheep’

Eg *wɔp* ‘sheep’ (pyr).

*w-* reflects a labialized vowel after ʔ. However, cf. *\*ʔup-* ‘strike’.

WCh *\*ʔup-* ‘she-goat’: Cagu *ufe*.

### 135 *\*ʔup-* ‘strike’

Eg *ip* ‘blow’ (n.) (MK).

*i-* < *\*ɟ-* before *\*-u-*.

WCh *\*ʔup-* ‘strike’: Mnt *wup*.

Secondary initial *w-* in Mnt.

ECh *\*ʔup-* ‘strike’: Mig *ʔuppo*.

### 136 *\*ʔur-* ‘day’

Sem *\*ʔurr-* ‘day’<sup>1</sup>, ‘light’<sup>2</sup>: Akk *urru*<sup>1</sup>, *ūru*<sup>2</sup>, Ug *ʔar-*<sup>2</sup>, Hbr *ʔōr*<sup>2</sup>.

CCh *\*ʔur-* ‘morning’: Gudu *wüř*.

HEC *\*ʔor-* ‘midday’: Bmb *orra*.

Related to *\*ʔur-* ‘burn, be hot’.

### 137 *\*ʔur-* ‘burn, be hot’

Sem *\*ʔur-* ‘set fire’: Arab *ʔrr* [-*u-*], *ʔry* [-*i-*].

Cf. also Arab *ʔirr-at-* ‘fire’.

ECh *\*ʔur-* ‘be hot’<sup>1</sup>, ‘burn’<sup>2</sup>: Smr *ʔura*, Bid *ʔoor*, Dng *ʔere*.

Assimilation of vowels in Dng.

SA *\*ʔur-* ‘burn’: Afar *ur-*.

### 138 *\*ʔur-* ‘fish’

WCh *\*ʔur-* ‘kind of fish’: Hs *ūrī*.

ECh *\*ʔyar-* ‘fish’: Ndam *ere*.

Assimilation of vowels.

Omot *\*ʔor-* ‘fish’: Shk *or-us*, Gim *oru*, Dime *or-ɣo*.

### 139 *\*ʔuril-/\*ʔurul-* ‘reed’

Sem *\*ʔurul-* ‘reed’: Akk *urullu*.

LEC *\*ʔulul-* ‘flute’: Or *ulullee*.

Assimilation of liquids.

Omot *\*ʔuril-* ‘flute’: Mch *urillo*.

An alternative reconstruction is *\*ʔulul-* (reduplication?). Assimilation of vowels in Sem and LEC?

### 140 *\*ʔurüd-* ‘vessel’

Sem *\*ʔurüd-* ‘vessel’: Akk *urīdu*.

WCh *\*ruʔud-* ‘beer-gourd’: Hs *rūdū*.

Metathesis.

An alternative reconstruction is *\*ruʔüd-*.

## 141 \*ʔus- “woman”

CCh \*ʔus- “woman”: Glv ʔusa.

Agaw \*ʔus- “female” (adj.): Bil *us-äri*, Xmr *oos- räy*.

Cf. also Kem *iyusee* “woman” < \*ʔi-ʔus-.

Omot \*ʔus- “woman having a child”: Ome *uso*.

## 142 \*ʔutal-/\*ʔutil- “jump”

Sem \*ʔVtil- “take short steps”: Arab ʔtl [-i-].

LEC \*ʔutal- “jump”: Or *utaala*.

## 143 \*ʔün- “cut”

Eg *intn* “cut” (pyr).

Reduplication of the original \*in.

ECh \*ʔVn- “cut”: Mubi *iwin*.

An alternative (and less probable) reconstruction is \*ʔi-ʔin-.

Since there is a possibility that \*-w- in ECh is a secondary development of \*ʔ-, the original HS root may be \*ʔin-.

## 144 \*ʔür- “belly, stomach”

Sem \*ʔir- “breast”: Akk *irtu*, Ug ʔirt.

CCh \*ʔur- “stomach”: Msg *ur-ni*.

Cf. also \*war- < \*ura- “belly”: Mba *war*, Msg *wara*. Reduplication in Log *werwer* “lungs”.

ECh \*ʔur- “navel”: Jegu ʔurre.

LEC \*ʔur- “belly”: Som *uur*-.

## 145 \*ʔüs- “man”

Sem \*ʔiš- “man”: Phn ʔš, Hbr ʔš, Aram ʔš, SAR ʔps.

If not from \*ʔin(a)š-.

WCh \*wus- < \*ʔus- “brother”: Siri *wuši*, Jmb *wuša*.

CCh \*ʔus- “man”: Mba *wus*, Msg *us*, *wus*.

HEC \*ʔas- “child, boy”: Sid *osoo*, Dar *ose* (pl.), Had *oos-ičo*, Kmb *osoo*.

Cf. Agaw \*ʔas- “man” (Xmr *aasaw*) and Omot \*ʔas- “man” (Ome *asa*, Mch ʔašo) with a different root vowel. It is possible

that these forms belong to a different root including also WCh \*ʔas- “grandfather”: Fyer ʔās.

## 146 \*ʔVcup- “gather, harvest”

Sem \*ʔVsVp- “gather, collect”<sup>1</sup>, “harvest” (v.)<sup>2</sup>: Akk *esēpu*<sup>1 2</sup>, Ug ʔasp<sup>1</sup>, Hbr ʔsp<sup>1 2</sup>, Aram (Palest) ʔasap<sup>2</sup>.

ECh \*ʔVsup- “harvest” (v.): Tum *sub*.

Tum vocied -b is regular.

## 147 \*ʔVgor- “chew”

Sem \*ʔVgVr- “chew”: Arab ʔgr.

ECh \*gwar- “chew”: Sbn *gwəṛə*, Tob *gure*.

No traces of the first syllable.

Initial \*ʔV- may be a prefix.

## 148 \*ʔVkul- “eat”

Sem \*ʔVkul- “eat”: Akk *akālu*, Ug ʔakl, Phn ʔkl, Hbr ʔkl, Aram (Emp) ʔkl, (Syr) ʔekal, (Mand) *akal*, Arab ʔkl [-u-].

Derived from this root are Gz ʔəkl “food”, Tgr ʔəkal “grain”, Amh ʔəhəl id.

WCh \*kal- < \*kaʔVL- “food”: Hs *kālāčī*.

Secondary derivative in -čī in Hs. Metathesis.

## 149 \*ʔVl- “be exhausted”

Sem \*ʔVlVw- “be unable, be incapable”: Arab ʔlw [-u-].

Based on \*ʔVL-.

LEC \*ʔel- “exhaustion”: Or *eelaa*.

Nominal derivative.

## 150 \*ʔVles- “deceive”

Sem \*ʔVliš- “deceive”: Arab ʔls [-i-].

CCh \*lyas- “deceive, lie”: Msg *leş*.

ECh \*las- < \*lyasa- “deceive, lie”: Mobu *lase*, Ngam *lase*.

HS \*ʔV- may be a prefix or a part of the root lost in CCh and ECh for phonological reasons.

## 151 \*ᵛNIḤ- “breath; breathe”

Sem \*ᵛNIḤ- “sigh”<sup>1</sup>, “moan”<sup>2</sup>: Akk *anāḥu*<sup>1 2</sup>, Ug *ʾanḥ*<sup>1</sup>, Hbr *ʾnḥ*<sup>2</sup>, Aram (Syr) *ʾenah*<sup>2</sup>, Arab *ʾnḥ* [-i-]<sup>1</sup>.

Eg *nḥw.t* “soul” (n).

A deverbative formation reflecting \**nuḥ*-. Related to Eg *inḥ* “live”?

Initial \*ᵛV- may be a prefix.

## 152 \*ᵛVRVG- “plait, weave; mat”

Sem \*ᵛVRVG- “plait, weave”: Hbr *ʾrg*.

Cf. Pun *ʾrg* “weaver”.

WCh \**rag*- “net”<sup>1</sup>, “thread”<sup>2</sup>: Hs *rāgā*<sup>1</sup>, Krf *rogħo*<sup>2</sup>.

Secondary -o- in the first syllable in Krf. No traces of the initial laryngeal.

## 153 \*ᵛSUK- “dwell”

Eg *isk* “linger” (XVIII), Copt \*ᵛ*ōsk* id.: Ahm *ōsk*, Boh *ōsk*, Sd *ōsk*.

WCh \**suki*- “sit”<sup>1</sup>, “rest”<sup>2</sup>: Bol *siki*<sup>1</sup>, Paa *siki*<sup>1</sup>, Pol *šak*<sup>1</sup>, Gej *šuki*<sup>2</sup>, Brw *suk*<sup>1</sup>, Dwot *suk*<sup>1</sup>.

Initial \*ᵛV- may be a prefix.

## \*b

## 154 \*ba²- “father”

Berb \**ba*²- “father, owner, master”: Kby *βa*.

CCh \**ba*²- “father”: Log *bā*.

An onomatopoeia.

## 155 \*ba²- “bush, tree”

Eg *bʾ.t* “bush” (a), Copt \**bu* id.: Akh *bou*, Boh *bō*.

WCh \**ba*²- “tree”: Ang *bau*, Krk *ḥa*, Tng *ḥau*.

ḥ- in Krk and Tng reflects a lost laryngeal.

CCh \**bwaH*- < \**baH*- “bush”: Gis *ḥoh*.

\*-*wa*- < \*-*a*- after a labial. Note an unexpected laryngeal. Initial emphatic is caused by a laryngeal.

SA \**bah*- “wood”: Afar *bahoo*.

Note an irregular laryngeal.

CCh and SA may belong to a specific variant or a different word \**bah*- id.

## 156 \*ba²-/baw- “(gourd) vessel”

CCh \**ba*²- “pot”<sup>1</sup>, “calabash”<sup>2</sup>: Tera *ḥo*<sup>1</sup>, Gudu *ḥa*<sup>2</sup>.

ḥ- in Tera and Gudu reflects a lost laryngeal.

Agaw \**baw*- “gourd bottle”: Xmr *baw*, *bawa*.

Note a consonantal alternation \*-ᵛ ~ \*-w-.

## 157 \*ba²-/baw-/bay “walk, go”

Sem \**bū*²- “go, come”<sup>1</sup>, “enter”<sup>2</sup>, “return”<sup>3</sup>: Akk *bāḏu*<sup>1</sup>, Ug *ba*²<sup>3</sup>, Phn *bʾ*², Hbr *b(w)*²<sup>3</sup>, Arab *bw*² [-u-]<sup>3</sup>, SAr *bw*²<sup>3</sup>, Gz *bo*²<sup>a</sup>, Tgr *bā*²<sup>a</sup>, Tgy *bo*²<sup>e</sup>, Hrr *bō*²<sup>a</sup>.

Based on biliteral \**bVw*- or \**bV*²-.

Berb \**bVy*- “drive, bring”<sup>1</sup>, “come”<sup>2</sup>: Ghd *əbbi*<sup>1</sup>, Siwa *əbba*<sup>1</sup>, Ayr *huii-ət*<sup>1</sup>, Twl *huii-ət*<sup>1</sup>, Ahg *əhi*<sup>1</sup>, Tsl *ihai*<sup>2</sup>.

Berb \**b*- > \**β*- yielding to *h*- under not quite certain conditions.

Eg *byj* “go away” (pyr).

Vocalic -j.

WCh \**ba*²-/baw- “return”<sup>1</sup>, “go”<sup>2</sup>, “come”<sup>3</sup>: Sura *bā*<sup>1</sup>, Mnt *ba*<sup>1</sup>, Ang *be*<sup>1</sup>, Dera *bə*<sup>2</sup>, Wrj *buw*<sup>3</sup>, Kry *ba*-<sup>2</sup>, Diri *mbu*<sup>3</sup>, Miya *ba*-<sup>2</sup>, Cagu *ba*-<sup>2</sup>, Mbu *ba*-<sup>2</sup>, Jmb *bo*-<sup>3</sup>, Klr *bo*<sup>3</sup>.

Wrj, Diri and Jmb seem to reflect \**baw*-. Note prefix \**mV*- in Diri.

CCh \**ba*²-/baw-/bay “go”<sup>1</sup>, “come”<sup>2</sup>, “go away”<sup>3</sup>, “follow”<sup>4</sup>: Tera *ḥa*<sup>2</sup>, Gaa *aḥi*<sup>2</sup>, Gbn *bei*<sup>1</sup>, Hwn *bai*<sup>1</sup>, Mrg *ḥu*<sup>1</sup>, Wmd *ba*<sup>2</sup>, Gis *be*<sup>3</sup>, Daba *va*<sup>1</sup>, Bch *bəy*<sup>4</sup>, Masa *ba*<sup>2</sup>, Bana *bəwə*<sup>2</sup>, Boka *ḥe-di*<sup>3</sup>.

Cf. also Chb *bi-ti* “return” that may go back to \**bay*-.

ECh \**ba*²-/baw-/bay “accompany”<sup>1</sup>, “come”<sup>2</sup>, “enter”<sup>3</sup>, “go”<sup>4</sup>: Tob *be*<sup>1</sup>, Kera *bi*<sup>2</sup>, Mobu *baye*<sup>3</sup>, Mubi *ḥa*, *ḥow*<sup>4</sup>, Sok *bā*, *bē*<sup>4</sup>.

Bed *bay*- ‘go’.

SA \*ba<sup>2</sup>- ‘go away’: Afar *ba<sup>2</sup>*.

LEC \*ba<sup>2</sup>- ‘go out’: Or *ba<sup>2</sup>*.

Related to Som *bah*- id. with a different laryngeal?

HEC \*ba<sup>2</sup>- ‘go away, go out’: Sid *ba*-, Had *ba<sup>2</sup>e*, Bmb *ba<sup>2</sup>*.

Dhl *be*- ‘go’.

From \*bay-?

Omot \*ba<sup>2</sup>- ‘go’: Om *baa*-.

Rift \*baw- ‘follow’: Asa *bow-at*-.

Secondary -o- in Asa.

Consonantal alternation \*-<sup>2</sup>- ~ \*-w- ~ \*-y-. Forms in \*-y and \*-w may reflect earlier \*ba<sup>2</sup>i- and \*ba<sup>2</sup>u-.

### 158 \*ba<sup>2</sup>-/bi<sup>2</sup>- ‘hole, pit’

Sem \*bi<sup>2</sup>- ‘hole’: Akk *bi<sup>2</sup>u*.

Berb \*bV- ‘irrigation ditch’: Siwa *ta-ba*.

Eg *bɔbɔ* ‘hole’ (pyr), *bɔɔ* ‘snake’s hole’ (pyr), *bɔy.w* ‘hole’ (n).

Reduplication. The form *bɔy.w* seems to display a front vowel in the root.

WCh \*ba<sup>2</sup>- ‘hole’: Krf *boyo*, Tng *ba*.

LEC \*bo<sup>2</sup>- ‘furrow’: Or *bo<sup>2</sup>oo*.

Secondary rounded vowel after a labial.

Dhl *hoowi* ‘nostril, small hole’.

From \*ba<sup>2</sup>aw-?

Rift \*ba<sup>2</sup>- ‘pit’: Irq *ba<sup>2</sup>i*, Bur *ba<sup>2</sup>a*.

Alternation \*a ~ \*i.

### 159 \*ba<sup>2</sup>-/bu<sup>2</sup>- ‘dig, hoe’

Eg *bɔ* ‘hoe’ (v.) (OK).

WCh \*bu<sup>2</sup>- ‘dig, bury’: Klr *buy*, Sha *bu*.

Final -y in Klr is not very clear. Probably, Klr *buy* < \*bui < \*bu<sup>2</sup>i.

GCh \*ba<sup>2</sup>- ‘dig’: Log *ba*.

Alternation \*a ~ \*u. Related to \*ba<sup>2</sup>-/bi<sup>2</sup>- ‘hole, pit’.

### 160 \*ba<sup>2</sup>as- ‘be rotten, be bad’

Sem \*bV<sup>2</sup>aš- ‘be rotten’<sup>1</sup>, ‘be poor’<sup>2</sup>: Hbr *bɔš*<sup>1</sup>, Arab *bɔs* [-a-]<sup>2</sup>.

WCh \*ba<sup>2</sup>as- ‘stink’ (n.)<sup>1</sup>, ‘bad’<sup>2</sup>: Hs *bāšī*<sup>1</sup>, Dirī *ḥāsā*<sup>2</sup>, Paa *basā-n*<sup>2</sup>, Cagu *baši-n*<sup>2</sup>.

The intervocalic laryngeal is reflected in the Hs lengthening and, in particular, in the Dirī initial emphatic.

Agaw \*bas- ‘be bad’: Aun *bas-ən*.

LEC \*ba<sup>2</sup>as- ‘spoiled, rotten’: Som *baas*.

HEC \*buš- ‘bad’: Sid *buša*.

Secondary vocalism?

### 161 \*ba<sup>2</sup>uc- ‘fill’

WCh \*ba<sup>2</sup>Vc- ‘fill to the brim’: Hs *bāḫe*.

\*-c- > Hs -ḫ- is regular.

LEC \*bV<sup>2</sup>us- ‘fill up’: Or *buusa*.

### 162 \*ba<sup>2</sup>uc- ‘vessel’

Eg *bɔs* ‘wine vessel’ (sarc).

ECh \*ba<sup>2</sup>us- ‘pot’: Sbn *ḥasa*, Smr *busa*, Ndm *ḥas*, Gbr *basā*, Kbl *besā*.

Smr and Ndm ḥ- reflect the inlaut laryngeal.

Derived from \*ba<sup>2</sup>uc- ‘fill’.

### 163 \*ba<sup>2</sup>us- ‘be strong’

Sem \*bV<sup>2</sup>uš- ‘be strong’: Arab *bɔs* [-u-].

ECh \*basu<sup>2</sup>- ‘be strong’: Gbr *basua*.

Metathesis. Or from *ba-sua*?

### 164 \*ba<sup>2</sup>VR-/bu<sup>2</sup>VR- ‘well, pit’

Sem \*bu<sup>2</sup>r- ‘pit, well, hole’: Akk *būr*-, Phn *bɔr*, Moab *br*, Hbr *bōr*, Arab *bu<sup>2</sup>r-at*-, SAR *bɔr*, Gur *b<sup>w</sup>ər*.

\*-u- < HS \*-u- before -<sup>2</sup>-.

LEC \*boHVr- ‘pit’: Som *boor*.

Secondary vowel after a labial?

Related to \*bu<sup>3</sup>ar- ‘dig’. Cf. \*bar- ‘ditch’.

### 165 \*bab- ‘father’

Sem \*bāb- ‘father’<sup>1</sup>, ‘grandfather’<sup>2</sup>: Aram (Syr) bābā<sup>1</sup>, Arg bā-ba<sup>2</sup>, Hrr bāb, bābā<sup>2</sup>, Soq bāba<sup>1</sup>.

Berb \*bab- ‘father’<sup>1</sup>, ‘owner, master’<sup>2</sup>: Nfs bābā<sup>1</sup>, Ghat bab<sup>1</sup>, Zng baba<sup>1</sup>, Sml baba<sup>1</sup>, Rif βaβa<sup>1</sup>, Izn bab<sup>2</sup>, Snh bāba<sup>1</sup>, Kby βaβa<sup>1 2</sup>.

At least partly borrowed from Sem.

WCh \*bab- ‘father’: Hs bāba, Ang baba, Krk babo, Ngz baba.

CCh \*bab- ‘father’: Tera baba, Gbn babu, Gis baba, Bud bābei.

ECh \*bab- ‘father’: Mubi bāba.

Bed baaba ‘father’.

LEC \*a-bab- ‘father’: Or ababo.

May be also treated as a reduplication of HS \*ab-: \*ab-<sup>3</sup>ab-.

Omot \*bab- ‘father’: Gim babe.

Rift \*bab- ‘father’: Irq baba.

An onomatopoeia. Probably, a reduplication of \*ba<sup>3</sup>- ‘father’. Some of the above forms may be borrowed from one branch into another.

### 166 \*bab- ‘child’

Sem \*bāb- ‘infant’: Akk bāb-.

ECh \*bab- ‘son’: Mubi bobu.

LEC \*bab- ‘child’: Or baabuu.

An onomatopoeia. Sem and LEC may indicate an inlaut laryngeal. Cf. \*bab- ‘father’.

### 167 \*bab-/bib- ‘shoulder’

Eg bb.wy ‘collar-bones’ (dual.) (med).

WCh \*bi-bi- ‘back’: Krf bībi.

CCh \*bi-bi- ‘shoulder’: Bud bībi.

Bed baba ‘shoulder, armpit’.

LEC \*bob- < \*b[a]-ba- ‘armpit’: Or boba.

HEC \*bob- < \*b[a]-ba- ‘armpit’: Dar boba, Bmb boba, bobaa.

Omot \*bV-b[i]- ‘armpit’: Mch bəbbiūho.

Descriptive stem with a reduplication and irregular vocalism. Cf. \*bay- ‘back, hump’.

### 168 \*baç- ‘coal’

Sem \*bašš- ‘coal’: Arab bašš-at-.

WCh \*hic- < \*baçi- ‘coal’: Ank his.

WCh may also reflect an original \*hic-.

### 169 \*baçaḵ-/baçuḵ- ‘expectorate’

Sem \*bVṣuḵ- ‘expectorate’: Arab bṣq [-u-].

Agaw \*baçaḵ- ‘expectorate’: Bil baçaḵ-.

### 170 \*baĉa<sup>c</sup>- ‘tear off, break off’

Sem \*bVṣV<sup>c</sup>- ‘tear off’<sup>1</sup>, ‘pierce’<sup>2</sup>: Tgr bṣ<sup>c</sup><sup>1</sup>, Tgy bṣ<sup>c</sup><sup>2</sup>, Amh bāssa<sup>2</sup>.

WCh \*baHaĉ- ‘break off’: Hs ḥāsā.

Metathesis.

Note Rift \*baš- ‘field cleared and dug up for cultivation’: Irq baša.

### 171 \*bad- ‘separate’

Sem \*bud- ‘take away’<sup>1</sup>, ‘separate’<sup>2</sup>, ‘disperse’<sup>3</sup>: Ug bd<sup>1</sup>, Hbr bdd<sup>2</sup>, Aram (Emp) bdd<sup>3</sup>, Arab bdd [-u-]<sup>2</sup>, Hss abdōd, Mhr abdēd, Shh ebdeed.

Secondary \*-u-.

HEC \*bad- ‘separate’: Sid bad-.

Omot \*bad- ‘split, cut (wood)’: Kaf bad, Mch badda-.

### 172 \*bada<sup>3</sup>- ‘begin’

Sem \*bVda<sup>3</sup>- ‘begin, create’: Arab bd<sup>3</sup> [-a-], Jib bede<sup>3</sup>, Soq bede<sup>3</sup>, Shr bde<sup>3</sup>, Hss bedō.

Berb \*bVd- ‘begin’: Kby əβδu.

WCh \*badV<sup>3</sup>- ‘begin’: Ngz badii-tu.

ECh \*bada<sup>2</sup>- ‘begin’: Mubi *badā*.  
May be borrowed from Sem.

### 173 \*bag- ‘goat, sheep’

Berb \*bag-/\*bagag ‘calf’<sup>1</sup>, ‘lamb’<sup>2</sup>, ‘ram’<sup>3</sup>: Nfs *byu*<sup>1</sup>, Ayr *a-bagag*<sup>3</sup>, Ahg *a-bayuy*<sup>2</sup>, Twl *a-bagag*<sup>3</sup>.

Partial reduplication in most languages.

CCh \*bag- ‘sheep’: Gude *baga*, FJ *baga*, FBw *bəgə-n*, Bch *m-baga-te*, FM *bəgə*.

ECh \*bag- ‘goats’ (pl.): Sbn *bage*.

Agaw \*bag-/\*big- ‘sheep’: Bil *bägga*, Xmr *bega*, Xmt *biga*, Kwr *baga*, Kem *bäga*.

The variant in \*-i- may be of no morphonological significance.

Omot \*bag- ‘sheep’: Kaf *bagee*, Bwo *baggo*.

### 174 \*bag- ‘tiredness’

Eg *bjgy* ‘be tired’ (pyr), *bg<sup>c</sup>* ‘weariness’ (l).

-<sup>c</sup> in the late form is of no importance for the historical phonology of the word. -y in the anlaut may reflect a suffix (\*-ay-).

WCh \*bag- ‘fatigue, sickness’: Tng *bog-*.

Tng -o- is a regular continuant of \*-a-.

Connected with \*bag- ‘be angry’.

### 175 \*bag- ‘be angry’

Eg *nbđ* ‘angry’ (OK).

Palatalization of \*g > d may be explained by preceding HS \*e or \*o. Note prefix \*nV-.

ECh \*bag-ay- ‘be angry’: Mobu *bagay*, Ngm *bagaye*.

### 176 \*bag- ‘pierce’

Sem \*bag- ‘pierce’: Arab *bgg* [-a-, -u-].

Berb \*bVg- ‘pierce’: Twl *a-beg*, Sml *i-bgu*.

### 177 \*bag-/\*bagVy- ‘(gourd) vessel’

Berb \*bagVy- ‘plate’: Snh *ta-bagi-t*.

Eg *bđ*, *bđy* ‘pot’ (OK).

Vocalic -y. Note the palatalization of \*-g-.

CCh \*bayVg- ‘gourd’: Log *m-boigo*, Afd *beiga*.

Metathesis from \*bagVy-.

An alternative reconstruction is \*bayVg-.

### 178 \*bağ- ‘fear’ (n.)

ECh \*hag- ‘fear’: Mubi *haga*.

From \*bağ-. Emphatic ḥ- in Mubi is due to the influence of HS \*-ḡ-.

Agaw \*bak- ‘horror, fright’: Bil *bağaaḡaa*.

LEC \*bağ- ‘fear’: Som *baḡa*.

A normal reflex of HS \*-ḡ- is LEC \*-ḡ-. In the present case, -ḡ- may indicate a loanword.

### 179 \*ba<sup>c</sup>- ‘dirt, mud’

CCh \*ba- ‘dirt’: Tera *ba*, Daba *buba*, Mus *bəba*.

Reduplication in Daba and Mus.

Rift \*ba<sup>c</sup>- ‘mud’: Irq *ba<sup>c</sup>a*.

An ancient deverbative form? Cf. Dhl *baa<sup>c</sup>-* ‘defecate’.

### 180 \*ba<sup>c</sup>- ‘pour’

Sem \*bV<sup>c</sup>- ‘rain’ (v.): Arab *b<sup>cc</sup>*.

Eg *b<sup>ch</sup>y* ‘pour’ (pyr).

Cf. *b<sup>cc</sup>* ‘drink (blood)’ (gr). The stem seems to be based on Proto-Eg \*b<sup>c</sup>.

WCh \*ba<sup>c</sup>- ‘pour’: Cagu *va-*, *vo-*, Mbu *vay*, *vaw*.

ECh \*bwa(y)- ‘pour’: Smr *bo*, Kbl *bəyi*, Mkk *buuye* (perf.), Lele *boy*.  
\*bwa(y)- < \*bwaH(i)-. Secondary labialization of HS \*a > \*wa after \*b.

Cf. Dhl *bu<sup>2</sup>-* id. and Rift \*bu<sup>2</sup>- id. (Alg *bu<sup>2</sup>-*) with a different laryngeal.

181 \*ba<sup>ʕ</sup>ar “catch”

Sem \*bV<sup>ʕ</sup>Vr- “catch (fish, birds)”, <sup>1</sup>, “fish” (v.) <sup>2</sup>: Akk ba<sup>ʕ</sup>aru <sup>1</sup>, Soq b<sup>ʕ</sup>r <sup>2</sup>.

WCh \*baHar- “catch, take”: Sura *ḥeer*.

182 \*ba<sup>ʕ</sup>il- “man”

Sem \*ba<sup>ʕ</sup>l- “husband, master”: Akk bēlu, Ug b<sup>ʕ</sup>l, Phn b<sup>ʕ</sup>l, Pun b<sup>ʕ</sup>l, Hbr ba<sup>ʕ</sup>al, Aram (Epigr) b<sup>ʕ</sup>l, Arab ba<sup>ʕ</sup>l-, SAr b<sup>ʕ</sup>l, Shr ba<sup>ʕ</sup>l, Soq ba<sup>ʕ</sup>l, Mhr bāl, Gz ba<sup>ʕ</sup>al, Tgr ba<sup>ʕ</sup>l, Amh bal.

CCh \*bVl- “man”: Log bəlo, Gul bel-ewe.

Derivative in \*-aw- in Gul.

SA \*bal- “father-in-law”: Saho ballaa, Afar ballaa.

LEC \*Hobol- “relative”: Or obbolaa.

Metathesis and secondary labialization of vowels under the influence of \*-b-.

HEC \*beHil- “master” <sup>1</sup>, “friend” <sup>2</sup>: Sid biilo <sup>1</sup>, Bmb beeli <sup>2</sup>.

Vocalism may be archaic and reflecting \*baHil-.

183 \*ba<sup>ʕ</sup>ür- “bull”

Sem \*ba<sup>ʕ</sup>ir- “bull” <sup>1</sup>, “young bull” <sup>2</sup>, “camel” <sup>3</sup>, “ox” <sup>4</sup>: Akk būru <sup>1 2</sup>, Hbr bē<sup>ʕ</sup>ir <sup>1</sup>, Aram bē<sup>ʕ</sup>irā <sup>1</sup>, Arab ba<sup>ʕ</sup>ir- <sup>3</sup>, SAr b<sup>ʕ</sup>r <sup>3</sup>, Gz bə<sup>ʕ</sup>r-awi <sup>4</sup>, Tgr bə<sup>ʕ</sup>ar-ay <sup>4</sup>, Tgy bə<sup>ʕ</sup>aray <sup>4</sup>, Amh bäre <sup>4</sup>, Arg bara <sup>4</sup>, Hrr ba<sup>ʕ</sup>ara <sup>4</sup>, Gur bawra <sup>4</sup>, Soq be<sup>ʕ</sup>er <sup>3</sup>, Mhr beyr <sup>3</sup>.

WCh \*bar- “ram” <sup>1</sup>, “bull” <sup>2</sup>: Cagu barē-n <sup>1</sup>, Gera bara <sup>2</sup>.

CCh \*bar- “bull”: Bud baru.

ECh \*bur- < \*bVHur- “bull”: Mkk buru.

Bed be<sup>ʕ</sup>raay “bull”.

Derivative in \*-ay-.

Agaw \*bir- < \*bVHir- “bull”: Bil biiraa, Xmr biiraa, Xmt biraa, Kwr biira, Aun birii, Dam berii.

SA \*ba<sup>ʕ</sup>er- “bull”: Saho be<sup>ʕ</sup>er, Afar ba<sup>ʕ</sup>eraa.

HEC \*ba<sup>ʕ</sup>or- “oryx, bull”: Had baara, Kmb bora.

Omot \*bV<sup>ʕ</sup>or- “bull”: Ome booraa.

Omot \*o < HS \*ü.

Dhl ḥi<sup>ʕ</sup>ira “water-buck”.

Maybe related to Berb \*barar- “she-camel” (Zng ta-barār-t).

184 \*ba<sup>ʕ</sup>VL- “be able”

Sem \*bV<sup>ʕ</sup>VL- “rule, sway”: Hbr b<sup>ʕ</sup>l.

ECh \*baHVL- “can”: Lele ḥal, Kbl ḥal.

Cf. Rift \*bel- “be, become” (Kwz bel-)? Related to \*ba<sup>ʕ</sup>il- “man”. Sem may be a denominative.

## 185 \*bah[ü]l- “pit, well”

Berb \*baw[i]l- “pit (made in search of a well)”: Twl bawel.

From \*baH(w)il-??

ECh \*bal- “well”: Smr bəla, Tum bal, Ndam bal, Sok bal.

LEC \*bahol- “hole, pit, well”: Som bahol, bahul, Or booll.

HEC \*baHVL- “hole” <sup>1</sup>, “ravine” <sup>2</sup>, “precipice” <sup>3</sup>: Sid baallee <sup>1</sup>,

Had balle, ballee <sup>2</sup>, Kmb balliyaa <sup>3</sup>.

Wrz \*pVHol- “well”: Dob ḥoolle.

## 186 \*baḥal- “wild animal”

Sem \*bVḥVL- “fierce animal”: Aram (Pehl) bḥl.

LEC \*baḥal- “wild animal” <sup>1</sup>, “lion” <sup>2</sup>: Som bahal <sup>1</sup>, Rnd baḥaši <sup>2</sup>.

Rnd goes back to baḥal-ti with -š- < \*-lt-.

Cf. in CCh: Mnd ṽuḥula, Glv ṽuḥula “leopard” from ṽu-bVHVl-.

## 187 \*baḥar- “choose”

Sem \*bVḥVr- “choose”: Akk bēru, beḥēru, Hbr bḥr, Aram (Palest)

bēḥar, SAr bḥr.

ECh \*baHar- “choose”: Sbn ḥər, Lele bāar, Kera vere, Kwn pari.

## 188 \*baḥar-/baḥir- “cut, tear”

Sem \*bVḥar- “cultivate, cut (camel’s ear)”: Arab bḥr [-a-].

Berb \*bVHVr- “pinch and turn”: Kby βe<sup>ʕ</sup>er.

From Arab?

WCh \*baHar- “cut”: Tng ber, Gln ḥar-.

Dhl ḥiir- “cut grass, mow”.

Assimilation of vowels from \*baḥir-.

## 189 \*baḥ-/\*biḥ- ‘burn, be hot’

Eg *bḥḥ* ‘burn’ (reg).

Partial reduplication.

WCh \**baH-* ‘hot’: Paa *bubau*, Grn *baʔa*.

Partial reduplication in Paa. The root vowel may be secondary.

CCh \**bVH-bVH-* ‘hot’: Gbn *ḥeḥe*, Boka *ḥweḥwe*, Hwn *ḥiḥa-t*.

Reduplication with modified vocalism.

ECh \**biHwa-* ‘roast’: Mig *biyyu*, Sbn *ḥwə*.

Alternation \**a* ~ \**i*.

## 190 \*baḥül- ‘leg’

Berb \**baḥil-* ‘camel’s leg’: Izy *aḥil*.

CCh \**baHul-* ‘thigh’: Tera *boli*, Bnn *ḥala*, Masa *ḥala-mo*, M̄sg *bul*.

## 191 \*baḥuy- ‘be good’

Sem \**bVḥuy-* ‘be beautiful’: Arab *bḥy* [-*u*].

CCh \**bayVH-* ‘good’: Zime *ḥayʔ*.

Metathesis.

An alternative reconstruction is \**bayuḥ-*. Note Rift \**boʕ-* ‘better, superior’ (Alg *boʕ*) with a different laryngeal.

## 192 \*baHal- ‘horn’

WCh \**baHal-um-* ‘horn’: Mnt *bulu*, Grk *ḥəl*, Bol *ḥoolu-m*, Krk *ḥeelə-m*, Dera *ḥili*, Tng *ḥəl*, Ngm *ḥalu-m*, Maha *bele-m*, Glm *balu*.

ḥ- in several languages reflects a lost intervocalic laryngeal.

Note a suffix of body parts \*-*um-*.

Omot \**baHal-* ‘horn’: Dime *bal-tu*, Gll *baali*.

## 193 \*baHur- ‘thread, band’

CCh \**mV-bar-* ‘thread’: Masa *mbaro*.

Prefix \**mV-*. Note that in forms with prefixes, traces of laryngeals and contraction of -*VHV-* patterns are usually lost.

ECh \**baHur-* ‘thread’: Kwn *ba:ru*, Jegu *burre*.

SA \**bōr-* < \**bVHor-* ‘loin-cloth’<sup>1</sup>, ‘band’<sup>2</sup>: Saho *bor*<sup>1</sup>, Afar *booruu*<sup>1</sup>, *boor*<sup>2</sup>.

Omot \**būr-* < \**bVHur-* ‘belt’: Kaf *buuroo*, Mch *buro*.

## 194 \*bak- ‘squeeze, strike’

Sem \**buk-* ‘squeeze’<sup>1</sup>, ‘tear’<sup>2</sup>: Hbr *b(w)k*<sup>1</sup>, Arab *bkk* [-*u*]<sup>1 2</sup>.

Secondary \*-*u-*.

Berb \**bVḥ-* ‘strike, pound’: Tua *bakkat*.

Eg *bk* ‘kill (with a sword)’ (gr).

CCh \**bak-* ‘strike, beat’: Mnd *bak*.

SA \**bak-* ‘destroy’: Afar *bak*.

ECh \**ḥak-* < \**HV-bak-* ‘push’ (Bid *ḥak*) may be related to this root. Note also Dhl *ḥakk-eeḥ-* ‘kindle (fire)’ ← \* ‘strike’.

## 195 \*bakaʔ- ‘be pregnant’

Sem \**bVkaʔ-* ‘have little milk’: Arab *bkʔ* [-*a*].

Note an interesting semantic shift \* ‘be pregnant’ → ‘be unable to suckle a child’.

Eg *bkʔ* ‘become pregnant’ (MK).

SA \**bak-* ‘be born’: Saho *bak*, Afar *bak*.

A resultative derived from the main root.

LEC \**baʔak-* ‘not giving much milk’: Or *baakkuu*.

## 196 \*bakVr- ‘young animal’

Sem \**bakr-* ‘young camel’: Akk *bakru*, Hbr *beker*, Arab *bakr-*, SAR *bkr*, Mhr *bōker*, Shr *okrit*, Hss *bōker*.

Berb \**bVḥVr-* ‘lamb’<sup>1</sup>, ‘kid’<sup>2</sup>: Ayr *e-bakar*<sup>1</sup>, Ahg *e-bəkar*<sup>1</sup>, Twl *e-bakar*<sup>1</sup>, Sml *a-bukir*<sup>2</sup>.

## 197 \*baḥ- ‘insect’

Sem \**baḥḥ-* ‘midget’<sup>1</sup>, ‘bug’<sup>2</sup>: Akk *baqqu*<sup>1</sup>, Aram (Palest) *baqqā*<sup>2</sup>, Arab *baqq-*<sup>2</sup>, Hss *beḥḥet*<sup>2</sup>.

WCh \**baḥwa-/baḥya* ‘cockroach’<sup>1</sup>, ‘scorpion’<sup>2</sup>: Bks *buko*<sup>1</sup>, Fyer *ḥakya-n*<sup>2</sup>.

Note the shift of emphatization in Fyer: \**baḥya-* > *ḥakya-*.



## 198 \*baḱ- “baldness”

Berb \*baḱ- “hair disease”: Ahg *ta-haya*.

Agaw \*baḱ(u)- “baldness”<sup>1</sup>, “bald”<sup>2</sup>: Bil *baḱ<sup>w</sup>*<sup>1</sup>, Aun *boḵu*<sup>2</sup>.

SA \*baḱ- “bald spot”: Saho *bəka*, Afar *bəka*.

-ɔ- < \*-a- after a labial.

This root is probably reflected in Sem \*bahaḱ- “herpes; white patches on the skin” (Aram *buhq*-, Arab *bahaq*-, Gz *bōq*, Jib *bhəḱ*) with a secondary inlaut laryngeal.

## 199 \*baḱ- “pour, flow”

Sem \*buḱ- “pour out”<sup>1</sup>, “rain” (v.)<sup>2</sup>: Hbr *bqq*<sup>1</sup>, Arab *bqq* [-u-]<sup>2</sup>.

Secondary \*-u-.

Berb \*bVḱ- “soak”<sup>1</sup>, “contain (liquid)”<sup>2</sup>: Kby *əbbəy*<sup>1</sup>, Ahg *a-həy*<sup>2</sup>.

ECh \*ḥwak- < \*baḱ- “rain (v.)”<sup>1</sup>, “ooze”<sup>2</sup>: Mubi *ḥok*<sup>1</sup>, Bid *ḥok*<sup>2</sup>.

Note the shift of emphatization.

Agaw \*baḱw- “flow”: Kwr *boḱw*-, *bov*-.

Cf. derivatives in Kem *buk<sup>w</sup>-ana* “rain” (v.), Bil *bəḱw-ana* “cloud”.

LEC \*baḱ- “flow”: Or *baq*-.

## 200 \*baḱ- “cut, split”

Sem \*bVḱ- “split”: Arab *bqq*, Gz *bqq*.

WCh \*ḥak- < \*ba(Ha)ḱ- “cut”<sup>1</sup>, “split”<sup>2</sup>, “divide”<sup>3</sup>: Sura *ḥak*<sup>3</sup>, Ang *bak*<sup>1</sup>, Fyr *bak*<sup>2</sup>, Bks *ḥak*<sup>2</sup>.

Shift of emphatization.

CCh \*ḥak- < \*ba(Ha)ḱ- “cut”: Dgh *ḥaka*.

Shift of emphatization.

LEC \*baḱaḱ- “tear”: Or *baqaqa*.

Partial reduplication.

Wrz \*paḱ- “chop”: Gaw *paqq-as*-.

## 201 \*baḱ- “look, see”

Sem \*bVḱ- “examine”<sup>1</sup>, “look”<sup>2</sup>: Aram *bəqā*<sup>1</sup>, Arab *bqw* [-u-].

Various trilateral structures built on the basis of \*bVḱ-.

Eg *bɔḱ* “see, notice” (l).

Here, -ɔ- is a sign for a vowel.

WCh \*baḱ- “look for”: Bgh *bak*.

LEC \*beḱ- “observe”<sup>1</sup>, “know”<sup>2</sup>: Som *beeḱ*<sup>1</sup>, Or *beeka*<sup>2</sup>.

HEC \*be[ḱ]- “know”: Bmb *beeh*-, *beek*-.

Omot \*baḱ-/beḱ- “see”<sup>1</sup>, “know”<sup>2</sup>: Ome *biḱ*<sup>1</sup>, Kaf *beḱḱ*<sup>2</sup>,

Mch *baḱḱi*<sup>1</sup>, Anf *beḱ*<sup>1</sup>, Bwo *beḱ*<sup>1</sup>, Gim *beḱ*-, *bek*<sup>1</sup>.

Vocalism \*-e- is a Cush innovation.

## 202 \*baḱ-/buḱ- “run”

CCh \*baḱ- “drive”: Dgh *baka*, Mnd *ʾabaka*.

Berb \*bVḱVy- “hurry, hasten”: Kby *bbuqqi*.

Based on \*bVḱ-.

Eg *bḱ* “run” (pyr).

Agaw \*buḱ- “run away”: Aun *buk*-, *buk*-.

SA \*buk- “running away”: Saho *buka*, *bukaa*.

LEC \*baḱ- “run away”: Som *baqa-d*-, Or *baqa*, Arb *baqa-d*-.

HEC \*baḱ- “flee”: Dar *baḱ-at*-, Bmb *baḱa-d*-.

Alternation \*a ~ \*u. Probably, connected with Sem \*bVḱaḱ- “go away” (Arab *bqḱ* [-a-]).

## 203 \*baḱ-/buḱ- “gourd bottle”

Sem \*baḱ-būḱ- “bottle”: Hbr *baqbūq*, Aram (Syr) *bagbūgā*.

Reduplication.

WCh \*ku-bak- “clay gourd”: Gera *kubaako*.

Prefix \*ku-.

Agaw \*baḱw- “gourd bottle”: Xmr *baw*, *bawa*, Kem *bəywa*.

LEC \*buḱ- “gourd”: Or *buqe*.

HEC \*bukḱ- “gourd”: Dar *bukke*.

Irregular \*-kk-.

Omot \*bukḱ- “gourd”: Kaf *bukḱoo*, Mch *bukḱo*.

Alternation \*a ~ \*u.

## 204 \*bal- “eye, eyelid; blind”

Berb \*bVl- “eyelash”<sup>1</sup>, “eyelid”<sup>2</sup>: Sgr *a-blu*<sup>1</sup>, Mzab *a-bil*<sup>1</sup>,

Snus *a-bəl*<sup>2</sup>, Snh *abel*<sup>2</sup>.

Eg *br* “both eyes” (gr), Copt \*belle “blind”: Bhr *belle*, Shd *bolle*.

LEC \*ball- ‘‘one-eyed’’: Or *ballaa*.

HEC \*ball- ‘‘blind’’: Sid *ball-icca*, Dar *balla’a*, Bmb *balla’a*.

## 205 \*bal- ‘‘wing, feather’’

Sem \*nu-ball- ‘‘eagle’s feather’’: Akk *nuballu*.

Prefix \*nu- (probably, from \*mu-, see below).

SA \*bal- ‘‘feather’’: Afar *bal*.

LEC \*bal- ‘‘wing’’: Som *baal*, Or *baala*, Bay *baale*, Kon *balla*.

HEC \*ball- ‘‘feather’’: Sid *balle*, Had *balla’e*, Bmb *baalle*.

Omot \*bal- ‘‘feather’’: Kaf *baaloo*.

Probably, related to CCh \*mV-bal- ‘‘arm, shoulder’’ (Log *m-phala*, Gul *m-bala*) and WCh \*bV-bal- id. (Sura *bāl*, Ang *bāl*, Krk *bebalia*, Bks *bāl*). If this connection is valid, a form with a prefix \*mV- (dissimilated in Sem and assimilated in WCh) should be reconstructed.

## 206 \*bal- ‘‘cloud, sky’’

CCh \*bal- ‘‘sky’’<sup>1</sup>, ‘‘cloud’’<sup>2</sup>: Glv *balabala*<sup>1</sup>, Log *bəlukwi*<sup>2</sup>.

Suffix -*kwi* in Log. Reduplication in Glv.

Bed *bal* ‘‘cloud’’.

For the semantic development cf. Skt *nabhas-* ‘‘cloud’’ ~ Av *nabah-* ‘‘sky’’.

## 207 \*balag-/ \*balug- ‘‘shine’’

Sem \*bVlug- ‘‘shine’’<sup>1</sup>, ‘‘dawn’’ (v.)<sup>2</sup>: Hbr *blg*<sup>1</sup>, Arab *blg* [-u-]<sup>2</sup>.

LEC \*balag- ‘‘shine, sparkle’’: Or *balag*.

Cf. a deverbative in Som *bilig* ‘‘sparkling’’.

## 208 \*bala<sup>c</sup>- ‘‘eat, swallow’’

Sem \*bVla<sup>c</sup>- ‘‘swallow’’<sup>1</sup>, ‘‘eat’’<sup>2</sup>: Hbr *bl<sup>c</sup>*<sup>1</sup>, Aram (Mand) *bla*<sup>1</sup>, Arab *bl<sup>c</sup>* [-a-]<sup>1</sup>, Gz *bal<sup>c</sup>a*<sup>2</sup>, Tgr *bāl<sup>c</sup>a*<sup>2</sup>, Tgy *bāl<sup>c</sup>e*<sup>2</sup>, Amh *bälla*<sup>2</sup>, Hss *bōla*, Mhr *bōla*, Shh *bela<sup>c</sup>*.

Agaw \*balV<sup>c</sup>- ‘‘eat’’: Bil *bəl<sup>c</sup>*.

Agaw may be borrowed from Sem. Bil -ə- may reflect \*-a-.

## 209 \*balak- ‘‘stone’’

Sem \*balak- ‘‘marble’’<sup>1</sup>, ‘‘limestone’’<sup>2</sup>: Arab *balag*-<sup>1</sup>, SAr *blq*<sup>2</sup>, Gz *balag*-<sup>1</sup>.

WCh \*bVlak- ‘‘stone’’: Hs *ta-blaka*.

Unexpected non-emphatic \*k. Prefix \*ta-.

CCh \*palak- ‘‘stone’’: Lmn *palak*.

Irregular development of HS \*b- > CCh \*p-.

## 210 \*ban- ‘‘field’’

Eg *bn.t* ‘‘field’’ (n).

WCh \*hun- < \*Hu-ban- ‘‘field’’: Hs *hunā*, Sura *bon*.

Prefix \*Hu-. Cf. a partial reduplication in Bks *bibin* ‘‘garden’’.

LEC \*ban- ‘‘open space, plain’’: Som *ban*.

## 211 \*ban- ‘‘hand, arm’’

Sem \*bann- ‘‘finger’’: Arab *bann-*, *bunn-*.

WCh \*ban-H- ‘‘arm’’: Brm *baŋ-li*, Fyr *beŋ*.

A laryngeal suffix.

CCh \*bin- ‘‘arm’’: Tera *bən*, Jara *binna*.

Vocalism is not clear.

## 212 \*ban- ‘‘open’’

WCh \*ban- ‘‘open, uncover’’: Hs *banye*.

CCh \*ban-H-/\*byan-H- ‘‘open’’: Mofu *baŋ*, *beŋ*.

ECh \*bVn-H- ‘‘open’’: Kera *biŋi*.

LEC \*ban- ‘‘open’’: Or *bana*.

Alternation \*a ~ \*i. A laryngeal suffix in CCh and ECh.

## 213 \*bar- ‘‘child’’

Sem \*bar- ‘‘son’’: Aram *bar*, SAr *brw*, Shh *ber*, Mhr *ber*, Soq *bar*, Hss *ber*.

Berb \*barar- ‘‘son’’: Ayr *a-barar*, Ahg *a-burir*, Twl *barar*.

Partial reduplication. Irregular vocalism in Ahg.

WCh \*bar-/\*byar- ‘‘young girl’’<sup>1</sup>, ‘‘child’’<sup>2</sup>: Hs *bēra*<sup>1</sup>, Ang *par*<sup>2</sup>,

Glm *baryawa*<sup>1</sup>.

Hs indicates \*e in the 1st syllable.

## 214 \*bar- “man”

WCh *\*(mV-)bar-* “person”: Glm *mbər* (pl.), Gera *bar-mi*, Zul *mbar-me*, Geji *mbali-ŋ*, Paa *m-barə-ŋ*, Mbu *bar-gi*.

Cf. Hs *bārē* “stranger”, Paa *mbarə-ŋ* id.

CCh *\*-bwar-* “man, person”: Gis *mburo*, Bch *ɸwara*.

Secondary labialization of the root vowel. Individual forms contain prefixes *\*mV-* and *\*HV-*.

ECh *\*bar-* “man, person”: Gbr *barua*, Dor *bara*, Ndam *bər*.

SA *\*bar-* “man”: Afar *barra*.

Related to *\*bar-* “child” (cf. “human being” = “human child” in early Near and Middle Eastern traditions)?

## 215 \*bar- “take”

Berb *\*bVr-* “take (in handfuls)”: Tua *a-bər*.

CCh *\*mV-bwar-* “seize, grasp”: Suk *mbwəř*.

*\*-wa-* may be explained by the influence of the preceding labial consonant.

Bed *bari* “get, collect, have”.

SA *\*bar-* “grasp, hold”: Saho *bar-*.

## 216 \*bar- “clean, wash”

Sem *\*bVr-* “(be) clean”: Ug *brr*, Hbr *brr*, Aram (Palest) *b<sup>e</sup>rar*, Gz *brr*.

CCh *\*bar-* “wash”: Glv *bar-*, Mnd *bara-*.

Cf. also *\*mV-bar-*, *\*a-bar-* “cleanliness”: Tera *m-bari*, Mnd *abbara*.

## 217 \*bar- “antelope”

Berb *\*bVrVy-* “young antelope”: Ahg *e-bərəy*.

Formation in *\*-ay-*.

WCh *\*bar-* “gazelle”: Hs *barēwā*.

Cf. partial reduplication *\*ba-bar-* “gazelle”: Paa *babar*, Siri *babari*.

Probably related to LEC *\*baʔir-* “antelope” (Som *bair*) and Rift *\*baʔur-* id. (Bur *baʔuru*).

## 218 \*bar- “ditch”

Berb *\*bar-* “ditch”: Ghd *a-βar*.

Cf. reduplicated Mzab *burbur* “underground irrigation channel”.

HEC *\*bar-* “ditch”: Had *bare*.

## 219 \*bar- “fly” (v.)

Eg *bhʃ* “fly” (MK).

Goes back to *\*bahar-*, a triliteral stem built upon original *\*bar-*.

CCh *\*bar-* “fly, jump”: Msg *bara*.

ECh *\*bVr-* “fly”: Kwn *bre*.

Agaw *\*birir-* “fly”: Aun *berer-əŋ*.

Partial reduplication. Note the modified vocalism.

LEC *\*bar-* “fly”: Or *barr-isa*, *barara*.

Partial reduplication in *barara*.

## 220 \*bar- “wind”

Sem *\*bāriḥ-* “hot wind”: Arab *bāriḥ-*.

Based on *\*bar-?*

CCh *\*baraw-* “wind”: Mba *baraw-ay*.

Cf. partial reduplication in Msg *bebēr*.

ECh *\*ka-bar-* “wind”: Kera *ka-bar*.

Prefix *\*ka-*.

## 221 \*bar- “beast of prey”

Sem *\*bar-bar-* “wolf”: Akk *barbaru*.

Reduplication.

Eg *bʃ* “panther” (MK).

WCh *\*bar-* “hyaena”: Hs *bārū*.

## 222 \*bar- “see”

Sem *\*bVr-* “see, examine”: Akk *barū*, Arab *bry* [-i-]. Jib *ebrrer*.

Various triliteral derivatives of the original root.

Eg *br* “see” (gr).

CCh *\*bur-* “remember”: Bch *bur-ina*.

The root vowel is irregular.

SA \**bar*- ‘learn’: Afar *bar*.  
 LEC \**bar*- ‘learn’: Som *baro*.  
 Dhl *ḥar*- ‘know’.

### 223 \**bar*-/\**bur*- ‘morning’

ECh \**bur*- ‘morning’: Ndm *huri*, Mubi *burburu*.  
 SA \**ber*- ‘morning’: Saho *beeraa*, Afar *beeraa*.  
 The root vowel is irregular. Cf. also SA \**bar*- ‘night’: Saho *baar*, Afar *baar*.  
 LEC \**bar*- ‘dawn, morning’: Som *bārii*, Or *barii*, Arb *barri*.  
 HEC \**bar*- ‘day’: Bmb *barra*, Kmb *barra*.  
 Dhl *ḥurra* ‘morning’.

Alternation \**a* ~ \**u*.

### 224 \**bar*-/\**bur*- ‘grain, cereal’

Sem \**barr*-/\**burr*- ‘cereal’<sup>1</sup>, ‘wheat’<sup>2</sup>: Akk *burru*<sup>1</sup>, Hbr *bar*, *bār*<sup>1</sup>, Arab *burr*-<sup>2</sup>, SAr *br*<sup>2</sup>, Soq *bor*<sup>2</sup>, Mhr *barr*<sup>2</sup>, Shr *barr*<sup>2</sup>.  
 Berb \**bVr*- ‘flour’<sup>1</sup>, ‘sorghum’<sup>2</sup>, ‘bread’<sup>3</sup>: Ghd *a-βar-ən*<sup>1</sup>,  
 Awj *əβr-ūn*<sup>2</sup>, Ayr *a-bora*<sup>2</sup>, Ahg *a-bōra*<sup>2</sup>, Twl *a-bōra*<sup>2</sup>, Zng *būru*<sup>3</sup>.  
 WCh \**bar*-/\**bur*- ‘kind of flour’<sup>1</sup>, ‘gruel’<sup>2</sup>: Hs *buri*, *biri*<sup>1</sup>, Ngz *barbari*<sup>2</sup>.

Hs *biri* < *buri* with assimilation of vowels. Reduplication in Ngz.

ECh \**bar*-/\**bur*- ‘flour’<sup>1</sup>, ‘kind of millet’<sup>2</sup>: Smr *bura*<sup>1</sup>, Tum *bař*<sup>1</sup>, Kbl *ku-bəra*<sup>1</sup>, Lele *ku-bra*<sup>2</sup>.

A derivative in \**ku*- in Kbl and Lele.

Agaw \**bur*- ‘groats’: Xmr *bura*.  
 LEC \**bur*- ‘wheat’: Som *bur*.  
 Dhl *ḥuru* ‘maize’.  
 Rift \**bar*- ‘grain’: Bur *baru*.

Alternation \**a* ~ \**u*.

### 225 \**bara*<sup>2</sup>- ‘recover’

Sem \**bVra*<sup>2</sup>- ‘recover’: Hbr *br*<sup>2</sup>, Arab *br*<sup>2</sup> [-*a*].  
 Cf. also SAr *bry* ‘health’.  
 WCh \**ṽbar*- ‘recover’: Sura *bar*, Ang *bār*, Chip *bar*.

Metathesis. The voiced anlaut corroborates the loss of the prefix.

An alternative reconstruction is HS \**abar*-.

### 226 \**baraḵ*- ‘lightning’

Sem \**barḵ*- ‘lightning’: Akk *berq*-, *birq*-, Ug *brq*, Hbr *bārāq*, Aram (Syr) *barqō*, Arab *barq*-, SAr *brq*, Shr *berq*, Mhr *bōreq*, Tgr *bārḡ*, Tgy *bārḡi*.

CCh \**baraḵ*- ‘lightning’: Log *barak*.

HEC \**baraḵ*- ‘lightning’: Sid *baṅko*, *birako*, Dar *balaka*, Kmb *baṅku-ta*.

Irregular changes of \*-*r*- in the cluster \*-*rḵ*-.

Related to \**bariḵ*- ‘shine’. A parallel formation \**birik*- ‘lightning’ seems to be preserved in Dhl *birik’ina* id., Agaw \**birVḵ*- id. (Xmr *birqa*).

### 227 \**baraḵ*- ‘ram, goat, calf’

Sem \**baraḵ*- ‘ram’: Arab *baraq*-.

Berb \**barak*- ‘calf’<sup>1</sup>, ‘cattle’<sup>2</sup>: Ahg *a-bərk-aw*<sup>1</sup>, Gua *a-barak-i*<sup>2</sup>.

Irregular \*-*k*-.

WCh \**barVḵ*- ‘goat’: Bol *barke*.

ECh \**birVḵ*- ‘bull’: Bid *birki*.

Unexpected front vowel.

### 228 \**baraw*-/\**baray*- ‘stick, arrow’

Berb \**buray*- ‘stick’: Ayr *ə-boray*, Ghd *ta-buri-t*, Ghat *ta-buray-t*, Ahg *tə-buri-t*.

Secondary \*-*u*- after a labial.

Eg *bry* ‘sticks, canes’ (n).

WCh \**mV-bar*- ‘arrow’: Zaar *mbara*, Zak *mbara*.

Prefix \**mV*-.

CCh \**baraw*- ‘arrow, bow’: Msg *barau*, Masa *ḥaraw-ta*.

ECh \**a-bawar*- ‘arrow’: Kera *aḥōro*.

Metathesis. Note prefix \**a*-.

Note the consonantal alteration \*-*w*- ~ \*-*y*-.

## 229 \*baraw-/\*baray- “equid”

ECh \*baraw-/\*baray- “horse”: Dng *boora*, Mig *borow*, Brg *booray*.

Metathesis in Dng.

Omot \*baray- “mare”: Kaf *baraayee*, Mch *baaraye*.

Consonantal alternation \*-w- ~ \*-y-. Cf. CCh \*bwar- “donkey” (Log *mbūri*, Kus *bori*, Afd *boro*) and ECh \*bur- id. (Mkk *buuru*).

## 230 \*barih- “run, go”

Sem \*bVrih- “leave”<sup>1</sup>, “run away”<sup>2</sup>, “run in awe”<sup>3</sup>: Phn *brh*<sup>1 2</sup>, Pun *brh*<sup>1 2</sup>, Hbr *brh*<sup>2</sup>, Aram (Palest) *b<sup>e</sup>rah*<sup>2</sup>, Arab *brh*<sup>1</sup> [-a-], Amh *bārāyyā*<sup>3</sup>.

Sem \*i of the second syllable is typical of *verba movendi*.

WCh \*HVbar- “escape”<sup>1</sup>, “go out”<sup>2</sup>, “return”<sup>3</sup>: Ang *bar*<sup>1</sup>, Tng *bar*<sup>2</sup>, Gera *bōrə*<sup>3</sup>, Glm *bar*<sup>3</sup>, Wrj *var*<sup>2</sup>.

Metathesis.

ECh \*bir- < \*barya- “go”: Dng *birē*, *bire*.

Dhl *bariy*- “go out, depart”.

From \*bariH-?

## 231 \*barik- “shine, be bright”

Sem \*bVrik- “shine (of lightning)”: Akk *barāqu*, Aram *b<sup>e</sup>rēq*, *b<sup>e</sup>raq*, Arab *brq* [-i-], Gz *brq*, Amh *bārrāqā*.

Eg *bṣk* “be light, be bright” (pyr).

Omot \*/bJarik- “shine”: Mch *ṣariqq(i)*-.

Secondary *ṣ*- < \*b- influenced by \*k?

The present root may be further related to \*bar-/\*bur- “morning”.

## 232 \*barod- “beast of prey”

Sem \*barad-/\*barud- “leopard”: Hbr *bārōd*, *bārūd*, Arab *ʾabrad*-.

\*b- corresponds to WCh \*b-. Note a secondary formation in Arab.

WCh \*bwadar- “zorylla”: Hs *bōdārī*, *būdārī*.

Metathesis.

LEC \*marod- “elephant”<sup>1</sup>, “lion”<sup>2</sup>: Som *maroodi*<sup>1</sup>, Or *marode*<sup>2</sup>.

Irregular \*m-.

Derived from \*bar- “beast of prey”.

233 \*barV<sup>c</sup>- “give”

Sem \*bVrV<sup>c</sup>- “give, yield”: Arab *br<sup>c</sup>*.

WCh \*bar- “give”: Hs *bā*, Ank *pe*, Bol *bar*, Krk *bar*, Ngm *bar*, Krf *bar*, Gera *bar*, Glm *bar*, Pol *bu*-, *bi*-, Geji *bəl*, Brw *bar*, *bə*, Say *ḥər*, Grn *bər*, *bur*, Ngz *baru*.

CCh \*bar-/\*bir- “give”: Tera *vəri*, Dgh *bire*, Gdf *bar*.

ECh \*baHir- “give”: Dng *bere*, Mig *biraw*, Jegu *bir*, Bid *bere-n*, Mubi *bāra*, Brg *biri*.

Metathesis of the laryngeal.

## 234 \*barVt- “boy”

Berb \*baraṭ- “boy”: Ghat *a-barad*.

Dhl *ḥooreṭe* “boy”.

Derived from \*bar- “child”.

## 235 \*bas- “cut”

Berb \*bVwVs- “be cut, be wounded”: Ayr *busu*, Ahg *buis*.

Based on the original \*bVs-.

WCh \*bas- “cut off”: Bol *bas*-.

CCh \*bas- “break”: Masa *bas*.

Agaw \*bas- “cut (skin)”: Xmr *bas*-.

Omot \*bas- “slaughter”: Kaf *baš*-, Anf *baš*-.

## 236 \*bas- “apron”

Eg *bsṣw* “apron” (MK).

Going back to \*bVsaw-.

CCh \*bas-ay- “apron”<sup>1</sup>, “loin-cloth”<sup>2</sup>: Gis *basay*<sup>1</sup>, Bch *basey*<sup>2</sup>.

If not \*ba-say-.

## 237 \*bas- “walk”

Sem \*būš- “go away”<sup>1</sup>, “trample”<sup>2</sup>: Akk *bēšu*<sup>1</sup>, Hbr *bwš*<sup>2</sup>.

Extension of the original *\*bVš-*.

CCh *\*mV-ba[s]-* ‘enter’: Mofu *mbəz-*, *mbaz-*.

A secondary voiced in Mofu? Prefix *\*mV-*.

ECh *\*bas-* ‘come’: Mobu *bəse*, Ndam *basi*.

### 238 *\*bas-* ‘live, beget’

Sem *\*bVšVy-* ‘be, exist’: Akk *bašū*, Phn *bšy*.

Based on the original *\*bVš-*.

Agaw *\*bas-* ‘beget’: Kem *baas*.

An ancient causative?

### 239 *\*bat-* ‘move’

Sem *\*bVl-* ‘go away’<sup>1</sup>, ‘go quickly’<sup>2</sup>: Arab *btt*<sup>1</sup>, Tgr *bättä*<sup>2</sup>.

WCh *\*bwat-* ‘accompany’: Ang *bwot*.

Secondary labialization of the vowel?

ECh *\*bat-* ‘return’: Tum *bād*.

### 240 *\*bat-/\*bit-* ‘cut’

Sem *\*bit-/\*but-* ‘cut off, break off’: Arab *btl* [-*u-*, -*i-*].

*u*-vocalism is secondary.

Berb *\*bVt-* ‘cut off, chop off’: Ahg *ə-bət*, Ayr *ə- bət*.

ECh *\*bit-* ‘strike’: Bid *bit*.

Alternation *\*a* ~ *\*i*. Cf. *\*baṭ-* ‘pierce, cut’.

### 241 *\*baṭ-* ‘pierce, cut’

Sem *\*buṭ-* ‘split, pierce’<sup>1</sup>, ‘be split’<sup>2</sup>: Arab *bṭṭ* [-*u-*]<sup>1</sup>, Jib *boṭṭəṭ*<sup>2</sup>.

Secondary *\*-u-*.

Berb *\*bVt-* ‘pierce’<sup>1</sup>, ‘divide’<sup>2</sup>: Ahg *əbəd*<sup>1 2</sup>, Twl *ibdu*<sup>2</sup>, Sml *ibdu*<sup>1</sup>, Ntf *bəḍḍa*<sup>1</sup>, Izd *bdu*<sup>1</sup>, Izy *bdu*<sup>1</sup>, Snus *bəḍḍa*<sup>1</sup>, Izn *ebda*<sup>2</sup>, Kby *əβdu*<sup>1</sup>.

WCh *\*ḡat-* < *\*baṭ-* ‘cut’: Bol *ḡot-*, Ngm *ḡat-*, Gera *ḡad-*.

Note the shift of emphatization.

LEC *\*baṭ-* ‘part; divide’: Som *baḍ-*.

### 242 *\*baṭ-* ‘speak’

Sem *\*bVt-* ‘chat’: Ug *tbṭ*, Hbr *bṭy*, *bṭ?*.

Various derivatives of the biliteral root.

WCh *\*baṭ-/\*bayat-* ‘speaking, speak’: Krf *baati*, Fyr *beet*. *\*bayat-* seems to be a secondary extension of *\*baṭ-*.

CCh *\*mV-baṭ-/\*mV-biṭ-* ‘answer, speak’: Gis *mbiḍ*, *mbəḍ-*, *bubəḍ-*, Mofu *babaḍ-*, *mbaḍ*.

Omot *\*yibat-* ‘speak’: Kaf *yibat-*.

Prefix *\*yV-* and irregular *\*t* < HS *\*ṭ*. Metathesis?

### 243 *\*baw-/\*bay-* ‘water’

Berb *\*bVw-bVw-* ‘water’: Sgh *bbubbu*.

Reduplication.

WCh *\*bay-* ‘watering of horses’: Hs *bai*, *bāyī*.

CCh *\*baʔi-* ‘water’: Nza *mbii*, *bii*, *mbiʔi*, Bata *mboy*, *bōye*.

Bata -*o-* < *\*-a-* after a labial.

LEC *\*baw-* ‘lake’: Arb *baww*.

Rift *\*boʔ-* ‘dew’: Kwz *boʔ-uto*.

From *\*baw-?*

Consonantal alternation *\*-w-* ~ *\*-y-*.

### 244 *\*baw-/\*bay-* ‘place, house’

Berb *\*bVw-* ‘enclosure’: Ayr *ə-biwa*, Twl *ə-biwa*.

Eg *bw* ‘place’ (pyr).

WCh *\*bayi-* ‘place’<sup>1</sup>, ‘village’<sup>2</sup>, ‘hut’<sup>3</sup>: Sura *pε*:<sup>1</sup>, Ang *pi*<sup>1</sup>, Mnt *bi*<sup>1</sup>, Ank *bē*<sup>1</sup>, Bol *beyi*<sup>1</sup>, Krk *biyi*<sup>1</sup>, Gera *bi*<sup>1</sup>, Zak *bayi*<sup>2</sup>, Geji *bi*<sup>3</sup>, Ngm *beʔi*<sup>1</sup>, *bi*<sup>3</sup>.

CCh *\*baw-* ‘place, house’<sup>1</sup>, ‘yard’<sup>2</sup>: Bura *vi*<sup>1</sup>, Boka *bi-ta*<sup>1</sup>, Ngw *mbwə*<sup>1</sup>, Wmd *mbwa*<sup>1</sup>, Mofu *mbaw*<sup>2</sup>, Log *mba*<sup>1</sup>.

The variant *\*bi-* in Boka may be a result of the morphonological development of *\*bay-*.

ECh *\*ba-* ‘place’: Sok *ba*.

From *\*baʔ-*?

HEC *\*bay-* ‘place’: Sid *bay-*, *baʔa*, Had *beeyo*, Kmb *bee-ccu*.

Had and Kmb -*ee-* < *\*-a-* before *\*-y-*.

Consonantal alternation *\*-w-* ~ *\*-y-*. Related to *\*bay-* ‘build’ and *\*bayit-* ‘house’.

## 245 \*bawal- ‘‘urinate, flow’’

Sem \*būl- ‘‘urinate’’: Arab *bwl* [-u-].

ECh \*bawal- ‘‘overflow’’: Bid *bolol*.

Partial reduplication.

## 246 \*bawar- ‘‘lion, hyaena’’

Berb \*b(V)war- ‘‘lion’’: Nfs *wār*, Ght *ä-ḥər*, Ayr *a-har*, Twl *a-har*, Zng *war*.

Note Berb \*b- > \*β.

WCh \*bVwar- ‘‘lion’’<sup>1</sup>, ‘‘hyaena’’<sup>2</sup>: Sura *mbɔ:r*<sup>1</sup>, Ang *bwār*<sup>1</sup>, Pol *bwər*<sup>2</sup>, Fyr *mbwār*<sup>1</sup>.

CCh \*bVwVr- ‘‘lion’’: Gid *bōlu*.

Cf. Gis *mo-bor* ‘‘lion’’, Mofu *ma-bar* ‘‘panther’’.

ECh \*b[a]w[a]r- ‘‘hyaena’’: Dng *boori*, Mig *booru*, Mubi *bōri*.

LEC \*warab- ‘‘hyaena’’: Som *warab*, Or *warab-esa*, Rnd *waraba*.

Metathesis.

Wrz \*warap- ‘‘hyaena’’: Gaw *oraap-atte*, Hss *araap-icce*, Dob *araap-acce*, Gll *oraap-atte*.

Metathesis.

Dhl *ḥoora* ‘‘dangerous animal’’.

From \*bawar-?

Cf. \*bar- ‘‘beast of prey’’.

## 247 \*bawVd- ‘‘sorcerer’’

WCh \*bad- ‘‘sorcerer’’: Ngz *badə-ra*.

Frow \*bawad-?

Agaw \*bawVd- ‘‘witch-doctor’’<sup>1</sup>, ‘‘werewolf’’<sup>2</sup>: Bil *bawda*<sup>1 2</sup>, Xmr *buda*<sup>1 2</sup>, Kem *buda*<sup>1</sup>.

Contraction in Xmr and Kem.

SA \*bud- < \*bVwVd- ‘‘witch-doctor’’: Afar *buda*.

LEC \*bawVd- ‘‘witch-doctor’’: Som *bida*, Or *bawda*.

Som is irregular.

HEC \*bud- ‘‘who has evil eye’’: Sid *bud-akko*, Dar *buda*, Bmb *buda*.

Omot \*bud- < \*bVwVd- ‘‘witch-doctor’’: Kaf *budo*, Bwo *budo*.

## 248 \*bawVḲ- ‘‘drop’’ (n.)

Sem \*bawḲ- ‘‘shower’’: Arab *bawq*.

Agaw \*buḲ- < \*bVwVḲ- ‘‘drops’’ (pl.): Bil *boḲw*.

## 249 \*bawVn- ‘‘rope, band’’

Berb \*baw(V)n- ‘‘leather sack with strings’’: Ahg *a-bawn*.

Eg *wbn* ‘‘band (on mummy’s forehead)’’.

Metathesis.

ECh \*bwan- ‘‘rape’’: Mkk *bonne*. From \*bawan-.

Related to \*ben- ‘‘tie’’. Note consonantal alternation \*-w- ~ \*-y- (in \*ben-).

## 250 \*bay- ‘‘chief, king’’

Eg *by.ty* ‘‘king of the Lower Egypt’’ (OK).

CCh \*bay- ‘‘chief’’: Mofu *bay*, Gis *boy*, Bld *aboy*, Mtk *bay*, Mafa *boy*, Daba *ḥay*, Mus *bay*.

## 251 \*bay- ‘‘back, hump’’

Berb \*ʔu-bay- ‘‘camel’s hump’’: Ghat *t-uhī*, Ayr *t-uhəy*, Ahg *t-uhə*, Twl *t-uhəy*, Sml *ta-yyu*.

Prefix \*ʔu-. Note Berb \*b- > \*β-.

Eg *byʔ.t* ‘‘head, occiput, beard, breast, back’’ (n).

-ʔ is a sign for a vowel. The meaning is uncertain.

WCh \*bay- ‘‘back’’: Hs *bāyā*, Bol *boy*, Krk *bai*, Ngm *be*, Maha *boy*, Glm *bi*.

## 252 \*bay- ‘‘build’’

CCh \*bV- ‘‘build’’: Lmn *b-*.

ECh \*bay- ‘‘build’’: Smr *bi*, Kwn *bay*, Mobu *baye*.

Archaic verb preserved outside Chadic in a derivative \*bayit- ‘‘house’’.

## 253 \*bayit- ‘‘house’’

Sem \*bayt- ‘‘house’’: Akk *bītu*, *bētu*, Ug *bt*, Phn *bt*, *byt*, Pun *bt*, Moab *bt*, Hbr *bayit*, Aram (Palest) *baytā*, *betā*, (Nab, Palm) *byt*, Arab *bayt*-, SAr *byt*, Gz *bet*, Tgr *bet*, Tgy *bet*, Amh *bēt*, Gog *bet*, Mhr *bayt*, Shr *but*, Jib *bet*, Soq *beyt*.

WCh \*bit- < \*bYit- ‘‘hut, shelter’’: Sura *bit*, Mpn *bit*.

Cf. Zgh *bat-iwe* ‘‘hut’’ < \*bayVt-? Derived from HS \*bay- ‘‘build’’.

254 \*bayV<sup>c</sup>- ‘‘sell’’

Sem \*bī<sup>c</sup>- ‘‘sell’’: Arab *by<sup>c</sup>* [-i-].

WCh \*bay- ‘‘trade’’<sup>1</sup>, ‘‘sell’’<sup>2</sup>: Tng *paya*<sup>1</sup>, Krf *bayi*<sup>2</sup>, Glm *baya*-<sup>2</sup>.

Complete loss of the auslaut laryngeal.

Rift \*be<sup>2</sup>- ‘‘buy, sell’’: Kwz *be<sup>2</sup>*-.

Irregular \*-<sup>2</sup>-.

## 255 \*ba3- ‘‘tear off, skin’’

Sem \*buz- ‘‘tear off’’: Hbr *bzz*, Arab *bzz* [-u-].

Secondary \*-u-.

WCh \*HV-ba3- ‘‘skin’’ (v.): Paa *huzu*, Jmb *vaz*.

A laryngeal prefix. Assimilation of vowels in Paa.

## 256 \*ba3- ‘‘flow, be wet’’

Berb \*bV3- ‘‘be wet’’<sup>1</sup>, ‘‘pour’’<sup>2</sup>: Sha *bzi*<sup>1</sup>, Kby *βezze<sup>c</sup>*<sup>2</sup>.

Cf. a derivative with suffix \*-g- in Izy *bzeg* ‘‘be wet’’.

Eg *bzy* ‘‘flow out, sprinkle’’ (MK).

-y is a suffix.

WCh \*ba3- ‘‘spit’’: Ngz *baz-iyu*.

## 257 \*ba3ar- ‘‘be torn, be peeled’’

Berb \*bV3Vr- ‘‘be peeled’’: Ghd *βzər*.

WCh \*ba3ar- ‘‘related to torn (clothes)’’ (adv.): Hs *bazar-bazar*.

Derived from \*ba3- ‘‘tear off, skin’’.

## 258 \*bel- ‘‘blood’’

WCh \*Vbyal- ‘‘vein’’: Ank *vel*.

Prefix implied by the anlaut in Ank.

CCh \*byal- ‘‘blood’’: Gid *bēli*.

Cf. Msg *fel* id., Mba *fal* id.

Agaw \*bill- ‘‘blood’’: Bil *bir*, Xmr *bir*, Xmt *bera*, Kwr *bir*, Dmb *bir*,

Kem *birr*, Aun *beri*, Dmt *beri*.

SA \*bil- ‘‘blood’’: Saho *biilo*, Afar *bil*.

## 259 \*bel- ‘‘weapon’’

WCh \*HVbyal- ‘‘arrow’’: Kr *ḫelu*.

A laryngeal prefix.

ECh \*byal- ‘‘axe’’<sup>1</sup>, ‘‘knife’’<sup>2</sup>: Mig *bo:la*<sup>1</sup>, Smr *bela*<sup>2</sup>.

LEC \*bil- ‘‘knife’’: Or *billaa*.

HEC \*bil- ‘‘knife’’: Kmb *billawwa*.

## 260 \*belal- ‘‘rivulet’’

CCh \*byalal- ‘‘rivulet’’: Gul *belle*.

In this case, the vowel is reconstructed in the second syllable as a single possibility in which the first syllable is not influenced.

ECh \*byalal- ‘‘rivulet’’: Smr *bellali*.

Archaic reduplicative root widely preserved in derivatives, cf. \*bolan- ‘‘rain, cloud’’. The original form of the root was \*bVL- as it is continued in ECh \*byal- ‘‘pond’’: Mubi *bēli*. See also \*bol- ‘‘flow, be wet’’.

## 261 \*ben- ‘‘build’’

Sem \*bVn- ‘‘build’’: Akk *banū*, Ug *bny*, *bnw*, Phn *bny*, Pun *bn<sup>2</sup>*, *bny*, Amor *bny*, Moab *bny*, Hbr *bny*, OAram *bny*, Aram (Emp, Nab) *bnh*, *bn<sup>2</sup>*, (Palm) *bn<sup>2</sup>*, (Mand) *bnā*, Arab *bny* [-i-], SAr *bny*, Mhr *benū*, Jib *bene*, Soq *bene*.

Various trilateral formations based on \*bVn-.

Berb \*bVn- ‘‘build’’: Ghd *ə-bni*, Sml *bənnā*, Izy *bnu*, Ntf *bnu*, Izd *bnu*, Izr *ə-bnu*, Snus *ə-βnu*, Sha *ə-bna*, Kby *ə-βnu*, Lib *bny*.

Manifested in individual languages as \*bVnVy- or \*bVnVw-.

ECh \*byani(H)- ‘‘build’’: Kwn *baṇ*, Mubi *bēni*.



Kwn may reflect a secondary formation *\*byani*<sup>2</sup>- similar to those of Sem and Berb.

## 262 \*ben- “tie”

Berb *\*bVn*- “tie”: Ghd *aβən*, Ahg *ahən*.

Note Berb *\*b*- > *\*β*-.

CCh *\*byan*- “tie”: Log *hən*, *bən*, Bud *pēnai*, *fanai*.

Log *β*- may reflect a possible laryngeal prefix.

## 263 \*ben- “be bad”

Eg *byn* “bad, angry” (OK), Copt *\*bōʾōn* id.: Boh *bōn*, Shd *bōon*.

Inlaut -y- seems to be a sign for vowel.

WCh *\*ban*- < *\*byana*- “wrath”<sup>1</sup>, “bad”<sup>2</sup>: Tng *bana*<sup>1</sup>, Wrj *embəna*<sup>2</sup>.

ECh *\*byan*- “bad”: Sok *benā*.

Agaw *\*bin*- “lie” (n.): Bil *bin*.

LEC *\*ben*- “lie” (n.): Arb *been*.

## 264 \*ben- “building”

Berb *\*byan*- “tent, house”: Ghat (ə)-*yan-an*, Ayr *e-hən*, Ahg *ə-hən*, Twl *e-hən*, Tsl *e-hən*, Lib *bn*.

Note Berb *\*b*- > *\*β*-.

Eg *bnbn* “stela” (MK).

Reduplication.

WCh *\*byani(H)*- “upper floor”<sup>1</sup>, “hut”<sup>2</sup>: Hs *bēnē*<sup>1</sup>, Grk *pīn*<sup>2</sup>, Ank *pīn*<sup>2</sup>, Krk *ben*<sup>2</sup>, Bele *bin*<sup>2</sup>, Geji *biḡ*<sup>2</sup>, Pol *biḡ*<sup>2</sup>.

CCh *\*binVH*- “hut”: Glv *veḡ*, Nak *vine*, Gis *veḡ*, Bld *viḡ*, Gudu *vīn*, Nza *vine*, Bch *vuney*, Bata *vino*, Log *vəni*, Suk *bīna*.

ECh *\*byaHin*- “hut”: Mig *beḡ*, Mkk *biino*, Bid *beena*.

A nominal formation corresponding to *\*ben*- “build”. WCh and CCh forms contain *C*<sup>3</sup> = -H-. The latter may be a result of the Common Chadic development and not necessarily leads to the HS reconstruction of *\*beniH*-.

## 265 \*ber- “cereal”

Eg *brry* “bread” (n).

-rr- may mean a partial reduplication or an orthographic peculiarity. In any case, -y stands for a vowel (of the first syllable?).

CCh *\*ba-byar*- “maize”: Log *bāberā*.

Partial reduplication.

Omot *\*bar*- “maize”: Mch *baaro*, Anf *baro*.

Omot *\*a* < HS *\*e* in certain conditions?

## 266 \*ber- “cut”

Sem *\*bVrVʾ*- “cut, cut down”: Hbr *brʾ*, Arab *brʾ*.

Based on original *\*bVr*-.

Berb *\*bVrVy*- “cut”: Sml *bri*.

Based on original *\*bVr*-.

CCh *\*byar*- “cut off”: Tng *ber*.

Dhl *ḥiir*- “cut grass, mow”.

## 267 \*ber- “mouse”

Sem *\*birr*- “mouse, rat”: Arab *birr*-.

Berb *\*bVr(r)*- “pole-cat”: Sml *a-bərr-ān*.

ECh *\*byar*- “mouse, rat”: Smr *dē-bere*, Tum *bə:r-āḡ*.

Prefix in Smr.

## 268 \*bez- “sun, day”

Eg *bzy* “Sun-god” (reg).

-y stands for a front vowel.

CCh *\*byaḡ*- “day”: Msg *bezā*.

Rift *\*bes*- “sunlight”: Kwz *bes-iko*.

Continuants of *\*ʒ* in Rift are not established. The present example may be decisive.

## 269 \*bezar- “corn”

Sem *\*bizr*- “seed”<sup>1</sup>, “peppers”<sup>2</sup>: Aram (Pehl) *bzr*<sup>1</sup>, (Palest) *bizrā*<sup>1</sup>, Arab *bizr*-<sup>1</sup>, Hss *bezār*<sup>2</sup>, Mhr *bezār*<sup>2</sup>, Shh *bizər*<sup>2</sup>.

Cf. denominative Arab *bzr* [-i-] “sow”.

WCh *\*baḡar*- “corn”: Mbu *vazar*, Jmb *vazar*, Tala *bazr*.

From *\*byaḡar*-.

Etymologically connected with *\*baḡar*- “be torn, be peeled” (as

far as semantic change is concerned, cf. IE: *\*gʷrHnom* ‘‘something ground; grain’’).

## 270 \*biʒ-/bay- ‘‘be angry’’

Eg *b* ‘‘evil’’ (l).

The final laryngeal is not preserved. Eg may reflect an archaic form of the HS stem that may be then reconstructed as *\*bi-*.

WCh *\*biʒ-* ‘‘be angry’’: DB *biʒ*.

CCh *\*biH-/bay-* ‘‘angry’’ <sup>1</sup>, ‘‘bad’’ <sup>2</sup>: Gaa *biḥa* <sup>1</sup>, Gbn *biḥa* <sup>1</sup>, FKl *ḥəy* <sup>2</sup>, Bud *abi* <sup>2</sup>.

Reduplicated forms in Gaa and Gbn may be related to CCh *\*bib-* ‘‘hot’’.

ECh *\*bVy-* ‘‘anger’’: Bid *beyo*.

Note the morphonological alternation in the root.

## 271 \*biʒ-/bay- ‘‘bread, flour’’

Eg *by.t* ‘‘kind of bread’’ (med).

CCh *\*biʒ-* ‘‘millet’’: Gul *bio*, Afa *bio*, Kus *byo*.

Quite probably, a semantic archaism within the present root pointing to the original type of the cereal.

Bed *biʒ* ‘‘flour’’.

HEC *\*boy-* < *\*b[a]y-* ‘‘flour’’: Bmb *booya*.

Secondary change of vowel after a labial.

As far as morphonology of the root is concerned, cf. *\*biʒ-/bay-* ‘‘be angry’’.

## 272 \*biʒ- ‘‘pierce’’

Eg *wbʒ* ‘‘pierce, open’’ (pyr).

Initial *w-* may stand for a rounded root vowel or represent a suffix.

WCh *\*biʒu-* ‘‘pierce’’: Diri *ḥū*, Paa *ḥi*, Miya *ḥiya*, Kry *ḥiya*, Siri *ḥiyu*, Fyer *ḥoo*.

*-y-* in Miya, Kry and Siri is an innovation from *\*-ʒ-* in contact with a front vowel.

CCh *\*biʒu-* ‘‘pierce’’: Daba *būh*, Bud *biu*, *bihu*.

Note *-h* in Daba.

## 273 \*biʒak- ‘‘slave, servant’’

Eg *bʒk* ‘‘servant’’ (OK).

WCh *\*biHak-* ‘‘slave’’: Pol *biyək*, Kir *ḥiyak*.

Kir *ḥ-* shows that WCh *\*-y-* goes back to a laryngeal after a front vowel. Under the influence of the vowel, the laryngeal yielded to *-y-*.

CCh *\*byak-* ‘‘slave’’: Gis *beke*, Mofu *beke*, LPe *byek*.

CCh *\*-ya-* < *\*-iya-* < *\*-iHa-*.

Related to *\*boʒ-* ‘‘slave, servant’’?

## 274 \*biʒan- ‘‘separate, divide’’

WCh *\*byan-* < *\*biʒan-* ‘‘separate’’: Sura *ḥen*.

Agaw *\*bin-* < *\*biyVn-* ‘‘divide’’: Bil *bən*, Kwr *bin*, Xmr *bin*, Aun *ben-əṇ*.

Cf. also Sem *\*bVyVn-* ‘‘separate’’: Arab *byn* [-i-].

## 275 \*biʒan-/biyan- ‘‘look, know’’

Sem *\*bīn-* ‘‘know’’ <sup>1</sup>, ‘‘notice’’ <sup>2</sup>: Ug *bn* <sup>1</sup>, Hbr *byn* <sup>2</sup>.

Sometimes compared with Sem *\*bayn-* ‘‘link (n.); between’’, see HS *\*bawVn-* ‘‘rope, band’’ and cf. also HS *\*biʒan-* ‘‘separate, divide’’.

WCh *\*baʒan-* ‘‘look’’: Pero *ḥaan*.

Assimilation of vowels.

ECh *\*ʒibin-* ‘‘know’’: Dng *ʒibine*, Mig *ʒibino*, Brg *ʒibini*, Sok *ibine*.

Metathesis and assimilation of vowels.

Note the alternation *\*-ʒ-* ~ *\*-y-*. Any connection with *\*biʒan-* ‘‘separate, divide’’?

## 276 \*biʒir- ‘‘pit, well; dig’’

Sem *\*biʒr-* ‘‘balk’’ <sup>1</sup>, ‘‘well’’ <sup>2</sup>: Akk *bīru* <sup>1 2</sup>, Hbr *bēʾēr* <sup>2</sup>, OAram *byr* <sup>2</sup>, Aram (Emp) *bʾr* <sup>2</sup>, (Palest) *bēʾērē* <sup>2</sup>, (Mand) *bira* <sup>2</sup>, Arab *biʒr-* <sup>2</sup>.

ECh *\*biʒir-* ‘‘dig’’: Lele *biir*.

LEC *\*biHir-* ‘‘bore, drill’’: Arb *biir-*.

Related to \*bu<sup>2</sup>ar- ‘‘dig’’, \*ba<sup>2</sup>Vr- ‘‘well, pit’’ as a morphonological variant.

### 277 \*bi<sup>2</sup>Vy- ‘‘snake’’

Eg by<sup>2</sup> ‘‘holy serpent’’ (gr).

Metathesis.

CCh \*bi<sup>2</sup>Vy- ‘‘python’’: HgH *biya*, FG *biya*, Kap *mhya*, HNk *bg’ye*, HB *wg’ye*.

### 278 \*bibab- ‘‘goat, sheep’’

Sem \*bibb- ‘‘wild sheep’’: Akk *bibbu*.

WCh \*bVwab- < \*bVbab- ‘‘he-goat’’: Ang *bwop*.

Unvoicing of \*-b- in Ang is regular.

Descriptive stem.

### 279 \*bičur-/pičur- ‘‘pudenda’’

Sem \*binV<sub>l</sub>ur- ‘‘vulva’’: Akk *biššūru*, Arab *bunzur*.

Metathesis in Proto-Sem and secondary -u- in Arab. Cf. also Hss *bešelēt* ‘‘clitoris’’, Mhr *bešselēt* id.

CCh \*pičur-in- ‘‘testicles’’: FJ *fčerin*, FM *fučuru*.

Metathesis in FG and Gude. The original stem seems to be \*pičur-.

Numerous phonetic irregularities are connected with the meaning of the word. Note more distant variants in CCh: HNk *subəle*, Kap *səpule*, FGl *spuyli* etc. As far as the anlaut is concerned, see \*ber-/per- ‘‘mouse, rat’’. As a whole, the word seems to be an ancient derivative of an otherwise unattested and unreliable stem.

### 280 \*biĉ- ‘‘spit’’

Eg bšy ‘‘spit’’ (pyr).

WCh \*biĉ- ‘‘spit’’: Ang *bis*, *bes*.

ECh \*bVĉ- ‘‘spit’’: Smr *bə:sə*.

Dhl bu<sup>2</sup>u<sup>2</sup>- ‘‘spit’’.

The continuants of HS \*-ĉ- in Dhl are not well established. -t<sup>2</sup>- might reflect \*-ĉ- in the intervocalic position. The root vowel -u- may be of a secondary origin.

### 281 \*bid- ‘‘monkey’’

Verb \*bidd-Vw- ‘‘monkey’’: Ghd *biddu*, Ahg *a-biddau*.

WCh \*bid- ‘‘monkey’’: Hs *biri*, Mnt *pit*, Ank *pit*, Grk *pit*, *pət*, Bol *bido*, Krk *bido*, Dera *bido*, Bele *bido*, Krf *biro*, Gera *biḍi*, Glm *birya*, Paa *vidi*, Jmb *vuda*.

Gera may reflect \*bidVH-.

CCh \*biḍ- ‘‘monkey’’: Tera *vidi*, Jara *vide*, Heba *mbeḍa*, Glv *ṽavda*.

CCh \*biḍ- < \*bidVH-? Prefix in Glv.

### 282 \*bi‘ar- ‘‘burn’’

Sem \*bV‘ar- ‘‘burn’’ (tr. and intr.): Ug *b‘r*, Hbr *b‘r*, Aram (Palest) *b‘ār*, (Mand) *bar*.

WCh \*biHar- ‘‘heat’’: Mnt *biar*.

CCh \*bar- < \*bVHar- ‘‘burn’’: Tera *vara*.

ECh \*bVHVr- ‘‘warm up’’: Kera *boore*.

Secondary labialization of vowels after \*b-.

Agaw \*bVbVr- ‘‘flame’’ (v.): Aun *əbr-əṇ*.

### 283 bihal- ‘‘be angry’’

Sem \*bVhal- ‘‘curse’’ (v.): Arab *bhl* [-a-].

WCh \*biHal- ‘‘anger’’: Mnt *bial*.

### 284 \*biH[o]d- ‘‘jump, run’’

CCh \*biHVd- ‘‘go’’: Boka *biḍe-ḍi*.

LEC \*bVHod- ‘‘jump’’: Som *bood*.

Omot \*biHVd- ‘‘jump’’: Bwo *biḍ*.

Dhl bu<sup>2</sup>duw- ‘‘run away’’.

-uw- may be a suffix.

### 285 \*biHok- ‘‘rain’’

WCh \*biHVk- ‘‘rain that succeeds sowing’’: Hs *bīko*.

LEC \*bVHok- ‘‘rain’’: Som *bokk*-, Or *booka*.

## 286 \*bil- “butterfly”

WCh \*bil- “butterfly, bird”: Hs *bilbilo*, Glm *bil-iwi*.

Reduplication in Hs. Glm may go back to \*HV-bil- > *bil*.

Agaw \*bil- “butterfly”: Xmr *bil*.

Rift \*ba-bal- “butterfly”: Kwz *babal-iko*.

Partial reduplication causing a change of vocalism.

Related to \*bal- “wing, feather”?

## 287 bil- “door”

Sem \**abul*- “door, gate”: Akk *abullu*, Aram (Syr) *ābul*-.

Prefix \**a*-. Secondary \**u* < \**i* after a labial.

Agaw \*bil- “door”<sup>1</sup>, “hole, window”<sup>2</sup>: Xmr *bila*<sup>1</sup>, Kwr *bela*<sup>2</sup>.

LEC \*bal-bal- “door”: Or *balbala*.

Reduplication with modified vocalism.

## 288 \*bin- “man, male relative”

Sem \*bin- “son”: Akk *binu*, Ug *bn*, Phn *bn*, Pun *bn*, Moab *bn*, Hbr *bēn*, Aram (Nab) *bn*, Arab *bin*-, SAr *bn*, Hss *ḥe-būn* (pl.).

Hardly any connection with Sem \*bar- id.

WCh \*mV-bVn- “person”: Buli *mbən*, *mban*.

Prefix \*mV-.

CCh \*bin- “brother”: LPe *bin*.

## 289 \*binVg- “bird”

Eg *bng* “kind of bird” (MK).

WCh \*binVg- “rough-coated fowl”: Hs *bingi*.

CCh \*byanVg- “bird”: Gid *benga*, *bugga*.

Secondary vocalism in *bugga*.

## 290 \*bir- “metal”

Eg *byj* “ore, copper” (XVIII).

Vocalic -y-.

CCh \*HV-bir- “iron”: Mofu *bərey*, Gis *hire*.

Prefix \*HV- reflected in the Gis initial emphatic.

ECh \*bir- “iron”: Smr *biri*.

Agaw \*bir- “metal”: Kem *birr*.

LEC \*bir- “metal”: Som *bir*.

HEC \*bir(r)- “silver”: Bmb *birri*, Kmb *bira-ta*.

Omot \*bir- “metal”: Kaf *bir-ewo*.

Cf. derivatives in SA \*birit- “iron” (Saho *birtaa*, Afar *birtaa*) and Rift (Kwz *belet-iko* id.).

## 291 \*bir- “jump”

CCh \*mV-bir- “jump, fly”: Daba *mbir*, Msg *mbir*.

Prefix \*mV-.

ECh \*bir- “jump”: Kwn *bəre*.

Bed *bir* “jump”.

Agaw \*bir- “jump”<sup>1</sup>, “fly”<sup>2</sup>: Xmr *bir*-<sup>1</sup>, Aun *berer-əṅ*<sup>2</sup>.

Partial reduplication in Aun.

HEC \*burr- “jump”: Bmb *burr*-.

\*i > \*u after a labial.

## 292 \*bir- “finger”

WCh \*bir- “finger-nail”: Sha *bər-ən*, Grn *mbil*.

Prefix \*mV- in Grn. Grn -l- < \*-r- is regular.

Omot \*bir- “finger”: Ome *bir-aḏe*.

## 293 \*bir- “bird”

Berb \*bVr- “quail”: Twl *ta-bərr-ut*.

Eg *bj* “kind of bird” (a).

WCh \*bir- “quail”: Hs *birabirā*.

Reduplication in Hs. Note a parallel variant *buraburā*.

## 294 \*birVg- “be high”

Berb \*bVrVg- “rise”: Tua *burg-ət*.

Bed *birga* “high”.

## 295 \*bisVr- “plant”

Sem \*bišr- “onion”<sup>1</sup>, “sprout, shoot”<sup>2</sup>, “dates”<sup>3</sup>: Akk *bišru*, *bišru*<sup>1</sup>, Arab *busr-at*-<sup>2</sup>, Hss *beser*<sup>3</sup>, Mhr *bēser*<sup>3</sup>.

Arab -u- < \*-i- after a labial.

Eg *ibsɔ* ‘‘plant’’ (MK).

Prefix \*ɔ- or a graphic sign for \*-i- of the first syllable.

### 296 \*bit- ‘‘jump’’

WCh \*bit- ‘‘jump’’: Bgh *pit*.

Bgh *p-* < \**b-* is regular.

Omot \*bitt- ‘‘jump’’<sup>1</sup>, ‘‘fly’’<sup>2</sup>: Kaf *bitt*-<sup>1</sup>, Mch *biitti*<sup>2</sup>.

### 297 \*boɔ- ‘‘grass’’

Berb \*buɔ- ‘‘grass’’: Izy *a-bu*, Gua *buho*.

WCh \*bay- < \*baɔi- ‘‘kind of wild grass’’: Hs *bayā*.

ECh \*bwaɔi- ‘‘grass’’: Bid *booɔibooɔi*.

Full reduplication.

### 298 \*boɔ- ‘‘slave, servant’’

Eg *wbɔ* ‘‘servant’’ (MK).

Initial *w-* stands for a rounded vowel in the root.

WCh \*bway- < \*bwaɔi- ‘‘slave’’<sup>1</sup>, ‘‘servant’’<sup>2</sup>: Hs *bāwa*<sup>1</sup>, Bol *baya*<sup>1</sup>, Ngz *baayi*<sup>2</sup>.

### 299 \*boɔVd- ‘‘vessel’’

Sem \*buɔd- ‘‘implement’’: Akk *buɔdu*, *būdu*.

Unexpected HS \**u* > \**u* after a labial.

Eg *bɔd.t* ‘‘dipper’’ (med).

ECh \*bwaɔVd- ‘‘gourd’’: Mkk *boode*, Bid *booda*.

### 300 \*bod- ‘‘penis’’

CCh \*bwadVH- ‘‘penis’’<sup>1</sup>, ‘‘vagina’’<sup>2</sup>: Bch *vōdu-to*<sup>1</sup>, Gudu *vədə-cu*<sup>2</sup>.

SA \*bud- ‘‘penis’’: Afar *buddaa*.

### 301 \*bogur- ‘‘bird’’

Eg *bɔɔ* ‘‘duck’’ (OK).

-ɔ- < \*-g- after \*o.

ECh \*bwagur- ‘‘hen’’: Kwn *bogor-to*, *bugur-to*, Kera *də-bərgə*, (pl.) *ga-bgur*.

Various assimilations of root vowels in individual forms.

### 302 \*boɔ- ‘‘sun’’

Eg *bɔ* ‘‘Sun-god’’ (reg).

WCh \*bwaH- ‘‘sun’’: Bks *hwe*, DB *hwe*.

The emphatic anlaut reflects the lost laryngeal.

### 303 \*boɔ-boɔ- ‘‘pour, drink’’

Sem \*baɔ-boɔ- ‘‘gurgling of water’’: Arab *baɔbaɔ-t-*  
Deverbative noun.

Eg *bɔbɔ* ‘‘drink’’ (pyr).

ECh \*bwaH-b[wa]H- ‘‘pour’’: Dng *boobe*, Jnk *boobo*.

Derived from HS \*baɔ- ‘‘pour’’. Reduplication. May be an onomatopoeia.

### 304 \*boɔ- ‘‘middle’’

Sem \*buɔ-buɔ- ‘‘middle’’: Arab *buɔbūɔ-at*.

Full reduplication.

CCh \*bwaɔ- ‘‘middle’’: Bud *boho*.

### 305 \*boɔVr- ‘‘sea, lake’’

Sem \*baɔr- ‘‘sea, lake’’: Aram (Syr) *baɔrā*, Arab *baɔr*-, SAr *bɔr*, Gz *bāɔr*, Tgr *bāhar*, Tgy *baɔri*, Amh *bahər*.

Regular Sem \**u*- > \**a*- after a labial.

WCh \*bwaHVr- ‘‘pond’’<sup>1</sup>, ‘‘rivulet’’<sup>2</sup>: Sura *voyor*<sup>2</sup>, Grk *vor*, *voor*<sup>1 2</sup>, Ang *fwor*<sup>2</sup>.

ECh \*bwar- < \*bwaHVr- ‘‘sea, river’’: Kera *vor*.

### 306 \*boɔ- ‘‘give birth’’

Eg *bɔ* ‘‘give birth’’ (NK).

Conditions in which HS \**h* > Eg *h* are unknown.

WCh \*bwaH- ‘‘give birth’’: Zaar *hwa*.

Emphatic in Zaar reflects a lost laryngeal.

CCh *\*mV-buh-* “give birth”: Nza *mbuho*, FJ *mbu*.

### 307 \*boHar- “be yellow, be gray”

CCh *\*bwaH[a]r-* “gray”: Msg *bəgɔra*<sup>c</sup>.

Since *\*bwaHwar-* with two middle vowels is morphonologically impossible, the reconstruction of *\*-a-* in the second syllable is inevitable.

LEC *\*boHor-* “yellow”: Or *boora*.

Cf. Arb *burri* “red”? Assimilation of vowels.

HEC *\*bor-* “gray, brown”: Kmb *bora*.

### 308 \*boḵ- “rot, be rotten”

Sem *\*bVḵ-* “rot”: Hbr *bqḡ*, Aram *bqḡ*, (Mand) *baḡ*.

WCh *\*ḥwak-* < *\*bwaḵ-* “suppurate, fester”: Sura *ḥwak*.

Shift of emphatization.

HEC *\*buḵ-* “rot”: Bmb *buuḵ-*.

### 309 \*boḵ- “goat”

CCh *\*ḥwak-* < *\*bwaḵ-* “goat”: Mafa *ḥokw*.

Shift of emphatization. *-kw* < *\*-k-* appeared in the auslaut under the influence of the root vowel.

Bed *bok*, *book*.

Cf. ECh *\*bVḵ-* “kine”: Kera *beke*.

### 310 \*boḵar- “cattle”

Sem *\*baḵar-* “bull”<sup>1</sup>, “cattle”<sup>2</sup>, “cow”<sup>3</sup>: Akk *buqāru*<sup>1</sup>, Phn *bqr*<sup>2</sup>, Hbr *bāqār*<sup>2</sup>, Aram (Palest) *bēqartā*<sup>2</sup>, Arab *baqar*<sup>-2</sup>, SAr *bqr*<sup>2</sup>, Hss *beqār*<sup>3</sup>.

In the first syllable, Sem *\*-a-* < HS *\*-o-* is regular after a labial. *-u-* in Akk is secondary.

Berb *\*bukVr-* “one year old camel”: Twl *əbuyər*.

CCh *\*bwaḵVr-* “goat”: Tera *bokəra*, Tera-P. *pokər-ti*, Bch *bogər-ey*.

Derived from *\*boḵ-* “goat”. On the other hand, cf. *\*baraḵ-* “ram, goat, calf”.

### 311 \*boḵVr- “rich, king”

Berb *\*bVḵVr-* “be rich”: Ahg *bəyər*, Twl *baghar*.

LEC *\*boḵor-* “king”: Som *boqor*.

The reconstruction of HS *\*boḵor-* implied by LEC is morphonologically improbable.

### 312 \*bol- “flow, be wet”

Sem *\*bul-* “moisten”<sup>1</sup>, “rain”<sup>2</sup>: Aram *bll*<sup>1</sup>, Arab *bll* [-u-]<sup>2</sup>.

Secondary *\*u*. Cf. Arab *wbl* [-u-] “fall (of rain)” (v.) and also a deverbative name in Hbr *yābāl* “heavy shower”, Arab *wabl-* “shower”.

CCh *\*HV-bwal-* “rain”: Bch *ḥole*.

Prefix *\*HV-*.

### 313 \*bol- “lead, follow”

Sem *\*wVbVl-* “lead”: Hbr *ybl*, Aram *ybl*.

*\*wV-* may be a prefix.

WCh *\*byal-/bwal-* “come”<sup>1</sup>, “follow”<sup>2</sup>: Grk *bel*<sup>1</sup>, Bol *bol*<sup>2</sup>, Sha *bol*<sup>1</sup>.

CCh *\*bul-* “run”: HNk *mbule*, HG *mbule*, HB *mbulo*, HF *mbəlu*.

### 314 \*bolan- “rain, cloud”

ECh *\*bVlan-* “rain”<sup>1</sup>, “sky”<sup>2</sup>: Smr *belani*<sup>1</sup>, Tum *bəlan*<sup>1 2</sup>, Ndam *bəlān*<sup>2</sup>.

LEC *\*bolan-* “cloud”: Arb *boolan*.

Related to *\*belal-* “rivulet”.

### 315 \*bor- “eat”

Sem *\*bVrVy-* “eat”: Hbr *bry*.

Based on biliteral *\*bVr-*.

ECh *\*HV-bwar-* “eat”: Tum *ḥor*.

Prefix *\*HV-* reflected in the Tum anlaut.

## 316 \*borig- “insect”

Berb \*bVriy- “mosquito”<sup>1</sup>, “flying ant”<sup>2</sup>: Ayr bəryu<sup>1</sup>, Twl bəryu<sup>1</sup>, Kby i-bərriq<sup>2</sup>.

CCh \*bwarVg- “louse”: Log borgo-mī.

\*-g- may be irregular. A normal CCh reflex of HS \*g̃ (at least in the anlaut) would be \*γ. Cf. also metathetic Msg biggerui id.

ECh \*bVrVg- “water insect”<sup>1</sup>, “caterpillar”<sup>2</sup>: Kera abərgi-jiwjiw<sup>1</sup>, Tum kəṛə-bəərg-ən<sup>2</sup>.

Composites both in Kera and Tum.

## 317 \*bos- “fish”

Eg bss “kind of fish” (n).

Partial reduplication or a graphic peculiarity?

WCh \*HV-bwas- “fish”: Dok pwas, Wnd has, Bndawas.

Laryngeal prefix.

ECh \*busi- “fish”: Mig būsū, Jegu bišo, Sok busī.

318 \*bu<sup>3</sup>- “pot”

Eg bɔw “vessel” (med).

Cf. also b<sup>c</sup> id. (OK) implying a different laryngeal. -w seems to be a vocalic sign for \*-u-.

WCh \*bu<sup>3</sup>- “pot”: Grk bu.

CCh \*ḡu- < \*bu<sup>3</sup>- “pot”: Tera ḡu-ya, Hw ḡu-ra, Gbn ḡu-ta, Boka ḡə-ta.

319 \*bu<sup>3</sup>ar- “dig”

Sem \*bV<sup>3</sup>ar- “dig (a well)”: Arab b<sup>3</sup>r [-a-].

WCh \*buHar- “dig”: Zul yabori, Fyer ḡur, Bks ḡor, DB ḡuur.

LEC \*boHVr- “dig”: Som boor-, Or bor-.

320 \*bu<sup>3</sup>uḥ- “penis”

Sem \*būḥ- “penis”<sup>1</sup>, “votive phallus”<sup>2</sup>: Arab būḥ-<sup>1</sup>, SA bḥ-t<sup>2</sup>.

\*ū results from a contraction.

Eg bɔḥ “penis” (pyr).

## 321 \*buç- “sand, earth”

Sem \*bāṣ- “sand”<sup>1</sup>, “mud”<sup>2</sup>: Akk bāṣu<sup>1</sup>, Hbr bōṣ<sup>2</sup>.

Regular Sem \*-a- < HS \*-u- after a labial.

HEC \*buc- “soil”: Bmb bucca, Kmb bucca, Sid bušša.

Irregular \*-c-.

## 322 \*buçal- “plant”

Sem \*baṣal- “onion”: Hbr bāṣāl, Aram (Syr) beṣlō, Arab baṣal-, SAR bṣl, Hss beṣel, Mhr beṣāl, Shh beṣal.

Regular Sem \*-a- < HS \*-u- after a labial.

WCh \*ḡucal- < \*buçal- “kind of grass”: Bks ḡuṣal.

Shift of emphatization.

Derived from \*buç- “sand, earth”? For a semantic parallel see \*caḡal- “grass”.

## 323 \*buč- “pudenda”

Sem \*but- “shame, shameful object”: Ug btl, Hbr būšā, Aram (Emp) bwt, (Palest) bīhūtā.

Cf also Akk la būštu “shamelessness”. Related to \*bVt- “be ashamed” (Akk bāšu, Ug bt, Hbr buš, Aram (Palest) b<sup>c</sup>hēt).

Unexpectedly preserved \*-u- in the root. Does it imply a reconstruction of a parallel HS \*bač-?

Berb \*buč- “vagina”<sup>1</sup>, “penis”<sup>2</sup>: Siwa bašša<sup>1</sup>, Sml bəšši<sup>1</sup>, Ntf a-bəšši<sup>1</sup>, Izn a-bəšš-un<sup>1</sup>, Kby a-bbuc<sup>2</sup>.

Bed bus “podex, croupe”.

SA \*bus- “vulva”: Saho bus, Afar bus, busuu.

HEC \*bis(s)- “vagina”: Had bisso.

Unexpected \*i.

Omot \*bos- “vulva”: Yam boosaa.

## 324 \*bud- “hate” (v.)

Sem \*bVdVy- “express hate”: Arab bdy.

Based on \*bVd-.

ECh \*bu-bud- “curse”: Mobu bəbəde, Ngm bubbuḍde.

Reduplication. Unexpected emphatic -d-.

## 325 \*bud- ‘‘stick’’

Sem \*bad(d)- ‘‘pole, stick, beam’’: Hbr *bad*, Aram *badd-*, Arab *badd-*.  
 Berb \*budid- ‘‘pole of a hut’’: Kby *a-βuδiδ*.

Secondary \*u after a labial. Partial reduplication.

ECh \*bVdVH- ‘‘stick’’: Kera *bəḏ-uwa*.

Suffix \*-H-.

Cf. partial reduplication in CCh \*bV-bVdVH- ‘‘digging stick’’:  
 Mafa *bebeḏ*.

## 326 \*bu‘un- ‘‘rain, sky’’

Eg b‘n ‘‘sky waters’’ (pyr).

CCh \*buHun- ‘‘rain’’: Gid *būna*.

ECh \*bun-H- ‘‘rain’’<sup>1</sup>, ‘‘sky’’<sup>2</sup>, ‘‘God’’<sup>3</sup>: Mig *bun*<sup>1</sup>, Dng *buḡ*<sup>2</sup>,  
 Jegu *boḡ*<sup>2 3</sup>, Bid *buḡ*<sup>2 3</sup>, Mubi *bun*<sup>2</sup>.

Metathesis.

## 327 \*buhar- ‘‘shine’’

Sem \*bVhar- ‘‘be clear, shine’’: Hbr *bhr*, Aram (Palest) *šabhar*,  
 (Mand) *bhʔr*, Arab *bhr* [-a-].

WCh \*buHVr- ‘‘shine’’: Tng *ḥer*, Bgh *ḥūr*.

CCh \*buHar- ‘‘shine’’: Msg *bara*, Bch *ḥura*.

## 328 \*bul- ‘‘hut, village’’

CCh \*bul- ‘‘village’’: Bud *bula*.

ECh \*bVl-bVl- ‘‘yard’’: Bud *belbele*.

Reduplication.

Agaw \*ʔa-bVl- ‘‘tent’’: Bil *abluu*.

SA \*bul- ‘‘village, town’’: Afar *buḷaa*.

Secondary -l- in Afar?

LEC \*bul- ‘‘hut’’: Som *bul*.

## 329 \*bul- ‘‘lake, river’’

Sem \*bal- ‘‘lake’’: Gur *bal*.

Proto-Sem status of this word is subject to doubts.

Eg *wbn* ‘‘spring, source’’ (n).

-n goes back to HS \*-l-. Initial *w-* stands for a rounded root vowel.

WCh \*bul-/buʔul- ‘‘river’’: Zul *ḥwulaʔyi*, *bullai*, Bgh *ḥul*.

Infix \*-ʔ-.

CCh \*bul-ay- ‘‘sea, lake’’: Gis *bulay*, Mofu *bəlay*.

Cf. reduplication in Bud *bilabila* ‘‘lake’’.

Related to \*bol- ‘‘flow, be wet’’, \*belal- ‘‘rivulet’’ and its cognates.

## 330 \*bul- ‘‘dove’’

Eg *bn* ‘‘kind of bird’’ (pyr), *bnw* ‘‘phoenix’’ (BD).

*bnw* reflects \*bul- or \*bol-.

WCh \*buʔal- ‘‘dove’’: Hs *bōlō*, Sura *mbul*, Ang *bul*, Ank *bel*, Chip *bul*,

Bol *mbolo*, Tng *la-mbul*.

Several forms have prefix \*mV-.

CCh \*mV-bwal- ‘‘turtle-dove’’: Tera *mbole*.

Prefix \*mV-.

ECh \*buʔal ‘‘bird’’<sup>1</sup>, ‘‘dove’’<sup>2</sup>: Bid *bulle*<sup>1</sup>, Gabri *belu*<sup>2</sup>, Kwan  
*bəlō-ki*<sup>2</sup>.

LEC \*bulal- ‘‘dove’’: Or *bullale*.

Partial reduplication. Amh *bulall*, Gur *bulle* are borrowed from  
 LEC.

Secondary formation with an inlaut laryngeal in Chadic.

## 331 \*bul-bul- ‘‘pour, flow’’

Eg *bnbn* ‘‘let flow, pour’’ (gr).

WCh \*bul-bul- ‘‘pour out’’: Hs *bulbulā*.

Reduplication connected with \*bul- ‘‘lake, river’’ and \*bol-  
 ‘‘flow, be wet’’.

## 332 \*bul-/bulal- ‘‘pit, well’’

Berb \*bVlVl- ‘‘breach, opening in the rock’’: Ahg *e-bələl*.

Partial reduplication.

CCh \*bul- ‘‘hole’’: Log *bulu*.

ECh \*bul- ‘‘hole’’: Bid *bullo*, Mig *būle*.



333 \*bula<sup>c</sup>- “throat”

Sem \*bala<sup>c</sup>- “throat”: Aram *bāla<sup>c</sup>tā*.

WCh \*bula<sup>2</sup>- < \*bula<sup>c</sup>- “crawl, goitre”: Bks *bule<sup>2</sup>*.

Bed *bala<sup>2</sup>a* “gullet”.

Assimilation of vowels.

Afar *bili<sup>c</sup>a* seems to belong to this root. However the vocalism of the word is not clear. Related to HS \*bali<sup>c</sup>- “eat, swallow”.

## 334 \*bulul- “flow, be wet”

Verb \*bVlul- “be liquid”: Ahg *bəlulu*.

The first syllable may contain -a-.

LEC \*bulul- “flow”: Or *bulula*.

Partial reduplication connected with \*bul-bul- “pour, flow” and \*bol- “flow, be wet”.

## 335 \*bun- “monkey”

Eg *bnw* “baboon” (BD).

-w stands for a rounded vowel.

WCh \*buni- “monkey”: Paa *bun*, Siri *bini*.

CCh \*buni- “monkey”: Gude *mə-bin*, Bch *ma-bwən*.

## 336 \*bur- “boat”

Eg *br* “kind of Nubian ship” (n).

ECh \*bur- “boat”: Ndm *burō*.

## 337 \*bur- “earth, sand”

Sem \*barr- “empty place”<sup>1</sup>, “field”<sup>2</sup>, “(dry) land”<sup>3</sup>, “region”<sup>3</sup>: Akk *barru*<sup>1</sup>, Hbr *bar*<sup>2</sup>, Aram (Syr) *barra*<sup>2</sup>, Arab *barr*-<sup>3</sup>, SAr *br*<sup>2</sup>, Tgr *barr*<sup>4</sup>.

Regular Sem \*-a- < HS -u- after a labial.

Verb \*bVrVw- “valley”: Izy *ταβλαυτ*.

Derivative in \*-Vw-.

WCh \*buHVr- “sand”<sup>1</sup>, “dust”<sup>2</sup>: Sura *ḥur*<sup>1 2</sup>, Ang *bur*<sup>1 2</sup>, Krk *bər-bər-ən*<sup>2</sup>, Bks *ḥura*<sup>2</sup>, DB *ḥura*<sup>2</sup>.

Secondary laryngeal infix.

CCh \*bur- “sand”<sup>1</sup>, “dust”<sup>2</sup>: Log *būrā*<sup>1</sup>, Bud *bur- bur*<sup>2</sup>.

ECh \*bar-H- “field”: Kwan *kō-ḥarā*.

Irregular vocalism. Secondary laryngeal suffix.

SA \*bur- “sand”: Saho *buree*.

LEC \*bur- “dune”<sup>1</sup>, “earth”<sup>2</sup>: Som *bur<sup>c</sup>o*<sup>1</sup>, Arb *boore*<sup>2</sup>.

Cf. also Or *booruu* “muddy”.

Dhl *ḥur-une* “dust”.

## 338 \*bur- “boil”

Eg *brbr* “boil” (n), Copt \*berber id.: Boh *berber*.

Reduplication.

Verb \*bVr- “boil”: Mzab *abər*, Nfs *abər*.

CCh \*mV-bur- “boil”: Mnd *mbur*.

Prefix \*mV-.

## 339 \*bur- “penis”

Eg *bɔɔw* “potency” (MK).

-ɔɔ- continues HS \*-r-. In the auslaut, -w is a sign for a rounded vowel.

WCh \*bur- “penis”: Hs *būrā*.

CCh \*bur- “penis”: Bura *bura*.

## 340 \*bur- “calf”

Sem \*būr- “calf”: Akk *būru*.

Regular long \*ū preserved after a labial.

HEC \*bur- “calf”: Dar *bur-uusa*.

Related to \*bur- “goat, sheep”?

## 341 \*bur- “goat, sheep”

WCh \*mV-bur- “sheep”: Buli *am-bərə*, mberra, Tala *mburra*.

Prefix \*mV-.

CCh \*bur- “goat”: Hil *burā*, Klb *bura*.

Mwl *bwāra* < \*bura-.

LEC \*barar- “lambs” (pl.): Som *baraar*.

Partial reduplication and changed vocalism in a plural form.

Mgg *abuur* “sheep”.

342 \*bura<sup>2</sup>- “build”

Sem \*bVra<sup>2</sup>- “create”: Hbr br<sup>2</sup>, Aram b<sup>e</sup>rā, (Mand) bra, Arab br<sup>2</sup> [-a-].

WCh \*bur- “build”: Krf buru-, Glm bər-.

Related to \*bür- “fortified place, building”. It is also possible to reconstruct \*büra<sup>2</sup>-.

## 343 \*buram- “(be) particolored, (be) yellow”

Sem \*barm- “particolored”: Akk barmu.

Berb \*bVram- “yellow straw”: Ayr i-bram.

WCh \*burum- “yellow”: DB burum.

Assimilation of vowels.

## 344 \*b[u]ray- “grain, corn”

Berb \*bVray- “pounded grain”<sup>1</sup>, “flour”<sup>2</sup>, “pounded barley”<sup>3</sup>:

Bmr bərri<sup>1</sup>, Sml i-bri-n<sup>2</sup>, Sgh i-brai-n<sup>2</sup>, Izn a-brəi<sup>3</sup>, Snh a-brəi<sup>3</sup>.

Eg bɔy “kind of pastry” (MK).

-ɔ- < HS \*-r-. Cf. Eg brry s.v. \*ber- “maize”

Derived from \*bar-/bur- “grain, cereal”.

## 345 \*burğuč- “insect”

Sem \*burğuč- “flea”: Arab burğūt-.

WCh \*burğuč- “mosquito”: Gera bursi, Dera buruk.

CCh \*mV-bVrguč- “louse”: Daba mbərguč.

Related to \*boriğ- “insect”.

## 346 \*burog- “stomach”

Sem \*argāb- “intestines”: Arab ʾargāb-.

Results from a metathesis of \*-b- in \*burog-. Initial \*-b- is non-etymological. On the other hand, cf. Arab bugr- “swelled belly”.

CCh \*bVrwag- “intestines”: Mnd brogue.

ECh \*burwag- “stomach”: Tum buroog.

Derived from \*bor- “eat”.

## 347 \*bus- “plant, grass”

Eg wbs “cabbage, greens” (gr).

w- is a vocalic sign.

WCh \*bus- “kind of plant”: Hs būšī.

## 348 \*but- “hut”

Berb \*but- “mud-house”: Ntf ta-but.

Cf. Bmr ta-but “door”.

WCh \*but- “hut”: Bks but, Klr ʾabut.

Related to \*bayit- “house”?

## 349 \*but- “vessel”

Sem \*batt- “bottle”: Arab batt-at-.

Regular \*-a- < HS \*-u- after a labial.

WCh \*buHat- “gourd bottle”: Hs būta, Gera mboota.

CCh \*bVt- “pot”: HNk pta.

p- < \*b- in contact with unvoiced -t-.

SA \*but- “pot”: Afar buti.

HEC \*bot- “big jar”: Bmb bota.

Omot \*bat-/bot- “gourd, calabash”: Ome batta, Kaf botoo, Mch boto, Gim bat.

## 350 \*buṭ- “belly”

Berb \*buṭ- “navel”<sup>1</sup>, “belly”<sup>2</sup>: Awj a-būṭ<sup>1</sup>, Ahg tə-but-ut<sup>1</sup>, Twl tə-būṭ-ut<sup>1</sup>, Sml a-buḍ<sup>1</sup>, Ntf a-buḍ<sup>2</sup>.

WCh \*ḥut- < \*buṭ- “belly, stomach”: Sura ḥut, Ang ḥwut, Mnt ḥət, Fyer ḥuto.

Shift of emphatization.

## 351 \*buṭ- “vessel”

Sem \*baṭ(i)- “vessel”: Akk baṭū, Arab baṭṭ-at-.

Regular \*-a- < HS \*-u- after a labial.

Berb \*buṭ- “bottom of a vessel”: Ntf a-buḍ, Sgr buḍ.

## 352 \*b[u]ṭin- “womb”

Sem \*baṭn- “womb”: Hbr *beṭen*, Aram (Emp) *bṭn*, (Palest) *baṭnā*, *biṭnā*, Tgr *bāṭn*, Hrr *bāṭni*.

Secondary -i- in Aram. Regular \*-a- < HS \*-u- after a labial.

Berb \*biniṭ- “navel”: Ntf *i-biniḍ*.

Metathesis on the HS level? Cf. Eg reflex of HS \*b[u]ṭun-. On the other hand, in Berb cf. Kby *le-bden* “body”.

Derived from HS \*buṭ- “belly”.

## 353 \*buwuṭ- “burn; ash”

Eg *wbd* “burn” (mag).

Metathesis or a graphic representation of Proto-Eg \*bud? -d < \*-ṭ- is regular.

WCh \*buw(V)ṭ- “ash”: Bol *buto*, Krk *bəto*, Dera *bubute*, Bele *buto*, Krf *buto*, Gera *bəḍa*, Diri *butu*, Ngz *bəbət*.

Partial reduplication in Dera.

CCh \*bVwuṭ- “ash”: LPe *bwut*.

ECh \*but- “ash”: Mig *bitti*, Bid *buto*, Brg *buti*.

Assimilation of vowels in Mig.

Dhl *ḥuw-eeḍ*- “boil” may reflect a HS verb \*buw- from which the present root was derived.

## 354 \*buyaṭ- “egg”

Sem \*baṣṣ- “egg”: Hbr *bēṣā*, Aram (Syr) *bīṣtō*, Arab *bayḍ*-, Hss *bēṣeh*, Mhr *bēṣayt*, Shh *beṣ*.

Regular \*-a- < HS \*-u- after a labial.

WCh \*buyaṭ- “egg”: Pol *byaṣ*, Geji *mbuṣi*, Zem *mboṣ*, Brw *mbuṣ*, *mboṣ*, Say *mbuṣ*, Buli *mbiṣ*.

## 355 \*buṣ- “be bad”

Sem \*bVzVy- “treat badly”<sup>1</sup>, “scorn”<sup>2</sup>: Akk *buzzu*²<sup>1</sup>, Hbr *bzy*², Aram (Palest) *bazzē*².

Based on \*bVz-.

CCh \*buṣ- “evil, bad”: Zgh *buza*, Gvo *bəza*.

## 356 \*bük- “bird”

Eg *byk* “falcon” (a).

-y- may be a sign for a front vowel.

CCh \*bwak- < \*buka- “vulture”<sup>1</sup>, “hen”<sup>2</sup>: LPe *bwok*¹, Msm *bok*¹, Gis *bokoy*².

ECh \*²a-buk- “great bustard”: Bid ²*abuka*.

Prefix \*²a-.

Agaw \*bik- “kind of bird”: Bil *bikaa*.

## 357 \*bül- “cure”

Sem \*bil- “heal, cure”: Arab *bl* [-i-].

CCh \*mV-bul- “cure”: Gis *mboul*, Mofu *mbəl*.

Prefix \*mV-.

ECh \*bVl- “cure”: Sbn *bələ*.

## 358 \*bür- “door”

Sem \*birr- “grill, lettuce (of doors, windows)”: Akk *birru*.

Berb \*bur- “door”: Ghd *ta-βbur-t*, Ghat *ta-wur-t*, Ahg *ta-hor-t*, Kby *ta-bbur-t*.

Note Berb \*b- > \*β-.

LEC \*bor- “back (of a house)”: Or *boroo*.

Related to \*bür- “fortified place, building”?

## 359 \*bür- “fortified place, building”

Sem \*bir- “fortress, palace”: Akk *bir-t*-, Hbr *bīrā*, Aram (Emp, Nab) *byrt*², (Palest) *bīrtā*.

WCh \*bur- “place”<sup>1</sup>, “hut”<sup>2</sup>: Paa *mbura*¹, Siri *bəri*¹, Buli *ibəri*¹, Fyer *bur*².

CCh \*bur- “town”: Mnd *bəre*, Gudu *vura-čü*, Nza *vəra-či*, Mwu *vura*, Bch *vura-to*.

## 360 \*büṣ- “breast, bosom”

Sem \*bizz- “breast”<sup>1</sup>, “nipple”<sup>2</sup>: Aram (Pehl) *bz*¹, (Syr) *bezzā*², Arab *bizz*-².

Berb \*buṣ- “large breasts”: Ahg *buhū-tən*.

A descriptive stem.

## 361 \*bVĉir- “announce”

Sem \*bVšir- “announce (good news)”: Akk *bašāru*, Ug *bšr*, Hbr *bšr*,  
Aram (Palest) *bēšar*, Arab *bšr* [-i-], SAr *tbšr*, Soq *bsr*, Hss *abēšer*,  
Mhr *abōšer*, Shh *ōšer*.

Berb \*bVčVr- “announce”: Ghd *i-βdər*, Sml *i-bdər*, Kby *yəβdər*.

Berb reflects \*-ĉ-.

Irregular correspondence of affricates.

## 362 \*bVġ- “wish”

Sem \*bVġiw-/ \*bVġiy- “look for”<sup>1</sup>, “wish”<sup>2</sup>: Akk *buʾü, baʾü*<sup>1</sup>,  
OAram *ybʿh*<sup>2</sup>, Aram (Emp) *bʿh*<sup>2</sup>, Arab *bġw* [-i-]<sup>2</sup>, Hss *beġayt*<sup>2</sup>,  
Mhr *beġayt*<sup>2</sup>.

CCCh \*bVγ- “not wish”: Log *bγʾa*.

Note the peculiar semantic development: “not wish” ? ← \*  
“wish not to”.

## 363 \*bVʿon- “neck”

Eg *bʿn* “neck (of a bird)” (pyr).

This word may be also compared with HS \*bulaʿ- “throat”.

WCh \*bVHwan- “neck”: Pero *hwəŋ*.

-ŋ < \*-n-H- as a result of the metathesis of the inlaut laryngeal.

## 364 \*bVhVw- “shine”

Sem \*bVhVw- “shine”: Arab *bhw* [-u-].

CCCh \*bVHVw-/ \*bVHVγ- “light”<sup>1</sup>, “lightning”<sup>2</sup>: Dgh *ḥiya*<sup>1</sup>, LPe  
*buwo*<sup>2</sup>.

Vowels both in Dgh and LPe are secondary for morphological  
and/or phonological reasons.

## 365 \*bVš- “dig, bury”

Sem \*nVbuš- “dig out”: Arab *nbš* [-u-]

Prefix \*nV-. Secondary \*-u- after a labial may go back to HS  
\*-a-.

WCh \*bVš- “bury”: Ngz *bəžu*, Bade *əbžu*.

CCCh \*bVž- “bury”: Bura *bža*.

## 366 \*bVtVḲ- “cut”

Sem \*bVtVḲ- “cut, chop”: Akk *batāqu*, *badāqu*, Hbr *btq*, Arab *btq*.

Eg *btk* “slaughter” (gr).

Late development of \*ḱ > k.

## 367 \*bVtun- “be pregnant”

Sem \*bVtun- “be pregnant”<sup>1</sup>, “have a big belly”<sup>2</sup>: Hbr *bṭn*<sup>1</sup>,  
Aram (Talm) *bṭan*<sup>1</sup>, Arab *bṭn*<sup>2</sup> [-u-], Hss *beṭīn*<sup>2</sup>, Mhr *beṭayn*<sup>2</sup>,  
Shh *beṭīn*<sup>2</sup>.

Secondary \*-u-?

Eg *bnd* “difficult delivery” (med).

Metathesis. Cf. Berb reflexes of \*b[u]ṭin-.

Derived from \*b[u]ṭin- “womb”.

## 368 \*bVw-/ \*bVy- “cry, weep”

WCh \*bVy- “cry, weep”: Siri *biyi*, Kry *biy*.

Secondary \*i before \*y.

LEC \*bo- < \*bVw- “cry, weep”: Or *boo*-.

Note consonantal alternation \*-w- ~ \*-y-.

## 369 \*bVzḳ- “be wet, spit”

Sem \*bVzḳ- “spit”: Arab *bzq* [-u-], Tgr *bozäqä*.

Berb \*bVz VḲ- “be wet”: Ghd *bzəy*, Sml *ibzəg*, Ntf *əbzəg*, Shn *ibzəg*,  
Kby *əbzəy*.

\*C

## 370 \*caʿ- “tree”

WCh \*caʿ- “kind of tree”: Tng *saaye*, *saawe*.

Derivative in \*-ay- or \*-aw-.

CCCh \*cyaʿ- “wood”: Gaa *šəʿa*.

Irregular vocalism.

ECh \*sVw- “tree”: Sok *səwi*.

Cf. also Sok čui id., suo ‘‘acacia’’?

Rift \*ca<sup>2</sup>- ‘‘tree’’: Kwz ca<sup>2</sup>-unko.

### 371 \*cabar- ‘‘stick’’

Eg sbr ‘‘twig, branch’’ (med).

Cf. also isbr ‘‘whip’’ (NK) where *i-* may be a prefix.

WCh \*cabar- ‘‘wooden poles’’: Hs çabarā.

Hs ç- < WCh \*c- is regular.

### 372 \*cabel-/\*çabel- ‘‘wild cat, leopard’’

WCh \*cVbyal- < \*çVbyal- ‘‘wild cat’’: Sura səbəl, Ang söl, Mpn səbəl.

LEC \*šabel- ‘‘leopard’’: Som šabeel, Boni šuel.

Boni reflects an earlier \*šawel- < \*šabel-.

Irregular correspondence in the anlaut.

### 373 \*cag- ‘‘break’’

Sem \*sVgV<sup>c</sup>- ‘‘pierce’’: Gz sag<sup>wc</sup>a, Tgy säg<sup>wc</sup>e.

Secondary formation based on \*sVg-?

Eg sḏ ‘‘break’’ (pyr).

-ḏ points out to a preceding vowel different from \*a.

WCh \*cag- ‘‘break, cut’’: Hs çāga.

### 374 \*cagaḥ- ‘‘bird’’

Eg sḏḥ ‘‘kind of bird’’ (MK).

Unexpected palatalization may indicate a root vowel other than \*a.

WCh \*cagag- ‘‘ibis’’: Hs çagagi.

Partial reduplication.

ECh \*sagay- < \*sagaH- ‘‘vulture’’: Kwan sagay.

### 375 \*ca<sup>c</sup>aw-/\*ca<sup>c</sup>ay- ‘‘squeeze, press’’

Sem \*sV<sup>c</sup>Vy- ‘‘squeeze’’: Akk se<sup>2</sup>ū.

WCh \*cV-cVy- ‘‘squeeze’’: Miya asəsəyo.

Partial reduplication.

ECh \*saw- ‘‘squeeze out pus’’: Ngam sow.

Secondary -o- < \*-a- before a labial.

Consonantal alternation \*-w- ~ \*-y-.

### 376 \*cahVw- ‘‘plaited object’’

Sem \*sahw- ‘‘curtain’’: Arab saw.

WCh \*caw-/\*cay- ‘‘plaited cover for a door’’: Hs çauyā, çaiwā, çayawa.

The inlaut laryngeal left no traces.

Rift \*caḥw- ‘‘snare’’: Irq caḥwe-li, Kwz ca<sup>2</sup>-uko.

Kwz seems irregular.

### 377 \*caḥ- ‘‘herd’’

Eg sh<sup>2</sup>.t ‘‘herd of donkeys’’ (OK).

-<sup>2</sup> denotes a root vowel.

WCh \*caḥi- ‘‘herd’’: Wrj čiyə, Siri cagu.

Wrj -i- influenced by WCh \*i of the second syllable.

### 378 \*caḥ- ‘‘know, teach’’

WCh \*caw- < \*caHaw- ‘‘teach’’: Bol soow.

Suffix \*-aw-.

Rift \*caḥ- ‘‘learn, know’’: Irq in-caḥ-, Asa šah-.

### 379 \*caḥal- ‘‘grass’’

Sem \*saḥl- ‘‘cresse’’: Akk saḥlū.

CCh \*cahal- ‘‘grass’’: Mofu sahal.

ECh \*sVHVl- ‘‘grass’’: Mkk soole.

Probably, should be reconstructed as \*caqal- and derived from \*caq- ‘‘earth, field’’ if the comparison with \*buçal- ‘‘plant’’ ← \*buç- ‘‘sand, earth’’ is valid.

### 380 \*calaḶ- ‘‘gather’’

Sem \*sVIVḶ- ‘‘gather’’: Arab slq.

Eg sḏḵ ‘‘gather’’ (pyr).

Note HS \*-l- > -j-.

CCh \*caḳal- ‘gather, collect’: Mafa *caḳal*, Mofu *čakal*.  
Metathesis. Unexpected in č- Mofu.

### 381 \*calaḳ- ‘lamb, goat’

Sem \*saḥl- ‘lamb’: Arab *saḥl-at*.  
Metathesis.

Berb \*cVlay- ‘goat’: Siwa *zalaq*, Ayr *ə-zolaḡ*, Ahg *a-hulaḡ*, Twl *e-zolaḡ*, Sha *zalaḡ*.

CCh \*calak- ‘gazelle’: Msg *salak*, *salag*.

ECh \*sakal- ‘lamb’: Mig *sakalle*.

Metathesis.

An alternative reconstruction may be \*caḳal-.

### 382 \*cam- ‘yellow, red’

Sem \*sām- ‘red’: Akk *sāmu*.

CCh \*ci-cim- ‘yellow’: Gude *šišima*, Boka *šumma*, Hil *mī-šišimə*.  
Partial reduplication with modified vocalism.

### 383 \*camid- ‘grass’

Sem \*samīd- ‘spice plant, vegetable groats’: Akk *samīdu*.

ECh \*sVmVd- ‘grass’: Smr *semdē*.

Assimilation of vowels under the influence of auslaut -ē.

Derived from \*cim- ‘grass, plant’.

### 384 \*cap- ‘vessel’

Sem \*saḫp- ‘kind of vessel’: Akk *saḫpu*, Hbr *saḫp*, Phn *sp*.

Eg *sp.t* ‘vessel’ (n).

A cultural loanword or an inherited HS term?

### 385 \*caq- ‘earth, field’

Sem \*saḥḥ- ‘meadow’<sup>1</sup>, ‘good land’<sup>2</sup> Akk *saḥḥu*<sup>1</sup>, Arab *saḥāḥ*-<sup>2</sup>.

Secondary formation in Arab based on \*saḥḥ-.

Eg *sh.t* ‘field’ (pyr), Copt \*soḥi id.: Fym *šōšī*, Shd *sōšē*.

CCh \*caḳwa- ‘field’<sup>1</sup>, ‘ground’<sup>2</sup>, ‘sand’<sup>3</sup>: Log *sḫē*<sup>1</sup>, Hwn *čəḫwē-ra*<sup>2</sup>, Boka *-soḫi-tə*<sup>3</sup>, Gaa *čəkw-itə*<sup>3</sup>, Gbn *čiyək-tə*<sup>3</sup>.

Agaw \*cVḫ- ‘prairie’: Kem *sēḥā*.

### 386 \*car- ‘elder, chief’

Sem \*sarr- ‘chief’: Arab *sarr*-.

May be a Persian loanword.

Eg *sr* ‘high official, elder’ (pyr).

WCh \*car- ‘king’: Wrj *cāra*.

ECh \*sVr- ‘adult’: Tum *səri*.

Cf. Berb \*cVwVr- ‘precede, head, command’ (Ayr *izar*, *əzwər*, Kby *zwir*-, Ahg *əhwar*).

### 387 \*car- ‘know’

Sem \*wVsVr- ‘remind’<sup>1</sup>, ‘teach, instruct’<sup>2</sup>: Akk *asāru*<sup>1</sup>, Ug *wsr*<sup>2</sup>, Hbr *ysr*<sup>2</sup>.

Derivative in \*wV-. Note that, semantically, Sem verb is a causative in relation to Eg and CCh.

Eg *sḫḫ* ‘know’ (a).

-ḫḫ reflects \*-r-. It is less acceptable in the present case to treat inlaut -j- as a vocalic sign.

CCh \*car- ‘know’<sup>1</sup>, ‘remember’<sup>2</sup>: Glv *sər*<sup>1</sup>, Msm *sar*<sup>2</sup>.

### 388 \*car- ‘rope, tendon’

WCh \*car-ak- ‘rope, tendon’: Hs *čarkiyā*, Sura *carka*, Mbu *caraku*.

Suffix \*-ak-.

Bed *sar* ‘tendon’.

Note form with an inlaut laryngeal: WCh \*ci<sup>2</sup>Vr- ‘rope, tendon’ (Siri *cīra*, Bks *sir*), ECh \*si<sup>2</sup>yar- ‘thread, rope’ (Smr *šire*, Mubi *sērī*).

### 389 \*caram- ‘chief’

Sem \*sVran- ‘prince’<sup>1</sup>, ‘Philistine chiefs’<sup>2</sup> Ug *sm*<sup>1</sup>, Hbr *sēṛānīm*<sup>2</sup>.

Philistine loanword related to or preserved by Gk *τυραννος*? If not a loanword, it may go back to HS *\*sVran-* assimilated from *\*sVram-*, cf. WCh.

WCh *\*caram-* ‘‘chief’’: DB *saram*.

Derived from *\*car-* ‘‘elder, chief’’.

### 390 *\*caw-* ‘‘faeces’’

WCh *\*caw-* ‘‘faeces’’: Ngz *šau*.

Ngz may, alternatively, go back to *\*ca²-*.

Agaw *\*caw-* ‘‘faeces’’: Xmr *cawaa*, Kwr *šāwaa*.

### 391 *\*cawar-* ‘‘dance’’ (v.)

Sem *\*sūr-* ‘‘dance’’: Akk *sāru*, Hbr *swr*.

WCh *\*cwar-* < *\*cVwar-* ‘‘dance’’ (v.) <sup>1</sup>, ‘‘dance’’ (n.) <sup>2</sup>: Gera *swarri* <sup>1</sup>, Ngz *suwaari* <sup>2</sup>.

Ngz *-uwa-* < *\*(V)wa-*.

ECh *\*sawar-* < *\*saHar-* ‘‘dance’’: Brg *čaari*.

### 392 *\*ce²-* ‘‘speak, shout’’

Sem *\*sVwV²-* ‘‘cry (of pain)’’: Akk *sā²u*.

WCh *\*cyaH-* ‘‘speak’’ <sup>1</sup>, ‘‘speech’’ <sup>2</sup>: Bgh *še* <sup>1</sup>, Fyer *se* <sup>2</sup>.

ECh *\*sway-* ‘‘shout’’: Smr *s(w)ōy*, Jegu *say*.

A secondary formation based on *\*swa²-*. The vowel may result from the influence of the second syllable.

Rift *\*ce²-* ‘‘shout’’: Irq *ce²-*.

### 393 *\*cel-* ‘‘female pudenda’’

Berb *\*c(V)lul-* ‘‘clitoris’’: Izn *azlul*.

Partial reduplication.

WCh *\*cyal-* ‘‘vulva, female pudenda’’: Hs *čēle*, Krk *cele*, Tng *šeli*.

LEC *\*sil-* ‘‘vulva’’: Som *siil*.

Wrz *\*sil-* ‘‘clitoris’’: Hss *siil-akko*.

HEC *\*čil-* ‘‘vagina’’: Sid *či²le*, Kmb *čili-t*.

### 394 *\*cilam-* ‘‘tail’’

ECh *\*silVm-* ‘‘tail’’: Mkk *silme*.

Agaw *\*cimal(l)-* ‘‘tail’’: Bil *šamar*, Xmr *çimir*, Aun *camaro*.

Metathesis. Secondary emphatization in Xmr.

An alternative reconstruction is *\*cimal-*.

### 395 *\*cim-* ‘‘grass, plant’’

Sem *\*sim-sim-* ‘‘sesame’’: Arab *simsim-*.

Reduplication.

Eg *sm.w* ‘‘cabbage’’ (pyr), Copt *\*sim* id.: Fym *sim*, Ahm *sim*, Bhr *sim*, Shd *sim*.

WCh *\*cim-* ‘‘steep herbs (for medicinal purposes)’’: Hs *çima*.

ECh *\*syam-* ‘‘hay’’: Mkk *seemi* (pl.).

Rift *\*cam-* ‘‘kind of grass’’: Irq *camo*.

Dhl *taam-ine* ‘‘blade of grass’’.

Innovative *\*a* in Cush.

### 396 *\*cin-/cun-* ‘‘leg’’

Sem *\*sūn-* ‘‘lap, crotch’’: Akk *sūnu*.

Cf. Arab *sin²-* ‘‘joint (of fingers)’’ and *²sn* ‘‘kick with a foot’’.

Eg *ins* ‘‘leg’’ (med). Metathesis,

Agaw *\*sin-H-* ‘‘calf’’: Bil *siḡ*.

The laryngeal may be treated as a remainder of an archaic prefix moved to the end of the root (if so, the Agaw word may be compared with Chadic forms under *\*²a-cin-H-*) or as a secondary suffix.

Chadic forms with *\*²a-/²Ha-*, a prefix of body parts, see under *\*²a-cin-H-*.

### 397 *\*cinun-* ‘‘bird’’

Sem *\*sinun-* ‘‘swallow’’: Akk *sinuntu*, Arab *sinīnī*, *sinūnū*.

Rift *\*cu²unun-* ‘‘hawk’’: Asa *šu²ununu*.

Secondary *\*-u²u-* < *\*i* due to assimilation.

## 398 \*cip- “sweep”

Sem \**sVp*- “rake up”<sup>1</sup>, “purify, refine”<sup>2</sup>: Hbr *spy*<sup>1</sup>, Gz *sff*<sup>2</sup>.

Various formations based on biliteral \**sVp*-.

Berb \**cVf*- “plane” (v.)<sup>1</sup>, “wash”<sup>2</sup>: Ayr *zafat*<sup>1</sup>, Kby *ucuf*<sup>2</sup>.

WCh \**cVp*- “take off the top layers of washed corn”<sup>1</sup>, “sweep”<sup>2</sup>, “skim”<sup>3</sup>: Hs *čāf-ače*<sup>1</sup>, Diri *səfa*<sup>2</sup>, Siri *cafu*<sup>2</sup>, Ngz *səpu*<sup>3</sup>.

ECh \**sip*- “sweep”<sup>1</sup>, “remove foam”<sup>2</sup>: Bid *sep*<sup>1</sup>, Mkk *sippe*<sup>2</sup>.

Bid may reflect \**sipa*-.

## 399 \*cir- “pot”

Sem \**sīr*- “mug”: Hbr *sīr*.

WCh \**cir*- “small pot”: Ank *šir*.

CCh \**cir*/\**cur*- “pot”: Zgh *šire*, Gava *sura*.

Traces of an ancient apophony?

## 400 \*cir- “pierce”

Sem \**sVr-sVr*- “sharpen”: Arab *srsr*.

Reduplication.

WCh \**cir*- “spit meat on skewers, pierce”: Hs *čire*.

Related to \**cir*- “thorn”.

## 401 \*cir- “thorn”

Sem \**sīr*- “thorn, hook”: Hbr *sīrīm* (pl.).

Eg *sr.t* “thorn” (BD).

ECh \**sir*- “roasting spit”: Bid *sīri*.

## 402 \*ciway- “pay”

Sem \**sūy*- “cost” (v.): Arab *swy* [-a].

WCh \**ciya*- “pay”: Wrj *ča*, Kry *čiy*, Miya *c-*, Mbu *c-*, Jmb *ši*, *ša*, Ang *ši*.

Transformation of an earlier \**ciwya*/\**ciway*-?

403 \*co<sup>3</sup>ab- “drink”

Sem \**sVbV*²/\**sV*²ab- “draw water”<sup>1</sup>, “drink”<sup>2</sup>, “be satisfied

with drinking”<sup>3</sup>, “buy wine in order to drink it”<sup>4</sup>: Akk *sāb*-<sup>1</sup>, Ug *šb*<sup>1</sup>, Hbr *sb*², Aram (Jud) *sb*², Arab *sḅ* [-a]<sup>3</sup>, *sb*² [-a]<sup>4</sup>.

Metathesis of \**-ḅ*- within Sem.

CCh \**cwaHab*- “suck”: Mofu *-sasab-*, Gis *soḅ*, *suḅ*, Daba *seḅ*, Zime *soḅo*.

Emphatic *-ḅ-* reflects the lost laryngeal.

ECh \**swaHVb*- “suck”<sup>1</sup>, “drink”<sup>2</sup>: Kera *soḅe*<sup>1</sup>, Mubi *suva*<sup>2</sup>.

## 404 \*cok- “pot, vessel”

Sem \**asuk*- “vessel for ointments”: Hbr *asuk*.

Prefix \**a-*.

Eg *st.t* “baking form” (OK).

Progressive palatalization of \**k* > *t* after HS \**o*.

WCh \**cwak*- “calabash”: Ngm *šoko*.

CCh \**swak*- “pot”: FK i *šaka*, Zgh *sakə*, Glv *šəka*, FJ *šaku*, Bch *suk-to*, Log *skwa*, Ksr *sko*.

## 405 \*coriy- “plant, grass”

Eg *šry* “kind of plant” (med).

-*y*- is a sign for a vowel.

WCh \**cwari*- “grass, thatching grass”: Hs *čāri*, Bol *saro*, Dera *šwari*,

Kry *car*, Miya *car*, Cagu *cir-in*.

ECh \**swariy*- “kind of grass”: Mkk *soriyo*.

## 406 \*cuḅVl- “pierce”

Sem \**sVḅVl*- “pierce”: Akk *saḫālu*.

WCh \**cul*- “pierce”: Sura *sul*, Chip *səl*.

Contracted from \**cuHVl*-.

## 407 \*cuk- “close”

Sem \**suk*- “stop up”<sup>1</sup>, “cover”<sup>2</sup>: Akk *sakāku*<sup>1</sup>, Hbr *skk*<sup>2</sup>, Arab *skk* [-u-]<sup>1</sup>, Jib *sekk*<sup>2</sup>.

CCh \**ca-cVkwa*- “stop up”: Mofu *sasəkw*.

Partial reduplication.

HEC \**çuk*- “close (with a lid)”: Bmb *cuk*-.

Bmb *c-* is due to the orthographic peculiarities of the lexical sources.



## 408 \*cVḥaḥ- “cut, break”

Sem \*sVḥaḥ- “break, crush”: Akk *sāqu*, *zāqu*, Arab *shq* [-a-], Jib *shak*,  
Hss *sehāq*, Mhr *sehāq*.  
Berb \*cVḥ(k)- “cut, pierce”: Kby *ceqq*.

## 409 \*cVmVḥ- “cover”

Sem \*sVmVḥ- “cover”: Akk *samāku*.  
Eg *skm* “wrap” (gr).  
Metathesis.

An alternative reconstruction is \*cVḥVm-.

## 410 \*cVtVḥ- “bird”

Eg *sth* “kind of bird” (XXII).  
CCh \*cVt- “kite”: Bch *soto*.

## \* Ç

## 411 \*çaʿal-/\*çawal- “jump”

Sem \*šūl- “rush at, jump at” <sup>1</sup>, “jump in fright” <sup>2</sup>: Arab *šwl* [-u-]  
] <sup>1</sup>, Jib *šell* <sup>2</sup>.  
WCh \*çal- < \*çaʿal- “jump”: Hs *çallē*.  
ECh \*saʿal- “jump”: Lele *çal*.  
HEC \*çāl- < \*çaHal- “jump”: Had *çaall*-, Kmb *çal*-.

Consonantal alternation \*-ʿ- ~ \*-w-.

## 412 \*çad- “grind”

Berb \*çVd- < \*çVd- “grind”: Ayr *əzəḍ*, Kby *ezḍ*.  
Secondary emphatization of \*-d-.  
Omot \*çad- “pound”: Ome *çaad*-.

## 413 \*çad- “be thirsty”

Sem \*šVday- “be thirsty”: Arab *šdy* [-a-].  
Based on biliteral \*šVd-.

CCh \*caḍ- < \*çad- “lick” <sup>1</sup>, “drink” <sup>2</sup>: Mofu - *səḍ*- <sup>1</sup>, Mafa *caḍ*.  
Shift of emphatization.  
ECh \*sad-/sid- “suck” <sup>1</sup>, “lick” <sup>2</sup>: Mig *ʿasiḍo*, Sbn *čada* <sup>2</sup>.  
Shift of emphatization preceding the merger of HS \*ç in ECh.

## 414 \*çadaç- “cut”

Sem \*šVdaç- “split, separate”: Arab *šdʿ* [-a-].  
ECh \*sad- < \*saHad- “cut”: Tum *sad*.  
Metathesis.  
An alternative reconstruction is \*çaçad-.

## 415 \*çag- “hair”

WCh \*çag- “hair (in the horse’s tail)” <sup>1</sup>, “hair” <sup>2</sup>: Hs *çagiyā* <sup>1</sup>,  
Cagu *gəşiye* <sup>2</sup>.  
Metathesis in Cagu.  
Rift \*çag- “hair”: Irq *çaga*.  
Unexpected Irq ç-.

## 416 \*çaç- “stick”

Eg *çʿc* “twig” (med).  
Partial reduplication (of orthographic nature?).  
WCh \*çaH- “stick”: Bol *cāwa*, *zāwa*, Klr *coh*.  
CCh \*nV-cah- “stick”: Gis *žaha*.  
\*n(V)c- > ž-.  
The following forms may be related to this root: (i) Sem \*çaw-  
“stick” (Arab *ʿašā*) with metathesis; (ii) Rift \*çaḥ- “arrow-tip”  
(Alg *caḥi*, Bur *caḥiya*).

## 417 \*çaʿaḥ- “shout, ask”

Sem \*šVʿaḥ- “shout” <sup>1</sup>, “call” (v.) <sup>2</sup>, “thunder” (v.) <sup>3</sup>: Hbr *šʿq* <sup>1</sup>,  
Aram (Jud) *šʿq* <sup>1</sup>, SAR *šʿq* <sup>2</sup>, Arab *šʿq* [-a-] <sup>3</sup>, Jib *šaʿak* <sup>1</sup>.  
Berb \*[ç]/VwVḥ- “sing”: Kby *cewweq*.  
Irregular anlaut.  
Eg *çʿk* “call” (n).  
Note loss of emphatization in -k < \*k.

CCh \**cak*- ‘ask’: Gbn *čəxi*, Boka *saxa-da*, Hwn *cake*.

Agaw \**çaw(V)k*- < \**çah(V)k*- ‘ask’: Xmt *čawk*-.

Omot \**çVyVk*/\**çVwVk*- < \**çVHVk*- ‘shout’: Ome *čäyk*- , Kaf *čook*-.

Dissimilation of \**k* > \**k* as in Eg.

Cf. also Som *dawaaq*- ‘shout caused by grief’?

#### 418 \**çah*- ‘be white’

Sem \**çVh*- ‘be white’<sup>1</sup>, ‘shimmer’<sup>2</sup>, ‘be clear’<sup>3</sup>: Hbr *šhḥ*<sup>1</sup>, Aram *šhḥ*<sup>2</sup>, (Syr) *šahā*<sup>3</sup>, Arab *šhw* [-*u*-, -*a*-]<sup>3</sup>, Gz *šhw*<sup>3</sup>, Tgr *šhy*<sup>3</sup>, Tgy *šāhe*<sup>3</sup>, Soq *šhy*<sup>3</sup>.

Various trilateral formations based on \**çVh*-.

CCh \**çay*- ‘shining’: Mafa *caya<sup>3</sup>a*.

From \**çah*-.

Omot \**çah*- ‘white’: Ari *çaa-mi*.

Cf. also Berb: Ghd *iḍua* ‘light’ (adj.).

#### 419 \**çah*- ‘metal’

Eg *ḏḥ* ‘kind of metal’ (XVIII).

CCh \**çax*- ‘iron’: FG *çaxyi*.

Derived from \**çah*- ‘be white’? Cf. a similar type of semantic derivation in Lat *argentum* ‘silver’ and the like.

#### 420 \**çahora*<sup>2</sup>- ‘sand’

Sem \**šahra*<sup>2</sup>- ‘desert’: Arab *šahrā*<sup>2</sup>-.

WCh \**ç[aHwa]r*- ‘sand’: Klr *ṣasoor*, DB *nžoor*.

DB *nž*- < \**nVç*-.

CCh \**çVyVl*- < \**çVyVr*- ‘sand’: Nak *səyle*, Mnd *šili*, Glv *səyəlu*, svyula.

Cf. also HEC \**šašar*- ‘sand’ (Had *šašsara*)? An old compound?

#### 421 \**çah-çah*- ‘field’

Sem \**šah-šah*- ‘plot of land’: Arab *šahšah*-.

Cf. non-reduplicated Jib *šəḥ*.

HEC \**daḏ*- ‘field, land, soil’: Bmb *daḏdoo*.

From \**çaç*-, cf. HEC \**du-duf*- ‘python’ < \**çu-çuf*- (see HS \**çUfa*<sup>6</sup>- ‘snake’).

Reduplication.

#### 422 \**çal*- ‘rope; tie’

Sem \**çVl*- ‘join, attach’: Hbr *ṣl*, Arab *wṣl*, *yṣl*.

Denominative formation.

WCh \**çal*- ‘tree used to make ropes’<sup>1</sup>, ‘rope’<sup>2</sup>: Ang *sāl*<sup>1</sup>, Bol *coli*<sup>2</sup>.

CCh \**cal*- ‘rope’: Mwu *saalu*.

#### 423 \**çap*- ‘be clean’

Sem \**çVpV*<sup>2</sup>/\**çVpVw*- ‘(be) clean’: Arab *ṣfw* [-*u*-], Mhr *šōfi*, Hss *šāfi*, Jib *sefi*.

Based on \**çVp*-.

WCh \**çap*- ‘wash’<sup>1</sup>, ‘be clean’<sup>2</sup>, ‘well washed’<sup>3</sup>: Hs *çaf*<sup>3</sup>, Sura *sugup*<sup>1</sup>, Ang *sup*<sup>12</sup>, Mpn *sūp*, *suwup*<sup>1</sup>, Say *cap*<sup>1</sup>, DB *sapa*<sup>2</sup>.

CCh \**çap*- < \**çap*- ‘wash’: Tera *ših-ara*, Boka *sap-aḏa*, Hwn *çəbən*, Gbn *čəpən*, Gaa *čap-an*-.

Shift of emphatization.

#### 424 \**çat*- ‘be warm’

Sem \**çVt*- ‘hot ashes’<sup>1</sup>, ‘set fire’<sup>2</sup>: Akk *šetū*<sup>1</sup>, Hbr *yšt*<sup>2</sup>.

CCh \**cat*- ‘warm oneself’: Mofu *-sət*-, *-zət*-.

#### 425 \**çat*- ‘shout, speak’

Sem \**çūt*- ‘shout’: Arab *ṣwt* [-*a*-, -*u*-], Gz *ṣwt*.

Based on \**çVt*-.

WCh \**çat*- ‘speak’: Sura *sat*, Ang *sat*, Chip *sət*.

#### 426 \**çawad*/\**çayad*- ‘hunt’

Sem \**çūd*- ‘hunt (v.)’: Akk *šādu*, Ug *šd*, Hbr *šwd*, Arab *šyd* [-*i*-, -*a*-].

-i- in Arab is secondary and induced by intervocalic -y-.

ECh *\*sawad-/sayad-* ‘chase’<sup>1</sup>, ‘hunt’ (n.)<sup>2</sup>: Sbn *čwada*<sup>1</sup>, Mubi *saiyad*<sup>2</sup>.

HEC *\*sa[y]ad-* ‘hunt’: Bmb *saad-*.

Unexpected *s-* indicating a possible borrowing from Sem.

Consonantal alternation *\*-w- ~ \*-y-*.

#### 427 \*çawaḥ-/çayah- ‘shout, ask’

Sem *\*šūḥ-* ‘shout, call, clamor’: Akk *šāḥu*, Ug *šḥ*, Hbr *šwh*, Aram (Syr) *šwh*, Arab *syḥ* [-i-], Tgy *čəwaḥ bälä*, Amh *čohä*, Jib *ešyeh*.

WCh *\*çVwVḥ-/çVyVḥ-* ‘ask’: Wrj *cəγ*, Kry *šiy*, Miya *šiy*, Cagu *ša*, Siri *šuw*.

HEC *\*čēḥ-* ‘call’: Bmb *ceeh-*.

Bmb *c-* is an orthographic variant of *ç-*. HEC *\*-ē-* reflects a contraction of *\*-aya-*.

Consonantal alternation *\*-w- ~ \*-y-*.

#### 428 \*çawan- ‘flint, stone’

Sem *\*šawān-* ‘flint, quartz’: Arab *šawwān-at-*.

WCh *\*çaw(V)n-* ‘hill, pile’: Hs *çauni*.

#### 429 \*çawlag- ‘stick’

Sem *\*šawlag-* ‘stick’: Arab *šawlag-ān-*.

Derivative in *-ān-*.

CCh *\*cugul-* ‘stick, beam’: Masa *sugula*, Bnn *sugul-da*, Mafa *cagalay*.

Metathesis.

An alternative reconstruction is *\*çawgal-*. As far as vocalism in CCh is concerned, see HS *\*dawḥal-* ‘vessel’.

#### 430 \*çeb- ‘look’

Sem *\*šVb-* ‘observe’: Akk *šubbū*.

*D* stirpes in Akk.

WCh *\*çyab-* ‘look’: Tng *sebi*.

#### 431 \*çef- ‘flow, soak’

Sem *\*šVpVw-* ‘flow’: Arab *šfw*.

Based on *\*šVp-*. Cf. Hbr *šwp* ‘flow’.

Berb *\*çVf-* ‘weep’: Ghd *ezḏaf*.

HEC *\*çeff-* ‘imbue, moisten’: Ala *çeffo*, Kab *çeffo*, Kmb *çef-fo*.

#### 432 \*çepur-/čëpur- ‘bird’

Sem *\*šipār-* ‘sparrow’<sup>1</sup>, ‘bird’<sup>2</sup>, ‘sandpiper’<sup>3</sup>: Akk *šibāru*<sup>1</sup>, Hbr *šippōr*<sup>2</sup>, Aram (Syr) *šep̄rō*, Hss *zefār*<sup>3</sup>.

Secondary *z-* in Hss. Cf. Arab *ʿuṣfur* ‘sparrow’.

WCh *\*čapur-* < *\*čyapur-* ‘guinea fowl’: Wrj *čapur*.

*\*-ya-* > *\*a* after an affricate.

CCh *\*cipur-* ‘guinea fowl’: Mrg *cəvur*, Klb *civər*, Hil *civə:rə:w*, Bura *cəvur*, Chb *zuvura*.

ECh *\*sibVr-* ‘guinea fowl’: Smr *sibir*, Sok *sōir*.

May belong to HS *\*sa(m)bir-*.

Irregular anlaut.

#### 433 \*çer- ‘speak, shout’

Sem *\*šir-* ‘shout’: Arab *šrr* [-i-].

WCh *\*čyaru-* ‘speak’: Bol *sor-*, Tng *seer-*, Pero *čeero*.

#### 434 \*çibV<sup>c</sup>- ‘finger’

Sem *\*šib<sup>c</sup>-* ‘finger’: Aram (Syr) *šēb<sup>c</sup>-*, Tgr *čəb<sup>c</sup>-it*.

Cf. a derivative in Ug *ʾuṣb<sup>c</sup>*, Hbr *ʾšbā<sup>c</sup>*, Arab *ʾiṣba<sup>c</sup>*, Gz *ʾāṣba<sup>c</sup>*,

Tgy *ʾaṣabə<sup>c</sup>*, Jib *ʾiṣba<sup>c</sup>*, Soq *ʾəṣba<sup>c</sup>*, Amh *ṭat*.

Eg *ḏb<sup>c</sup>* ‘finger’ (pyr).

#### 435 \*çiç-/çuç- ‘chick’

Sem *\*šūṣ-* ‘chick’: Arab *šūṣ-*.

LEC *\*çuç-* ‘chick’: Or *çuçoo*.

HEC *\*çiç-* ‘chick’: Had *çüç-oola*, Kmb *çiiç-oorra*.

Descriptive root with an alternation of vowels.

## 436 \*çig- ‘‘flower’’

Berb \*çig- ‘‘flower’’: Sus *ažžig*.

WCh \*çig- ‘‘kind of tobacco flower’’: Hs *çigī*.

Agaw \*çag-/ \*çig- ‘‘flower’’: Bil *çaga*, Kwr *şəge*, Xmr *şiya*.

## 437 \*çihar- ‘‘in-law’’

Sem \*şih(V)r- ‘‘son-in-law’’<sup>1</sup>, ‘‘brother-in-law’’<sup>2</sup>: Arab *şihr*-<sup>2</sup>, Soq *şehēr*<sup>1</sup>.

WCh \*çVHVr- ‘‘in-laws’’: Sura *səgər*, Mpn *səər*.

Regular -g- in Sura.

## 438 \*çil- ‘‘snake’’

Sem \*şill- ‘‘adder’’: Arab *şill*.

WCh \*çil- ‘‘tapeworm’’: Hs *çilā*.

## 439 \*çilal-/ \*çilul- ‘‘kite, hawk’’

Sem \*şalal- ‘‘night bird’’: Akk *şallalu*.

Assimilation of vowels.

HEC \*çulul- ‘‘kite’’: Sid *çululle*.

Assimilated from \*çilul-. Borrowed in Or *çululle*.

Rift \*çilil- ‘‘cry of the hawk’’: Irq *cilili*.

Assimilation of vowels.

Dhl *tsilala* ‘‘hawk’’.

## 440 \*çin- ‘‘sharp object’’

Sem \*şin- ‘‘thorn’’: Hbr *şēn*.

WCh \*çin- ‘‘sharp point’’<sup>1</sup>, ‘‘tooth’’<sup>2</sup>: Hs *çinī*<sup>1</sup>, Siri *çinna*<sup>2</sup>.

## 441 \*çin- ‘‘nose’’

WCh \*hV-çin- ‘‘nose’’: Hs *hanči*, Sura *pəgə-zin*, Mnt *kəzəŋ*, Grk *yiddiŋ*, Bol *wunti*, Krk *ʔuntin*, Dera *wariŋ*, Ngm *wunti*, Maha *wotiŋ*, Bele *unti*, Krf *wuttini*, Gera *wunčini*, Glm *wuzi*, Grm *umši*, Pol *išin*, Geji *ičin*, Brw *ngə- sən*, Say *nyi-cəŋ*, Dwot *ngu-zuŋ*, Buli *išin*, Fyer *šin*.

Prefix \*hV-.

CCh \*(χV-)cin- ‘‘nose’’: FKİ *n-čən*, FG *k-šin*, Mtk *χə-can*, Daba *me-čij*, Mus *mi-čij*, Gude *šinə*, Gudu *čin*, Nza *činē*, Bch *šine*, Bata *činne*, Log *xsəni*, Bud *činne*, Kus *asen*, Msg *čunge*, *hantsiŋ*, Lame *čini*, Bnn *čina*.

Prefix \*χV- in several languages.

ECh \*sin-um- ‘‘nose’’: Sbn *şyan-*, Tum *hun*, Smr *sen-dum*, Nch *žinum-*.

Suffix of body parts \*-um-.

Archaic root preserved only in Chadic. Cf. \*çin- ‘‘smell’’. Note prefix \*hV- in WCh and CCh probably lost in ECh for phonetic reasons.

## 442 \*çin- ‘‘smell’’ (v.)

Sem \*ʔVšVn- ‘‘smell’’: Akk *ešēnu*.

Cf. Arab *şnn* ‘‘have a bad smell’’, Gz *şnw* ‘‘be fragrant’’.

SA \*sin- ‘‘odor’’: Saho *sin*.

HEC \*çinç- ‘‘smell’’: Bmb *çinç-*.

Partial reduplication.

Omot \*çin- ‘‘smell’’: Kaf *çiin-*.

Derived from \*çin- ‘‘nose’’.

## 443 \*çir- ‘‘bird’’

Sem \*şir- ‘‘bird’’: Tgy *şir*, Amh *čəre*.

Borrowed from Cush?

Eg *dry.t* ‘‘kite’’ (pyr).

-y functions as a vocalis sign.

WCh \*çir- ‘‘parakeet’’: Hs *çiryā*.

LEC \*çir- ‘‘kind of bird’’: Or *çirrii*.

Omot \*çer- ‘‘bird’’: Ome *čeraa*.

## 444 \*çir- ‘‘cut’’

Sem \*šVr- ‘‘cut, split’’<sup>1</sup>, ‘‘separate’’<sup>2</sup> Aram (Syr) *şry*<sup>1</sup>, Arab *şwr*<sup>1</sup>, Soq *şer*<sup>2</sup>.

Various derivatives based on the original \*šVr- (\*šVwVr-, \*šVrVy-).

LEC \*çir- ‘‘cut’’: Or *çira*.

## 445 \*çiriḥ- “warm” (v.)

Sem \*šVrVḥ- “warm” (v.): Akk *šarāḥu*.

Rift \*çiriḥ- “glow”: Irq *çiriḥ*.

Reflexes of HS \*ḥ are not quite clear.

## 446 \*çirV- “gather, collect”

Eg *ḍr<sup>c</sup>* “gather” (XX).

WCh \*çir- < \*çiHVr- “pile up”: Hs *çira*.

Metathesis.

An alternative reconstruction could be \*çi<sup>c</sup>Vr-.

## 447 \*çit- “be silent”

Sem \*nVšit- “be silent”: Arab *nšt* [-i-].

Prefix \*nV-.

WCh \*çit- “quiet, silent”: Ang *šit*.

## 448 \*çiwar- “flock”

Sem \*šiwār- “flock (of wild kine or bulls)”: Arab *šiwār*-, *šuwār*-, *šiyār*-.

Berb \*çVrVw- “flock (of wild animals)”: Tua *asera*, pl. *i-serā-ten*.

Metathesis.

## 449 \*çoçof- “drip”

WCh \*çaçaf- “bubble”: Hs *çaçafō*.

Modified vocalism in a reduplicated form?

LEC \*çoçof- “drip”: Or *çoççoḥa*.

If Or -ḥ- < HS \*-f-.

Partial reduplication of \*çof- “drop”.

## 450 \*çof- “drop”

Eg *ḍf* “drops” (n).

CCh \*cVf- “sprinkle” (n.): Mafa *čaffe<sup>a</sup>*.

LEC \*çof- “drop”: Or *çoḥa*.

Note Or -ḥ-.

Omot \*çaçaf- “drip”: Kaf *čafčafō*.

Full reduplication with changed vocalism.

Related to \*çef- “flow, soak”.

## 451 \*çoh- “dry up”

Sem \*šVḥ- “dry up”<sup>1</sup>, “be dry”<sup>2</sup>: Hbr *šḥy*<sup>1</sup>, Aram (Palest) *šḥ<sup>2</sup>*.

Derivatives in C<sup>3</sup> = *y*,<sup>3</sup> based on the original biconsonantal structure \*šVḥ-.

CCh \*cwaH- “dry up”: LPe *čō<sup>3</sup>*, Masa *soya*, Msm *tcho<sup>3</sup>o*, Bnn *so<sup>3</sup>a-mo*.

Masa -y- < \*-H-.

## 452 \*çor- “hair”

Sem \*šVrr- “whiskers”: Akk *šerretu*.

Eg *ḍṣṣ* “plait” (of hair) (BD).

-ṣṣ may go back to \*-r or \*-rr.

WCh \*çwar- “hair”: Hs *çōrō*.

The vowel may result from assimilation.

Cf. also Berb \*[c]V<sup>x</sup>Vr- “hair” (Kby *ecc<sup>c</sup>er*).

## 453 \*çub- “cloth”

Eg *wḍb* “cloth” (XVIII).

Initial *w*- represents the root vowel.

WCh \*suḥa- < \*çuba- “cloth”: Bol *suḥa*, Tng *seb*, Ngm *suḥa*.

CCh \*cuḥ- < \*çub- “cloth”: Bch *suḥwe-to*.

## 454 \*çul- “pour, drip”

Sem \*mVšul- “drip”: Arab *mšl* [-u-].

Prefix \*mV-.

WCh \*çul- “pour”: Hs *çula*.

## 455 \*çur- “press together”

Sem \*šVr- “press together, wrap”: Hbr *šwr*, Aram *šwr*, Arab *šrr*.

Secondary formation in Hbr and Aram based on \*šVr-.

ECh *\*sur-* ‘‘press, pack’’<sup>1</sup>, ‘‘be heavy, load’’<sup>2</sup>: Kbl *sər*<sup>1</sup>, Bid *sur-ray*<sup>1</sup>, Mig *sūra*<sup>2</sup>.

Mig *-ū-* may reflect *\*-u-* or *\*-uwa-*.

#### 456 *\*çura*<sup>ç</sup>- ‘‘throw’’

Sem *\*šVra*<sup>ç</sup>- ‘‘throw’’: Arab *šr*<sup>ç</sup> [-*a-*], Soq *šer(r)*.

WCh *\*çVHVr-* ‘‘fall’’: Bol *soor*.

Metathesis.

ECh *\*suHVr-* ‘‘fall’’: Kera *suuri*.

Metathesis.

#### 457 *\*çübur-* ‘‘sharp instrument’’

Sem *\*šibār-* ‘‘pointed tool’’: Akk *šibāru*.

Regular HS *\*u* > Sem *\*a* after a labial.

WCh *\*suḫur-* < *\*çubur-* ‘‘knife’’: Buli *səbər*, Say *subur*, Dira *suḫuri*,

Pol *sərrəb*, Dwot *surup*.

Metathesis in Pol and Dwot.

#### 458 *\*çüf(a)*<sup>ç</sup>- ‘‘snake’’

Sem *\*šipa*<sup>ç</sup>- ‘‘snake’’: Hbr *šepa*<sup>ç</sup>.

Cf. a derivative in Hbr *šip*<sup>ç</sup>-*ōnī* id.

Eg *ḏdf.t* ‘‘snake’’ (BD).

Note *ḏd-* as a reflex of *\*ç*.

HEC *\*ḏu-ḏuf-* ‘‘python’’: Sid *ḏuḏuufa*.

Partial reduplication. As far as *\*ḏ* < *\*ç* is concerned in a situation of two contacting *\*ç*, see HS *\*çaḫ-çaḫ-* ‘‘field’’.

#### 459 *\*çVrVf-* ‘‘burn’’

Sem *\*šVrVp-* ‘‘burn’’: Akk *šarāpu*.

Eg *ḏḏf* ‘‘burn’’ (trans.) (NK).

*-ḏ-* reflects *\*-r-*.

## \*Č

#### 460 *\*čabaḥ-* ‘‘wing’’

Eg *sbḥ.t* ‘‘wing’’ (gr).

WCh *\*čaHab-* ‘‘wing’’: Sura *čaaḥ*, Ang *čēḥ*, Chip *šəḥ*, Mpn *čāḥ*.

Metathesis.

An alternative reconstruction is *\*čaḫab-*.

#### 461 *\*čabVḥ-* ‘‘speak, shout’’

Eg *sbḥ* ‘‘shout’’ (pyr).

WCh *\*čab-* ‘‘speak’’: Tng *saba*.

CCh *\*čab-* ‘‘ask’’: Msm *tchab*.

#### 462 *\*čad-/čid-* ‘‘breast’’

Sem *\*tady-* ‘‘breast’’: Hbr *šad*, Aram (Syr) *tādā*, Arab *tady-*, Hss *tōdi*, Mhr *tōdi*, Shh *tode*<sup>3</sup>, Soq *todi*.

ECh *\*čid-* ‘‘breast’’: Ndam *sid*.

Alternation *\*a* ~ *\*i*.

#### 463 *\*ča*<sup>ç</sup>-/*\*či*<sup>ç</sup>- ‘‘catch’’

WCh *\*čiw-* ‘‘fish’’ (v.): Kry *čiwu*, Ngz *šuyu*.

Ngz *-uy-* < *\*-iw(V)y-*.

Dhl *ta*<sup>ç</sup>-*aaδ* ‘‘trap’’ (v.).

Alternation *\*a* ~ *\*i*.

#### 464 *\*ča*<sup>ç</sup>lib-/*\*ču*<sup>ç</sup>lib- ‘‘fox, jackal’’

Sem *\*ta*<sup>ç</sup>lib- ‘‘fox’’: Akk *šēlebu*, *šēlibu*, Ug *t<sup>ç</sup>lb*, Hbr *ša<sup>ç</sup>al<sup>ç</sup>bīm*, Arab *ta*<sup>ç</sup>lab-.

Assimilation of vowels in Arab.

CCh *\*či-čVIVb-* ‘‘jackal’’: Msg *čičelebe*.

Partial reduplication.

ECh *\*čulib-* ‘‘wolf’’: Mkk *sullibe*.

Derived from \*č<sup>c</sup>u<sup>c</sup>al- ‘beast’ with suffix \*-(i)b-. Alternation  
\*a ~ \*u.

#### 465 \*čah- ‘bird’

Eg *sh.t* ‘kind of bird’.

CCh \*čah- ‘kind of bird’: Mafa *caha-caha*.

Reduplication in Mafa.

#### 466 \*čaḥar- ‘plan’ (v. and n.)

Eg *shr* ‘idea, plan’ (OK).

WCh \*čaHar- ‘intention, plan’: Fyer čoor.

ECh \*čaHar- ‘imagine, predict’: Bid čaar.

#### 467 \*čak- ‘plait’

Eg *slj* ‘spin’ (pyr).

*l* < \*k must be followed by HS \*e or \*o. Eg -j seems to stand  
for the root vowel \*a.

WCh \*čak-/čaHVk- ‘plait’: Krk čāku, Ngz čaakau.

Secondary laryngeal?

CCh \*či-čik- ‘twist’: Daba čičiku.

Partial reduplication with modified vocalism.

Cf. ECh \*čaHak- ‘loom’ (Mig čaaka).

#### 468 \*čakam- ‘shoulders, nape’

Sem \*č<sup>c</sup>VkVm- ‘shoulders, upper part of the back’: Ug *tkm*, Hbr  
*šekem*.

LEC \*sagam- ‘nape’: Som *sagan*, pl. *sagmo*.

Voiced \*-g- < \*-k- before a sonant? Final -m > -n is regular  
in Som.

#### 469 \*čakin- ‘net’

Sem \*č<sup>c</sup>ikin- ‘net’: Akk *šikinnu*.

Secondary vocalism with assimilation.

WCh \*čank- ‘snare’: Hs čaṇkō.

In WCh the HS group \*-kVn- is transformed into a cluster  
\*-nk-. Cf. HS \*čak- ‘plait’.

#### 470 \*čaḱel- ‘thigh’

Eg *sdj* ‘leg’ (n).

Palatalization of \*g > *d* before \*e. Note HS \*l yielding to Eg  
-j.

CCh \*čakyal- ‘thigh’: Bud čakel.

An alternative set of comparisons may be suggested for Eg *sdj*  
‘leg’ if it is connected with *sdh* ‘shin’ (med). It could be iden-  
tified with WCh \*sag- ‘leg’ (Miya *šagu-hu*) and CCh \*sig-  
‘bone’ (Log *šigo*).

#### 471 \*čam- ‘gather, join’

Sem \*č<sup>c</sup>um- ‘collect, gather’: Arab *tm* [-u-].

Secondary \*-u-.

WCh \*čam- ‘link up, join’: Hs čamme.

#### 472 \*čama<sup>3</sup>- ‘eat, feed’

Sem \*č<sup>c</sup>Vma<sup>3</sup>- ‘feed (with rich food)’: Arab *tm*<sup>3</sup> [-a-].

WCh \*čam- ‘taste, test’: Mpn čam.

Cf. WCh \*čim- < \*čiHVm- ‘food’: Hs čimā.

CCh \*čam- ‘eat (hard food)’: Mubi čam.

#### 473 \*čapaḥ- ‘catch’

Eg *spḥ* ‘catch with a lasso’ (pyr).

WCh \*čaHap- ‘catch’: Hs čafe, DB *syap*.

Metathesis. DB -ya- < \*-Vya- < \*-aHa-.

ECh \*čaHap- ‘catch’<sup>1</sup>, ‘fish’ (v.)<sup>2</sup>: Smr šəbə<sup>1</sup>, Bid čaap<sup>2</sup>,  
ačap<sup>1</sup>.

Metathesis. Voicing of \*-p- in Smr is regular.

An alternative reconstruction is \*čaḥap-.

## 474 \*čar- “throw”

Sem \**tVr*- “throw”: Aram *trtr*, Soq *trr*.

Reduplicative stem in Aram. Cf. Arab *ntr* [-u-, -i-] “disperse”.

WCh \*čar- “throw, shoot”<sup>1</sup>, “strike”<sup>2</sup>: Hs *čara*<sup>1</sup>, Sura *čar*<sup>2</sup>,

Ang *čar*<sup>1</sup>, Mpn *čar*<sup>1</sup>.

Dhl *taaro* “pierce”.

## 475 \*čar- “weapon”

Eg *šsr* “arrow” (pyr).

šs- is one of possible reflexes of HS \*č-.

Dhl *taaro* “spear”.

Derived from \*čar- “throw”?

## 476 \*čawVb-/čayVb- “clothes”

Sem \**tawb*- “kind of clothes”: Akk *šubtu*, Aram (Syr) *tawb*-, Arab *tawb*-, Sok *tob*.

Eg *sbby.t* “clothes” (gr).

Partial reduplication \*čVbib-.

WCh \*čwab- “put on”: Pero *čobbo*.

From \*čVwab-.

ECh \*čwab- < \*čVwab- “undress”: Sbn *čwəbə*.

Consonantal alternation \*-w- ~ \*-y-.

## 477 \*čawVr-/čVr- “bull”

Sem \**tawr*- “bull”: Akk *šuru*, Ug *tr*, Hbr *šōr*, Aram (Syr) *tawrā*, Arab *tawr*-, Gz *sōr*, Hss *tawr*.

Eg *šsr* “bull (for slaughtering)” (pyr).

šs- continues HS \*č-.

Eg may represent the original form of the HS root while Sem reflects a secondary extension in \*-w-. Cf. WCh \**tawVr*- “bull” (Hs *tōrō*); ECh \**tawVr*- “cow, antelope” (Sok *tor*, Tum *toř*).

478 \*če<sup>2</sup>- “pierce”

Sem \**tV<sup>2</sup>ay*- “pierce, wound”: Arab *t<sup>2</sup>y* [-a-].

Derived from a biconsonantal \**tV<sup>2</sup>*-.

CCh \*čV- “cut”: Mofu č-.

ECh \*čwa<sup>2</sup>- “pierce”: Kera *čo<sup>2</sup>e*.

Dhl *t<sup>2</sup>i<sup>c</sup>*- “punch a hole”.

The root vowel is not clear. The development of the laryngeal may be not quite regular.

## 479 \*čem- “fog, rain”

Eg *sym* “fog” (sarc).

Vocalic -y-.

CCh \*čyam- “rain”: Log *sema*, *sama*, Kus *sama*.

Cf. WCh \*čam- “rainy season”: DB *čam*.

## 480 \*čen- “house”

Eg *sn.wt* “palace” (pyr).

WCh \*čyan- “house”: Sha *čen*, Klr *čyen*.

CCh \*čin- “house, compound”: Bnn *sina*, *šina*.

## 481 \*čer- “shine; light”

Eg *šsr* “shine” (gr).

šs- may reflect HS \*č-.

WCh \*čyar- “light” (n.): Buli *bə-šerə*, Wnd *čeri*, Geji *čil-ti*.

Prefix \*bV- in Buli.

## 482 \*čer- “medicine”

Eg *syj* “medicine” (med).

-j continues HS \*-r-.

CCh \*čyarir- “medicine”: Bud *čerire*.

Partial reduplication.

## 483 \*čer- “speak, shout”

Sem \**tVr-tVr*- “chat”: Arab *trtr*.



Reduplication.

Eg *šsr* ‘‘speak out’’ (MK).

*šs-* is one of possible reflexes of HS *\*č-*.

WCh *\*čyar-* ‘‘cry out’’<sup>1</sup>, ‘‘explain’’<sup>2</sup>; Hs *čērā*<sup>1</sup>, Ang *čir*<sup>2</sup>.

CCh *\*čir-* ‘‘shout’’; Mba *čiri*.

ECh *\*čyačyar-* ‘‘cry (of guinea-fowl)’’: Bid *čecer*.

Partial reduplication.

Descriptive stem?

#### 484 *\*čera*<sup>3</sup>- ‘‘furrow’’

Sem *\*čir*<sup>3</sup>- ‘‘furrow’’: Akk *šer<sup>3</sup>u*, *šir<sup>3</sup>u*.

ECh *\*čaHar-* < *\*čyaHar-* ‘‘furrow’’: Bid *čaare*.

Metathesis.

The alternative reconstruction is *\*čē<sup>3</sup>ar-*.

#### 485 *\*čin-* ‘‘move’’

Eg *syn* ‘‘hurry’’ (pyr).

*-y-* is a vocalic sign.

WCh *\*čin-* ‘‘go’’: Bol *čina*.

#### 486 *\*čir-* ‘‘faeces, dirt’’

Eg *sr* ‘‘dirt’’ (gr).

ECh *\*čir-* ‘‘faeces, dirt’’: Mkk *siiri*.

HEC *\*čir-* ‘‘faeces’’: Had *čiro*.

Cf. also Bmb *sera* id.?

#### 487 *\*čit-* ‘‘throw, shoot’’

Eg *sty* ‘‘throw, shoot’’ (OK).

*-y* denotes a front vowel in the root.

CCh *\*čit-* ‘‘shoot’’: Gbn *čitə*-, Boka *čett-*, Gaa *čiti*.

#### 488 *\*čiw-/čiy-* ‘‘grass, plant’’

Eg *sw* ‘‘kind of plant’’ (I).

WCh *\*čiy-* ‘‘grass’’: Hs *čiyāwa*.

Cf. Rift *\*caw-* ‘‘reeds’’ (Irq *cawo*)? Consonantal alternation *\*-w-* ~ *\*-y-*.

#### 489 *\*čor-* ‘‘be strong’’

Sem *\*čVrVw-* ‘‘be considerable, be big’’: Arab *črw*.

Based on *\*čVr-*.

Eg *wsr* ‘‘strong’’ (pyr).

WCh *\*čwar-* ‘‘strength’’: Gwn *čori*.

#### 490 *\*ču<sup>c</sup>al-* ‘‘beast’’

Sem *\*č<sup>c</sup>āl-* ‘‘fox’’: Hbr *šū<sup>c</sup>āl*, Aram *ta<sup>c</sup>lā*, Arab *č<sup>c</sup>āl-*, Jib *it<sup>c</sup>ol*, Mhr *ye<sup>c</sup>ayl*, Hss *ye<sup>c</sup>ayl*, Shh *it<sup>c</sup>ol*.

Dhl *teele* ‘‘lion’’, *č<sup>c</sup>ali* ‘‘lioness’’.

Assimilation of vowels.

#### 491 *\*čumal-* ‘‘creamy milk’’

Sem *\*č<sup>c</sup>māl-* ‘‘milk skin’’: Arab *č<sup>c</sup>māl-at-*.

Cf. more archaic vocalism in Arab *č<sup>c</sup>māl-* ‘‘sour milk’’.

Eg *smr* ‘‘cream’’.

Note *-r* < HS *\*-l-*.

#### 492 *\*čül-* ‘‘seed’’

Sem *\*č<sup>c</sup>ül-* ‘‘seed’’: Arab *č<sup>c</sup>ül-*.

Secondary formation in Arab *č<sup>c</sup>ayyil-* id.

WCh *\*č<sup>c</sup>Vl-* ‘‘seed’’: Tng *sala*.

CCh *\*č<sup>c</sup>uli-* ‘‘seed’’: Klb *č<sup>c</sup>uli*, Hld *č<sup>c</sup>uli*, Wmd *č<sup>c</sup>uli*, HNk *cili*, HBz *č<sup>c</sup>lu*.

ECh *\*č<sup>c</sup>ulwa-* ‘‘rice’’: Mubi *č<sup>c</sup>ulwayo*.

#### 493 *\*čVbVĥ-* ‘‘close’’ (v.)

Eg *sbĥ* ‘‘close’’ (XVIII).

ECh *\*č<sup>c</sup>Vb-* ‘‘close’’: Kera *č<sup>c</sup>ebe*.

Complete loss of the laryngeal.

## 494 \*čVwağ-/ \*čVyağ- ‘‘shout, ask’’

Berb \**sVwVγ*- ‘‘shout’’: Kby *sug*.

Irregular development of \*č-?

CCh \*č*yag*- < \*č*Vyaγ*- ‘‘ask’’: Bud č*ega*.

Unexpected change of \*-g-.

Consonantal alternation \*-w- ~ \*-y-.

## \*Č

## 495 \*čagan- ‘‘goat, boar’’

WCh \*č*ang*- ‘‘goat’’: Cagu č*angen*, Mbu č*angu*.

Suffix \*-(y)*an*- in Cagu.

ECh \*č*ang*- ‘‘goat’’: Smr č*a<sup>n</sup>ge*.

Agaw \*č*yagan*- ‘‘boar’’: Aun *cyägānaa*.

Chadic word-structure of the present word is similar to the development in HS \*č*akin*- ‘‘net’’.

## 496 \*čač- ‘‘catch, seize’’

Eg č<sup>č</sup> ‘‘catch’’ (MK).

WCh \*č*aw*-/\*č*ay*- ‘‘catch, seize’’: Krk č*aw*, Paa č*ei*.

Phonetically developed from \*čač<sup>u</sup>-/\*čač<sup>i</sup>-.

CCh \*ča-/ \*či- ‘‘catch, seize’’: Mtk č*i*, Gis ž<sup>ž</sup>, Log *si*, Bud č<sup>č</sup>.

## 497 \*ča[č]Vr- ‘‘snake, worm’’

Sem \*č<sup>č</sup>*V[č]Vr*- ‘‘snake’’: Akk š<sup>š</sup>*ēru*.

Intervocalic \*-h- is also plausible.

CCh \*č<sup>č</sup>*ar*- ‘‘worm’’: Log č<sup>č</sup>*arē*.

## 498 \*čahar- ‘‘show’’

Sem \*č<sup>č</sup>*Vhar*- ‘‘appear, be evident’’: Arab *zhr* [-a-], Mhr *zahar*, Soq *tahar*.

CCh \*č<sup>č</sup>*ar*- ‘‘show’’: Klb *a-čär*.

From \*ča<sup>č</sup>*Har*-.

## 499 \*čaḥut- ‘‘squeeze’’

Sem \*č<sup>č</sup>*Vhut*- ‘‘extract oil’’: Akk š<sup>š</sup>*ahātu* [-u-].

WCh \*č<sup>č</sup>*ūt*- < \*ča<sup>č</sup>*Hut*- ‘‘press, squeeze out’’: Glm č<sup>č</sup>*uuz*-, Pero č<sup>č</sup>*otto*.

Glm -z- < \*-t- is regular.

ECh \*č<sup>č</sup>*ēl*- < \*č<sup>č</sup>*ayVl*- ‘‘squeeze’’: Kera č<sup>č</sup>*eele*.

Assimilation of vowels. ECh \*<sup>č</sup>*ayV*- < \*<sup>č</sup>*aHV*-.

## 500 \*čač-/ \*čič- ‘‘bird’’

ECh \*č<sup>č</sup>*ač*- ‘‘kind of bird’’: Bid č<sup>č</sup>*eeču*.

Reduplication.

HEC \*čič- ‘‘bird’’: Sid č<sup>č</sup>*ēaa*, Dar č<sup>č</sup>*i<sup>2</sup>a*-, Had č<sup>č</sup>*i<sup>2</sup>a*-, Kab č<sup>č</sup>*i<sup>2</sup>a*-, Bmb č<sup>č</sup>*i<sup>2</sup>a*-, Kmb č<sup>č</sup>*i<sup>2</sup>a*-, Tmb č<sup>č</sup>*i<sup>2</sup>a*-.

Omot \*čač- ‘‘bird of prey’’: Mch č<sup>č</sup>*āo*.

Alternation \**a* ~ \**i*. Irregular correspondences of CCh and Cush laryngeals.

## 501 \*čak- ‘‘vessel’’

Berb \*č<sup>č</sup>*Vk*- ‘‘plate for couscous’’: Ghd *a-zku*.

WCh \*č<sup>č</sup>*akwa-n*- ‘‘pot’’: Wrj č<sup>č</sup>*akwān-na*.

Suffix \*-n-.

CCh \*č<sup>č</sup>*axwa*- ‘‘pot’’: FG *caḥwa*.

HS \**k* > CCh \**χ* under the influence of the originally emphatic \*č.

ECh \*č<sup>č</sup>*waka*- < \*č<sup>č</sup>*akwa*- ‘‘big vessel’’: Bid č<sup>č</sup>*ook-iya*.

## 502 \*čal- ‘‘locust’’

Sem \*č<sup>č</sup>*Vl-čal*- ‘‘locust’’: Hbr š<sup>š</sup>*lāšal*.

Reduplication.

WCh \*či<sup>č</sup>*Hal*- ‘‘locust’’: Ang č<sup>č</sup>*ōl*, Mnt š<sup>š</sup>*iyel*, Tng *solo*.

Metathesis.

## 503 \*čal-/ \*čil- ‘‘shadow’’

Sem \*č<sup>č</sup>*il(l)*- ‘‘shadow’’: Akk š<sup>š</sup>*illu*, Ug *zł*, Hbr š<sup>š</sup>*ēl*, Aram ṭ<sup>ṭ</sup>*ullā*, Arab *zill*-, Gz š<sup>š</sup>*elālāt*, Jib *zelel*.

WCh \*(<sup>č</sup>*nV*)-č<sup>č</sup>*ila*- ‘‘shadow’’: Ang *žil*, Sha *čala*.

CCh *\*nV-žal-* < *\*nV-čal-* ‘west’: Gis *nžala*.

HEC *\*čal-* ‘shade’: Sid *čaale*.

Dhl *tiilali* ‘shadow’.

Partial reduplication.

Alternation *\*a* ~ *\*i*.

#### 504 *\*čam-* ‘think, know’

Sem *\*wVtVm-* ‘think’: Arab *wəzm*.

Prefix *\*wV-*.

CCh *\*čam-* ‘know’: Pad *cam*, FM *čam*, Nak *cama-*, Nza *cəm-an*, Zgh *cama*.

#### 505 *\*čamon-* ‘think, know’

Sem *\*tun-* < *\*tVnVn-* ‘think’: Arab *znn* [-*u-*], Hss *zen*, Shh *eznin*.

Probably, with assimilation of the inlaut *\*-m-* > *\*-n-*.

WCh *\*čamwan-* ‘think, remember’: Hs *čammāni*, Ang *čan*, Krk *čawan*.

Derived from *\*čam-* ‘think, know’.

#### 506 *\*čar-* ‘look, see’

Sem *\*nVtar-* ‘guard’<sup>1</sup>, ‘look’<sup>2</sup>: Akk *našāru*<sup>1</sup>, Ug *ngr*<sup>1</sup>, Phn *nšr*<sup>1</sup>, Hbr *nšr*<sup>1</sup>, Aram *nšr*<sup>1</sup>, Arab *nšr* [-*u-*]<sup>2</sup>, SAR *nšr*<sup>1</sup>, Gz *nšr*<sup>2</sup>.

Prefix *\*nV-*.

Berb *\*čVr-* ‘see, look’: Izn *zer*, Snh *zar*.

WCh *\*čar-* ‘guard’: Hs *čare*.

Cf. Berb *\*čVr-* ‘pupil (of an eye)’ (Twl *əzzeru*).

#### 507 *\*čaw-* ‘mouse, rat’

Berb *\*čVw-* ‘jerboa’: Ayr *e-dəwi*, Twl *e-dəwi*.

WCh *\*čiy-* ‘field rat’: Hs *čiyō*.

An old morphonological variant *\*čVy-*?

Agaw *\*in-čaw-* ‘mouse’: Bil *inšuwaa*, Xmr *iečuwaa*, Xmt *ačuwaa*,

Kem *yešuwaa*, Aun *enčaa*, Dmt *inčii*.

Prefix *\*in-*.

Omot *\*[i]n-čaw-* ‘rat’: Ome *učaa*, Kaf *ičoo*, Bwo *inčoo*, Gim *uč*, *uč*.

Note fluctuations of vowels in the prefix.

#### 506 *\*čawar-* ‘neck’

Sem *\*tawār-* ‘neck’: Akk *šawāru*, Hbr *šawār*.

Eg *wsr.t* ‘neck’ (pyr).

Metathesis.

#### 509 *\*čen-* ‘wind, cold’

Sem *\*tīn-* ‘cold’ (n.): Hbr *šinā*.

WCh *\*čyan-* ‘wind’: DB *čyen*.

#### 510 *\*čil-* ‘tail’

Sem *\*tVl-* ‘wag (of a tail)’: Arab *žll*.

Denomiantive verb.

WCh *\*čila-* ‘tail’: Wrj *čalai*, Geji *čil*.

Omot *\*čell-* ‘tail’: Kaf *čero*, Mch *čero*, Maji *čəru*.

#### 511 *\*čilam-* ‘be dark’

Sem *\*tVlam-* ‘be dark, be black’: Akk *šalāmu*, Arab *žlm* [-*a-*], SAR *tlm*, Gz *šalma*, Tgr *šalma*, Tgy *šällämä*, Gaf *šillämä*, Amh *čällämä*, Arg *čelläma*, Har *čeläma*, Gur *čällämä*, Soq *tlm*.

Cf. Ug *žlmt* ‘darkness’, Mhr *žalem* id.

CCh *\*čilVm-* ‘dark’<sup>1</sup>, ‘black’<sup>2</sup>: Bud *čilim*<sup>1</sup>, Gul *selem*<sup>2</sup>.

Derived from *\*čal-/čil-* ‘shadow’. Cf. also LEC *\*delam-* ‘return of the cattle home in the evening’ (Som *delan* < *\*delam*, pl. *delmo*) and ECh *\*čulum-* ‘west’ ← *\*čil* ‘dark (side)’: Mig *čulum-ti*.

#### 512 *\*čotVĥ-* ‘bird’

Eg *sth* ‘kind of bird’ (XXII).

WCh *\*čwat-* ‘bird’: Mbu *čoti*.

Cf., on the other hand, Hs *čīta* id., Diri *ačida* id.

SA *\*ča-čut-* ‘bird’: Saho *čaačutta*.

Partial reduplication.

HEC *\*či-čut-* ‘bird’: Ala *čičuta*.

Partial reduplication.

## 513 \*čupar- ‘‘fingernail’’

Sem \**tupr*- ‘‘fingernail’’: Akk *šupru*, Hbr *šipporen*, Aram (Palest) *tuprā*, Arab *zufr*-, Gz *šəfr*, Tgr *šəfər*, Tgy *šəfri*, Amh *ṭəfər*, Gaf *šəfra*, Arg *čuffər*, Gur *ṭəfər*, Soq *ṭifer*, Mhr *ṭayfer*, Shr *zefer*, Jib *zifer*.

Agaw \**čifar*- ‘‘finger’’: Bil *čəfər*, Aun *tsefir*.

Metathesis in Kwr and Dmb. From Ethio-Sem?

HEC \**zurup*- ‘‘finger’’: Bmb *zurup-mata*.

Unexpected \**z*-.

Omot \**žafar*- ‘‘finger’’: Kaf *yafaroo*.

Assimilation of vowels. Irregular \**ž*-. A common HEC ~ Omot innovation or a loanword? This innovation is partly shared by Agaw: Kwr *žerfa*, Dmb *zalfa*, not comparable immediately with other forms quoted above. If, however, these Agaw words are derived from Agaw \**čifar*- > \**čiraf*-, they may be believed to be the source of Omot and HEC.

Rift \**čaraf*- ‘‘fingernail’’: Alg *čarafu*, Bur *čarafu*.

Metathesis.

Cf. phonetically close \**čibV*- ‘‘finger’’. The vocalism of the first syllable may be tentatively reconstructed as \**a* ~ \**i*.

## 514 \*čur- ‘‘flint, flint knife’’

Sem \**turr*-/\**turr*- ‘‘flint’’<sup>1</sup>, ‘‘rock’’<sup>2</sup>: Akk *šurru*<sup>1</sup>, Hbr *šōr*<sup>1</sup>, Aram *ṭūr*-<sup>2</sup>, Arab *zurar*-, *zirr*-<sup>1</sup>, SAr *zwr*<sup>2</sup>.

Berb \**čVr*- ‘‘flint’’<sup>1</sup>, ‘‘rock’’<sup>2</sup>: Qbl *i-zra*<sup>1</sup>, Ahg *a-zəru*<sup>2</sup>.

WCh \**čur*- ‘‘knife without handle’’: Hs *čūrā*.

CCh \**čur(i)*- ‘‘hoe’’: FM *curu*, Gude *cəra*, FJ *čili*, FBw *cəṛən*.

Related to HEC \**čar*- ‘‘whetstone’’ (Bmb *čar-aanco*)? Eg *wḏḏ.t* ‘‘knife’’ (gr) may be connected with this root.

## 515 \*čVHol- ‘‘shine, be bright’’

Sem \**tVhVl*- ‘‘shine’’: Hbr *šhl*.

LEC \**čol*- < \**čVHol*- ‘‘bright’’: Or *čollee*.

## \*Ĉ

516 \*ĉa<sup>2</sup>-/\*ĉaw-/\*ĉay- ‘‘move upwards’’

Sem \**nVša*<sup>2</sup>- ‘‘rise, grow, raise’’: Akk *našū*, Ug *nšū*, Hbr *nš*<sup>2</sup> [-*a*-], Arab *nš*<sup>2</sup> [-*a*-, -*u*-], Gz *nš*<sup>2</sup>, Amh *nässa*.

Prefix \**nV*-.

Eg *šwy* ‘‘raise’’ (pyr).

Cf. also *zšy* ‘‘lift’’ with digraph *zš*- reflecting HS \**č*-. In both cases, -*y* is a suffix.

WCh \**ča*<sup>2</sup>- ‘‘stand up’’: Wrj *ša*, Kry *ša*-, Diri *ša*-, Miya *ša*-, Paa *šu*, Cagu *šu*, Mbu *ša*-, Pol *ša*, *ši*, Geji *ša*, *ši*, Zem *ša*, *ši*, Brw *še*, *šu*, Tala *iša*, Ngz *ša*, *šau*.

CCh \**ša*<sup>2</sup>-/\**šay*- ‘‘stand up, rise’’: Tera *ža*, Gaa *še*<sup>2</sup>, Gbn *ša*<sup>2</sup>*i*, Hwn *ši*, Mrg *šay*, Klb *šēy*, Chb *šāy*, HB *ša-vo*, FK *ša-tu*<sup>2</sup>, Lame *ši*-, LPe *še*, Boka *žē*<sup>2</sup>*i*.

ECh \**čaw*-/\**čay*- ‘‘stand up, rise’’: Smr *so*, Lele *sē*, Tob *say*.

Cf. Rift \**čē-s*- ‘‘lift, raise’’ (Irq *čes*-). Consonantal alternation \**č*- ~ \*-*w*- ~ \*-*y*-.

517 \*ĉa<sup>2</sup>- ‘‘meat’’

Sem \**šā*<sup>2</sup>-/\**šē*<sup>2</sup>- ‘‘sheep’’: Akk *šū*<sup>2</sup>*u*, Ug *š*, Hbr *šē*, Aram *si-t*-, Arab *šā-t*.

Berb \**[c]V*- ‘‘meat’’: Ahg *isa-n*.

Irregular reflex of Berb \**c*- in Ahg.

WCh \**čaw*-/\**ču*<sup>2</sup>- ‘‘meat’’: Wrj *šū-na*, Kry *šwi*, Miya *šwiya*, Paa *šwi*, Cagu *šu-n*, Siri *šuyi*, Geji *šu*, Zem *šau*, Brw *šau*, Say *šu*, Bgh *šaw*, Grn *šu*, Kir *šo*, *šu*, Tala *šu*, Ngz *šuwai*, Bade *saa*.

WCh \**č*- > \*-*w*- in unknown conditions. Note also WCh \**ša*- ‘‘cow, bull’’.

CCh \**šiw*-/\**šuw*- ‘‘meat’’: Gbn *šuwe*, Hwn *šuwe*, Zgh *šuwe*, Lame *šiau*, *šeo*, Msm *šiou*, Bud *hu*, Glv *šuw*, HF *šū*, Mofu *ašəw*.

Note CCh \*(*nV*-)*ša*- ‘‘cow, bull’’.

ECh \**čVw*-/\**čVy*- ‘‘meat’’: Lele *sii*, Mkk *sey*, Jegu *su-ut*.

LEC \**sow*-/\**soH*- ‘‘meat’’: Som *so*<sup>2</sup>, Bay *so*<sup>2</sup>*o*, Gel *so*, Kon *sowa*, Gato *soha*, Gdl *soha*.

LEC \*-*o*- < \*-*a*- before a labial?

Omot \*(*ča*-)*šaw*-/\**ša*<sup>2</sup>- ‘‘meat’’<sup>1</sup>, ‘‘goat’’<sup>2</sup>: Ome *aššwa*, *ašo*<sup>1</sup>, Mao *šaa*<sup>2</sup>.

Rift \*ĉa<sup>2</sup>- ‘‘body’’: Asa *ša<sup>2</sup>a*.

Semantic development is not quite reliable.

Consonantal alternation \*-<sup>2</sup>- ~ \*-w- in several branches. WCh and CCh reflect a secondary development of the root vocalism.

### 518 \*ĉa<sup>2</sup>Vb- ‘‘rain’’

Sem \*ša<sup>2</sup>bab- ‘‘shower’’: Arab *ša<sup>2</sup>bab*.

Partial reduplication.

WCh \*ĉaHVB- ‘‘rainy season’’: Krf *ša<sup>2</sup>u*, Gera *sa<sup>2</sup>u*.

### 519 \*ĉa<sup>2</sup>Vp- ‘‘foot’’

Sem \*š[a]<sup>2</sup>p- ‘‘foot’’: Akk *šēpu*, Jib *šef*, Soq *šaf*.

Agaw \*šanp- ‘‘foot, heel’’: Bil *saanfi*, Kwr *saanpaa*, Dmb *šanja*, Kem *saambaa*.

Secondary nasalization or a reflex of an early HS cluster \*-mp- lost in Sem?

### 520 \*ĉa[b]ir- ‘‘thigh’’

Sem \*ša<sup>2</sup>pr- ‘‘thigh’’: Akk *šapru*.

Irregular Sem \*p < HS \*b.

LEC \*sabir- ‘‘back thigh (of camel)’’<sup>1</sup>, ‘‘thigh’’<sup>2</sup>: Som *sibir*<sup>1</sup>, Or *sarba*<sup>2</sup>.

Assimilation of vowels in Som. Metathesis in Or.

### 521 \*ĉad- ‘‘pit, well’’

Eg *šd.t* ‘‘well’’ (OK).

WCh \*ĉad- ‘‘pit’’: Hs *šaddā*.

May be derived from \*ĉud-/\*ĉa<sup>2</sup>ad- ‘‘harrow, till’’.

### 522 \*ĉad-/ĉa<sup>2</sup>id- ‘‘field, land’’

Sem \*šād- ‘‘field, vacant land’’: Ug *šd*, Hbr *šāde*.

Eg *šdw.t* ‘‘field’’ (MK).

The function of -w is not clear. Is it a suffix?

ECh \*ĉVHid- ‘‘earth’’: Kwn *čado*, Mkk *siido*.

Related to \*ĉud-/\*ĉa<sup>2</sup>ad- ‘‘harrow, till’’.

### 523 \*ĉaf- ‘‘lake’’

CCh \*šaf- ‘‘lake’’: Mrg *šafu*.

Omot \*šaf- ‘‘river, lake’’: Ome *šafaa*.

### 524 \*ĉag- ‘‘mix’’

Sem \*mVšug- ‘‘mix’’: Arab *mšg* [-u-].

Prefix \*mV- and modified vocalism.

WCh \*ĉag- ‘‘mix’’: Tng *sāge*.

### 525 \*ĉa<sup>c</sup>- ‘‘cut’’

Eg *šc* ‘‘cut’’ (pyr).

WCh \*ĉaw- ‘‘scratch’’<sup>1</sup>, ‘‘cut’’<sup>2</sup>: Wrj *šaw*<sup>1</sup>, Paa *šawo*<sup>1</sup>, Brm *šuwe*<sup>2</sup>, Dwot *šu-χ*<sup>2</sup>, Buli *šo*<sup>2</sup>, Ngz *šuwai*<sup>2</sup>.

\*-w- goes back to intervocalic \*-H- (before a rounded vowel).

CCh \*šaH-/\*šay- ‘‘cut’’: Chb *šay*, Mrg *ša*, FG *ša-nti*, HG *ša-ve*, HN *ša-nte*.

\*šay- < \*šaHi-.

### 526 \*ĉa<sup>c</sup>- ‘‘begin’’

Eg *šc* ‘‘begin’’ (MK), Copt \*ša: Boh *ša*, Shd *ša*.

-š- stands for HS \*-a-.

WCh \*ĉaH- ‘‘begin’’: Sura *šēē*.

The development of the vowel is regular.

### 527 \*ĉa<sup>c</sup>- ‘‘vessel’’

Eg *šc* ‘‘vessel’’ (OK).

WCh \*čaya<sup>c</sup>-/\*čawa<sup>c</sup>- ‘‘pot’’: Sha *šya*, ša, Klr *šwa<sup>c</sup>i*.

Based on \*ĉa<sup>c</sup>-.

### 528 \*ĉa<sup>c</sup>ar- ‘‘hair’’

Sem \*ša<sup>c</sup>r- ‘‘hair’’<sup>1</sup>, ‘‘wool’’<sup>2</sup>: Akk *šartu*<sup>1</sup>, Ug *š<sup>c</sup>rt*<sup>2</sup>, Hbr *šē<sup>c</sup>ār*, *ša<sup>c</sup>rā*<sup>1</sup>, Aram (Syr) *ša<sup>c</sup>rō*<sup>1</sup>, Arab *ša<sup>c</sup>r*<sup>1</sup>, Gz *še<sup>c</sup>ert*<sup>1</sup>, Soq *ša<sup>c</sup>ihor*<sup>1</sup>.

Cf. denominative Sem \*ša<sup>c</sup>ar- ‘be hairy’: Hbr š<sup>c</sup>r, Arab š<sup>c</sup>r [-a-].

WCh \*ĉaHar- ‘hair on the chest of a ram’<sup>1</sup>, ‘hair’<sup>2</sup>: Hs šāri<sup>1</sup>, Bks syah<sup>2</sup>.

Bks -h is regular.

Omot \*šaHar- ‘hair’: Maji saaru.

Assimilation of vowels.

### 529 \*ĉa<sup>c</sup>op- ‘hair’

Sem \*ša<sup>c</sup>ap- ‘hairlock’<sup>1</sup>, ‘hair’<sup>2</sup>: Arab ša<sup>c</sup>af-at-<sup>1</sup>, Jib šəf<sup>2</sup>.

In the second syllable, HS \*o > \*a before a labial.

Berb \*cVf- ‘hair’: Izn azäf.

WCh \*ĉaHwap- ‘hair’: Sura šwəp, Chip šap, Mnt swəp, Mpn siwəp, Bol šowə, Maha šofi.

\*-iwa- < \*-iHa-.

LEC \*sap- ‘pubic hair’: Or sapii.

Secondary Or -p- under the influence of the laryngeal.

HEC \*sap- ‘hair, pubic hair’: Dar sape.

LEC loanword?

### 530 \*ĉah- ‘wish, be able’

Sem \*šVh- ‘wish’<sup>1</sup>, ‘like’<sup>2</sup>: Arab šhw, šhy [-a-, -u-]<sup>1</sup>, Jib šuthi<sup>2</sup>.

CCh \*šah- ‘be able, can’: Mafa šaha.

As far as the development of meaning is concerned, cf. the semantic history of Germ *mag* and *darf*.

### 531 \*ĉahar- ‘moon, star’

Sem \*šahr- ‘new moon’: Arab šahr-, Aram saharā, Mnd sira, Gz šāhr, Soq šeher, Jib šəhər.

WCh \*ĉaHar- ‘star’: Ank sum-šar, Tuli ša-šur, Zak čā-zur, Bot šaar, Grn saar.

Partial reduplication in Tuli and Zak.

### 532 \*ĉah- ‘grow’

Sem \*šūh- ‘become high’: Akk šāhu.

Based on biconsonantal \*šVh-.

WCh \*ĉaH- ‘grow’: Wrj ša, Sha šoħo.

### 533 \*ĉah- ‘urine; urinate’

Sem \*šuh- ‘urinate’: Arab šh [-u-].

Denominative formation?

WCh \*ĉaH- ‘urine’: Bks šaa.

Agaw \*šay- ‘urine’: Kem šay, Aun čay-əŋ, čaq-əŋ.

Aun č- appears to be regular.

Dhl saħaw- ‘urinate’.

Unexpected s-. Cf. \*saħ- ‘urine’.

### 534 \*ĉahür- ‘snore’

Sem \*šVhir- ‘snore’: Arab šhr [-i-].

WCh \*ĉa(n)Hur- ‘snore’: Hs min-šāri, Wrj šər-mə, Diri šərma, Paa žur-guna, Ngz žankor.

Secondary cluster \*-nH-.

### 535 \*ĉakin- ‘knife’

Sem \*šakīn- ‘knife’: Hbr šakkīn, Aram (Syr) sakkīnō.

WCh \*č[a]nk- ‘knife’: Krf šonge, Glm čonga.

Metathesis. The development of the original morphonological structure is parallel to WCh reflex of HS \*čakin- ‘net’.

Dhl hlakane ‘sharp (knife)’.

Assimilation of vowels.

Derived from \*čuk- ‘cut, pierce’.

### 536 \*ĉalah- ‘break’

Sem \*šVlah- ‘split’: Arab šlh [-a-].

WCh \*ĉaHal- ‘crush’: Tng seele.

Metathesis.

ECh \*ĉaHal- ‘break’: Dng saale.

Metathesis.

An alternative reconstruction could be \*ĉaħal-.

### 537 \*ĉalay- ‘hail’ (n.)

Eg šny.t ‘hail’ (pyr).

Note -n- < HS \*-l-.

CCh \**ša-šalay*- ‘‘hail’’: Gis *šašalay*.

Partial reduplication.

### 538 \**ĉaluk-* ‘‘cut, slaughter’’

Sem \**šVluk-* ‘‘cut, split’’: Akk *šalāqu*, Arab *šlq* [-*u-*].

WCh \**ĉalVķ-* ‘‘opening a vein (in the leg of an animal)’’: Hs *salkā*.

Cf. \**ĉalah-* ‘‘break’’.

### 539 \**ĉambar-/\*ĉambir-* ‘‘flute’’

WCh \**ĉambar-* ‘‘kind of flute’’: Hs *sambara*.

Emphatic \**-ĥ-* seems to have no phonological justification.

Omot \**šumbir-* ‘‘shepherd’s flute’’: Mch *šumbiro*.

Secondary \**u* before a labial.

### 540 \**ĉap-* ‘‘leaf’’

WCh \**ĉaHVp-* ‘‘leaf’’: Siri *šāpi*, Miya *šēpi*.

Metathesis from \**ĉapVH-*? Cf. CCh.

CCh \**šapVH-* ‘‘leaf’’: Lame *šapa*, LPe *šap*, ZBt *šab*, Masa *šab*.

*-b-* < *-ĥ-* results from the emphatization of \**-p-*.

LEC \**šaf-* ‘‘leaf’’: Or *šafō*.

HEC \**šaf-* ‘‘leaf’’: Had *šāf-ita*, Kab *šāf-ita*, Dar *šafa*.

### 541 \**ĉar-* ‘‘cut, saw’’

Sem \**wVšVr-* ‘‘saw’’: Arab *yšr*, *wšr*, Gz *wšr*, Mhr *wušor*, Jib *ʔšr*.

Prefix \**wV-*.

WCh \**ĉar-* ‘‘cut (trees)’’: Hs *sārā*.

CCh \**šar-* ‘‘adze, shave’’: Gis *šar*, Mofu *šar*.

LEC \**sar-* ‘‘cut’’: Som *sar*.

### 542 \**ĉar-* ‘‘tree’’

Eg *šʕ* ‘‘tree’’ (XVIII).

*-ʕ* continues HS \**-r-*.

ECh \**ĉar-* ‘‘tree’’: Bid *čaro*.

### 543 \**ĉar-* ‘‘buy, sell’’

Sem \**šVrVy-* ‘‘buy, sell’’: Arab *šry* [-*i-*].

Derived from \**šVr-*.

WCh \**ĉar-* ‘‘buy (in order to sell)’’: Hs *sārā*.

### 544 \**ĉar-/\*ĉaVr-* ‘‘barley’’

Sem \**šaār-/\*šaīr-* ‘‘barley’’: Ug *šʕr*, Hbr *šʕorā*, Aram (Syr) *šʕārā*, Arab *šaīr-*, Sab *šʕr*.

Derivative vocalism in Arab. The original form might have been \**šar-* influenced by or contaminated with \**šaār-* ‘‘be hairy’’.

Eg *šr.t* ‘‘barley’’ (MK).

### 545 \**ĉari-* ‘‘road’’

Sem \**šāri-* ‘‘road’’: Arab *šāri-*.

ECh \**ĉaHVr-* ‘‘path’’: Dng *sāre*.

Metathesis.

The alternative reconstruction is \**ĉaīr-*.

### 546 \**ĉe-* ‘‘faeces’’

Eg *šʕ.w* ‘‘faeces’’ (med).

CCh \**šya-* ‘‘faeces’’: Hwn *šē*, *še*.

Omot \**šiy-* ‘‘faeces’’: Ome *šiyaa*.

From \**šīʔa-*.

Rift \**ĉa-* ‘‘faeces’’: Irq *ĉaʔe*.

### 547 \**ĉe-* ‘‘sand’’

Eg *šʕy* ‘‘sand’’ (pyr), Copt \**šō*: Akh *šou*, Boh *šō*, Shd *šō*.

*-y* stands for a front vowel of the root.

WCh \**ĉyay-* < \**ĉyaH-* ‘‘sand’’: Bgh *šey*.

### 548 \**ĉeĥat-* ‘‘squeeze’’

Sem \**šVĥat-* ‘‘squeeze’’: Hbr *šĥt* [-*a-*].

WCh \**ĉyaHVt-* ‘‘squeeze’’: Krf *šetu*, Gera *šed*.

Cf. \*čahul- ‘‘squeeze’’.

#### 549 \*ček- ‘‘smell’’ (trans.)

Sem \*nVšak- ‘‘smell’’: Arab *nšq* [-a-].

Prefix \*nV- and modified vocalism.

WCh \*čyak- ‘‘smell’’: Hs *šeka*.

#### 550 \*čem- ‘‘go, enter’’

Sem \*šim- ‘‘enter’’: Arab *šym* [-i-].

Based on biconsonantal \*šim-.

Eg *šm* ‘‘go’’ (pyr).

ECh \*čyam- ‘‘enter’’<sup>1</sup>, ‘‘run’’<sup>2</sup>: Kwan *seme*<sup>1</sup>, Mobu *səme*<sup>2</sup>, Ngm *seme*<sup>2</sup>.

#### 551 \*čer- ‘‘root’’

Sem \*šVrs- ‘‘root’’: Akk *šuršu*, Ug *šrš*, Hbr *šoreš*, Aram (Syr) *šersō*.

Partial reduplication. No reduplication is attested in Gz *šəwəw*,

Tgr *sər*, Tgy *sər*, Amh *sər*, Gaf *sər*, Gur *sər*, Soq *šeraḥ*.

Berb \*car- ‘‘root’’: Kby *azaṛ*.

WCh \*čyarwa- ‘‘root’’: Hs *saiwā*, Bol *sori*-, Ngm *šori*, Maha *sar-om*, Krf *sooriyo*, Gera *suurə-na*, Glm *surya*, Grm *sūra*, Miya *šerwa*, Paa *šari*, Siri *šūra*, Mbu *šar-nani*, Jmb *šera*, Pol *šər-tə*, Geji *šar-ki*, *šer-ki*, Say *šər-tə*, Kir *šəri*, Tala *šəri*, DB *šure*.

CCh \*šar- ‘‘root’’: Mtk *ʔzoʔzor*, Dgh *šəla*, Glv *šali*, Zime *šər*.

\*-a- < \*-ya- after an affricate?

ECh \*čyar-aw- ‘‘root’’: Tum *heraw*, Ndam *sirwe*, Lele *sara*, Kera *kə-sar*, Bid *čāra*, Mig *čāru*.

Agaw \*sVr- ‘‘root’’: Kem *sər*, Kwr *sər*.

#### 552 \*či<sup>2</sup>-/\*čiw- ‘‘darkness’’

Sem \*šiw- ‘‘evening’’: Akk *šiwītu*.

Eg *šw.t* ‘‘shadow’’ (pyr).

Cf. LEC \*dī<sup>2</sup>- ‘‘become dark’’: Or *dī<sup>2</sup>a*. Note the consonantal alternation \*-<sup>2</sup>- ~ \*-w-.

#### 553 \*čid- ‘‘vessel’’

Sem \*šidd- ‘‘kind of vessel’’: Akk *šiddata*.

Eg *šdy* ‘‘vessel’’ (med).

-y is a vocalic sign.

#### 554 \*čid- ‘‘squeeze’’

Sem \*šid-/\*šud- ‘‘squeeze’’<sup>1</sup>, ‘‘load, put on’’: Arab *šdd* [-i-, -u-]<sup>1</sup>, Jub *šedd*<sup>2</sup>.

ECh \*čidVH- ‘‘squeeze, press’’: Smr *šidə*.

Suffix \*-VH-.

Cf. HS \*čehat- ‘‘squeeze’’.

#### 555 \*čiḥar- ‘‘grow, be long’’

Sem \*šVrah- ‘‘grow’’: Arab *šrh* [-a-].

Metathesis.

WCh \*čiHVr-/\*čuHVr- ‘‘grow’’<sup>1</sup>, ‘‘high, tall’’<sup>2</sup>: Bol *siir*<sup>1</sup>, Ank *sur*<sup>1</sup>, Sha *šoḥo*<sup>1</sup>, Tng *soori*<sup>2</sup>.

Rift \*čeHVr- ‘‘long’’: Gor *čeer*, Alg *čeer*, Bur *čeedu*.

Cf. LEC \*dēr- < \*deHVr- ‘‘long, tall’’: Som *deer*, Or *deeraa*, Rend *der*.

#### 556 \*čin- ‘‘speak’’

Eg *šny* ‘‘speak’’ (MK), Copt \*šini id.: Fym *šini*, Ahm *šine*, Bhr *šini*, Shd *šine*.

-y stands for a front vowel of the root.

WCh \*čin- ‘‘speak’’: Dik *šin*, Mng *šin*.

#### 557 \*čip- ‘‘moisten, be wet’’

Sem \*nVšap-/\*nVšup- ‘‘absorb (of liquids)’’: Arab *nšf* [-a-, -u-].

Prefix \*nV-. Secondary development of the vowel in a derivative.

ECh \*čip- ‘‘moisten’’: Bid *čīp*.



## 558 \*ĉiwam-/ \*ĉiyam- ‘‘rat’’

Sem \*šiyām- ‘‘rat’’: Arab šiyām-.

ECh \*ĉVwVm- ‘‘rat’’: Tum soom.

Consonantal alternation \*-w- ~ \*-y-.

559 \*ĉo<sup>c</sup>- ‘‘cereal’’

Eg š<sup>c</sup>.t ‘‘kind of bread’’ (med).

Cf. reduplicated š<sup>c</sup>š<sup>c</sup> ‘‘kind of corn’’ (l).

WCh \*ĉwaH- ‘‘millet’’<sup>1</sup>, ‘‘meal made of millet’’<sup>2</sup>: Hs ĉāwā<sup>2</sup>,  
Sura šwaa<sup>1</sup>, Ang šwe<sup>1</sup>, Mnt sua<sup>2</sup>, Ank sua<sup>2</sup>, Siri šawi<sup>2</sup>, Tng  
sau<sup>1</sup>.

## 560 \*ĉogar- ‘‘tree’’

Sem \*šagar- ‘‘tree’’: Arab šagar-at-.

Assimilation of vowels. Cf. Hss šegerēt ‘‘plant name’’.

CCh \*šwagVr- ‘‘palm tree’’: Sok soger, sogor.

Secondary vowel of the second syllable.

561 \*ĉo<sup>c</sup>id- ‘‘cut, scratch’’

Eg š<sup>c</sup>d ‘‘cut’’ (med).

WCh \*ĉwaHid- ‘‘tattoo’’<sup>1</sup>, ‘‘scratch’’<sup>2</sup>: Ang līt<sup>1</sup>, Cagu šēd<sup>2</sup>, Jmb  
šind<sup>2</sup>, Klr šut<sup>2</sup>, Ngz šaadu<sup>2</sup>.

CCh \*šwadVH- ‘‘chop’’: Zgh šodaya.

Metathesis.

## 562 \*ĉohVr- ‘‘fall’’

Eg šhr ‘‘throw down’’ (pyr).

Semantically, Eg is a causative in relation to Chadic forms.

WCh \*šwaHVr- ‘‘fall’’: Bol soor.

ECh \*ĉuHVr- ‘‘fall’’: Kera suuri.

Cf. Sem \*šVrVy- ‘‘put flatwise’’ (Akk šerû).

## 563 \*ĉom- ‘‘pot’’

Eg wšm ‘‘pot’’ (XVIII).

w- is a sign for a rounded vowel.

ECh \*ĉwam- ‘‘pot’’: Kera soma.

## 564 \*ĉor- ‘‘become dry’’

Eg wšr ‘‘become dry’’ (MK).

w- is a vocalic sign.

WCh \*ĉwar- ‘‘become dry’’: Krk səwru.

## 565 \*ĉorah- ‘‘swallow’’

Sem \*šVrah- ‘‘glut’’: Arab šrh [-a-].

Note the semantic development.

LEC \*sōr- < \*soHVr- ‘‘feed’’: Or soora.

Metathesis.

566 \*ĉud-/ \*ĉa<sup>3</sup>ad- ‘‘harrow, till’’

Sem \*šud- ‘‘harrow, till’’: Hbr šdd.

Eg š<sup>3</sup>d ‘‘dig, till’’ (OK).

WCh \*ĉaHVd- ‘‘till, plough’’: Wrj šad-, Kry šeyasēd, Miya šad-, Paa  
šadu, Siri šaḍa.

Dhl hlaḍ- ‘‘sweep ground’’.

-d- seems to reflect a lost laryngeal.

Note a parallel form of the root with an inlaut laryngeal.

567 \*ĉu<sup>c</sup>- ‘‘knife’’

Eg š<sup>c</sup>.t ‘‘knife’’ (pyr).

CCh \*šuw- ‘‘knife’’: Gis šuw-eḍ, Bld šuw, Mofu šuw-eḍ.

From \*ĉuH-.

ECh \*ĉuw- ‘‘knife’’: Mkk suwo.

From \*ĉuH-.

Related to \*ĉa<sup>c</sup>- ‘‘cut’’.

## 568 \*ĉuḥat- ‘‘be afraid’’

Sem \*šVḥat- ‘‘be afraid’’: Akk šaḥātu [-a-].

WCh \*ĉuHat- ‘‘be afraid’’: Fyer šušwet, Tng soode, suude.

Partial reduplication in Fyer.

### 569 \*ĉuk- “cut, pierce”

Sem \*šuk- “pierce (with a spear)”<sup>1</sup>, “skewer”<sup>2</sup>: Arab škk [-u-]<sup>1</sup>, Jib šekk<sup>2</sup>.  
 WCh \*ĉuk- “pierce, slaughter”: Hs sōka, sūka.  
 Omot \*šuk- “slaughter”: Ome šuk-, Yam šuk-, Kaf šuk(k)-, Bwo šuk-, Gim šuk-.

### 570 \*ĉuk- “sharp weapon”

WCh \*ĉuk- “knife”: Sha šuk, Klr suk.  
 CCh \*šuk- “knife”: Tera šug-di, Boka šəχ-tə.  
 Boka -χ- < \*-k- in contact with an unvoiced stop.  
 HEC \*šuk- “big knife”: Bmb šuko, šuuko.  
 Derived from \*ĉuk- “cut, pierce”.

### 571 \*ĉun- “sorcery, magic”

Eg šn.w “sorcerer” (NK).  
 ECh \*ĉun- “magic, medicine”<sup>1</sup>, “fetish”<sup>2</sup>: Kwn sɔ:nɛ<sup>1</sup>, Sok sune<sup>2</sup>.

### 572 \*ĉup- “lip”

Sem \*šap- “lip”: Akk šaptu, Ug šp-t, Hbr šāpā, Aram (Syr) sep<sup>o</sup>tō, Arab šaf-at-.  
 \*-u- > \*-a- before a labial.  
 Rift \*šuf- “lip”: Irq šufi, Bur šufi, Kwz šifi- to.  
 Initial \*š- is irregular.  
 Cf. also Eg sp.t “lip” (pyr)?

### 573 \*ĉur- “make warm”

Sem \*šur- “keep in the sun”: Arab šrr [-u-].  
 Eg ššr “roast” (pyr).  
 Eg š- may reflect prefix \*ʔV-.

### 574 \*ĉuram- “big vessel”

Sem \*šurām- “big vessel”: Akk šurāmu.  
 Eg ššm.w “big mug” (OK).  
 Note -ʃ- < \*-r-.

Probably, a *Wanderwort*.

### 575 \*ĉVmVm- “be ill”

Sem \*šVmVm- “become weak”: Akk šamāmu.  
 Eg šmm, šm “be feverous” (med).

### 576 \*ĉVpVt- “be angry”

Sem \*šVpVt- “threaten”: Akk šapātu, šapātu.  
 Eg špt “wrath” (BD).  
 Eg -t- is one of regular continuations of HS \*-t-.

\*Ĉ

### 577 \*ĉaba<sup>2</sup>- “army, people”

Sem \*šaba<sup>2</sup>- “army, soldiers”: Akk šābu, Ug šb<sup>2</sup>, Phn šb<sup>2</sup>, Hbr šābā<sup>(?)</sup>.  
 Eg db<sup>2</sup> “army”.

Related to \*ĉaba<sup>2</sup>- “wage war”.

### 578 \*ĉaba<sup>2</sup>- “wage war”

Sem \*šVba<sup>2</sup>- “attack”<sup>1</sup>, “wage war”<sup>2</sup>, “fight”<sup>3</sup>: Akk sabā<sup>2</sup>u<sup>2</sup>, Hbr šb<sup>2</sup><sup>2</sup>, Arab db<sup>2</sup> [-a-]<sup>1</sup>, SAr db<sup>2</sup><sup>1</sup>, Gz šb<sup>2</sup><sup>2</sup>, Tgr šb<sup>2</sup><sup>3</sup>, Tgy šb<sup>2</sup><sup>3</sup>.  
 Agaw \*šab- “wage war”: Bil šab-, šib-, Kwr sab-.

### 579 \*ĉafir- “plaiting”

Sem \*šapīr- “plaiting”<sup>1</sup>, “braid”<sup>2</sup>: Arab đafir-<sup>2</sup>, Gz đafir<sup>2</sup>, Jib đafir-e-t<sup>1</sup>, Soq đafir-əh<sup>1</sup>.

Cf. Sem \*šVpVr- ‘‘plait, twist’’: Arab *dfr*, Gz *dfr*, Jib *dɔfɔr*.  
 ECh \*čyapir- < \*čapir- ‘‘kind of pubic hair’’: Bid *dyepir*.  
 \*-ya- < \*-a- influenced by the front vowel of the following syllable.

LEC \*čif(V)r- ‘‘women’s hairdo’’<sup>1</sup>, ‘‘braid’’<sup>2</sup>: Or *čifra*<sup>1</sup>, Kon *čirf*<sup>1</sup>, Gid *čirf*<sup>2</sup>.

Metathesis in Kon and Gid. Unexpected \*i resulting from the assimilation of vowels.

Related to \*čef- ‘‘plait, comb’’.

### 580 \*čam- ‘‘be bitter’’

WCh \*čamam- ‘‘(be) bitter’’: Hs *čāmi*, Siri *šāmāmu*, Cagu *šemama*, Paa *šammā*.

Partial reduplication.

ECh \*čyam- ‘‘bitter’’: Jegu *ʔzeema*.

\*čyam- < \*čami-.

Omot \*čam- ‘‘(be) bitter’’: Ome *čaam-*, Kaf *čaamm-*, Mch *čammo*.

Ome and Kaf may reflect a secondary formation with an inlaut laryngeal \*čaHam-.

### 581 \*čamb- ‘‘lizard, frog’’

Sem \*šabb- ‘‘turtle’’<sup>1</sup>, ‘‘lizard’’<sup>2</sup>: Hbr *šāb*<sup>1</sup>, Arab *dabb*<sup>2</sup>, Hss *dōb*<sup>2</sup>, Mhr *dōb*<sup>2</sup>, Shh *dob*<sup>2</sup>.

\*-b(b)- continues a prenasalized HS cluster \*-mb-.

WCh \*čumb- ‘‘frog’’: Hs *čumbō*.

Secondary \*-u- before a labial.

Rift \*čamb- ‘‘frog’’: Alg *čembe*<sup>u</sup>, Bur *čambe*<sup>u</sup>.

### 582 \*čap- ‘‘marry’’

Berb \*čVp- ‘‘marry’’: Ayr *əttəf*.

Rift \*čap- ‘‘pay bridewealth’’: Kwz *čap*.

### 583 \*čar- ‘‘enemy’’

Sem \*šarr- ‘‘enemy’’: Akk *šerru*, *šēru*, Ug *šr-t*, Hbr *šar*, Aram *čār*, Gz *dar*, Tgy *šār*.

Eg *dʒdʒ* ‘‘enemy’’ (pyr).

Reduplication. Note -ʔ < HS \*-r-.

Related to \*čir-/čur- ‘‘be hostile’’

### 584 \*čayVp- ‘‘stranger, guest’’

Sem \*šayp- ‘‘guest’’: Arab *dayf-*, Hss *dayf*, Mhr *dayf*.

Cf. a denominative verb \*šVyVp- in Arab *dyf*[-i-] ‘‘be a guest’’, Jib *edef* ‘‘give hospitality’’.

WCh \*čay(V)p- ‘‘friend’’<sup>1</sup>, ‘‘pilgrim, stranger’’<sup>2</sup>, ‘‘guest’’<sup>3</sup>: Sura *mi-zep*<sup>2</sup>, Chip *mə-zep*<sup>1</sup>, Mnt *mə-zep*<sup>2</sup>, Ank *mos*<sup>2</sup>, Grk *mə-dap*<sup>2</sup>, Krk *šapa*<sup>1</sup>, Pero *mi-živa*<sup>3</sup>, Krf *n- zafe*<sup>1</sup>.

CCh \*mi-šip- ‘‘guest’’: Mrg *mišipi*, Chb *məšəbi*, Wmd *mišibi*, Klb *mihibi*.

Prefix \*mi-. Voicing of \*-p- in individual languages is regular.

### 585 \*čef- ‘‘plait, comb’’ (v.)

Sem \*šVp-šVp- ‘‘plait (hair)’’: Arab *dɔdf*.

Reduplication.

WCh \*čyaf- ‘‘comb (beard)’’: Hs *čēfe*.

### 586 \*čim- ‘‘tie, sew’’

Sem \*šum- ‘‘join, bind’’: Arab *šmm* [-u-], Gz *šmm*.

\*-u- < HS \*-i- influenced by the following labial.

WCh \*čim- ‘‘sew’’: Siri *šim*, Jmb *šim*, Geji *šim-vi*, Buli *šemu*.

ECh \*čim- ‘‘sew’’: Mig *dyimmo*, Mubi *ʔzeme-ge*.

### 587 \*čur- ‘‘be hostile’’

Sem \*šur- ‘‘be hostile’’<sup>1</sup>, ‘‘inflict harm’’<sup>2</sup>: Ug *šrr*<sup>1</sup>, Arab *drr* [-u-]<sup>1</sup>, Sar *drr*<sup>1</sup>, Jib *zerr*<sup>2</sup>.

Cf. also Hbr *šwr* ‘‘be hostile’’.

Eg *dʒʒ* ‘‘be hostile’’ (pyr).

Suffix -y. Note HS \*-r- > -ʔ-.

WCh \*čVr- ‘‘ostracizing’’: Hs *čiri*.

Assimilation of vowels.

## 588 \*ĉüb- “flow, rain” (v.)

Sem \**ĉib*- “flow” (v.): Arab *qbb* [-i-].

Rift \**ĉub*- “rain (v.)”: Irq *ĉuw*-, Bur *ĉub*-, Kwz *ĉub*-.

Dhl *luβ*- “rain (v.)”.

## \*d

589 \*da<sup>2</sup>- “child”

WCh \**da*<sup>2</sup>- “child”: Hs *ḍa*.

*ḍ*- < \**d*- under the influence of the laryngeal.

ECh \**dwa*<sup>2</sup>- “son, child”: Smr *doi*.

Unexpected \*-*wa*-, probably resulting from the interaction with the lost vowel of the second syllable.

LEC \**da*<sup>2</sup>- “baby, child”: Or *daa*<sup>2</sup>-*ima*.

Related to \**da*<sup>2</sup>-/\**daw*- “man, chief”? As far as the development of meaning is concerned see s.v. \**bar*- “man”.

590 \*da<sup>2</sup>- “worm, snake”

WCh \**da*<sup>2</sup>- “snake”: Hs *ḍa*.

Hs *ḍ*- < \**d*- under the influence of the laryngeal.

Cf. Ang *dū* “lizard”.

Bed *dʔa*, *doʔo* “worm”.

591 \*da<sup>2</sup>- “urinate, ejaculate, perspire”

Berb \**dVH*- “perspiration”: Izy *riḍi*.

Eg *dʔ* “ejaculate”.

Bed *da*<sup>2</sup>- “urinate”.

Related to \**da*<sup>2</sup>-/\**daw*- “be wet”? The present word seems to be a generalized term for liquid excreta.

592 \*da<sup>2</sup>- “place, house”

Berb \**daH*- “place”: Ghḍ -*dā*-, Sml *i-dā*.

WCh \**daH*- “place”<sup>1</sup>, “town”<sup>2</sup>: Sha *ḍa*<sup>1</sup>, Ngz *ḍā*<sup>2</sup>.

*ḍ*- < \**d*- under the influence of the laryngeal.

CCh \**dayi*- “town”: Bura *di*, Ngw *dey*, *di*.

From \**da*<sup>2</sup>-*i*-.

ECh \**daH*- “house”: Sok *dā*.

LEC \**da*<sup>2</sup>- “hiding place”: Or *da*<sup>2</sup>*oo*.

Rift \**da*<sup>2</sup>-/\**di*<sup>2</sup>- “place”: Irq *di*, Bur *da*, Alg *di* (pl.).

Cf. also Irq *do* “house”, Alg *doʔo* id. Unexpected -*i*- in Irq and Alg may reflect the vocalism of plural.

593 \*da<sup>2</sup>- “move”

Berb \**dV(w)*- “go, walk”: Izy *eddu*, Kby *ddu*, *əddu*.

Eg *dʔ* “run, run away”.

WCh \**da*<sup>2</sup>-/\**di*<sup>2</sup>- “go”<sup>1</sup>, “come”<sup>2</sup>, “follow”<sup>3</sup>: Ang *dā*<sup>1</sup>, Miya *ḍiy*<sup>2</sup>, Kry *də*<sup>3</sup>.

Miya -*iy*- < \*-*i*<sup>2</sup>-.

CCh \**da*<sup>2</sup>-/\**di*<sup>2</sup>- “run”<sup>1</sup>, “lead”<sup>2</sup>, “migrate”<sup>3</sup>: Tera *ḍa*<sup>1</sup>, Hwn *ḍa*<sup>1</sup>, Log *da*, *di*<sup>2</sup>.

HEC \**dV*- “come”: Sid *d*-.

Dhl *ḍaa*<sup>c</sup>- “leave in a hurry”.

Unexpected laryngeal.

Omot \**doH*- “return” (Ome *doh*-) and Rift \**dah*- “come, enter” (Irq *dah*-, Kwz *dah*-, Asa *dah*-) may also belong to this root.

594 \*da<sup>2</sup>-/\*daw- “be wet”

Sem \**nVdaw*-/\**naday*- “be wet”: Arab *ndw*, *ndy* [-a-].

Prefix \**nV*-. Cf. Sem \**dVy*- “rain” (n.) (Eja *dəyyä*, Gog *diyä*).

Berb \**dVw*- “soak”: Ahg *ə-du*.

WCh \**da*<sup>2</sup>- “pour”<sup>1</sup>, “be wet”<sup>2</sup>: Sura *dō*<sup>1</sup>, Ang *dō*<sup>1</sup>, Kry *dā*<sup>2</sup>, Jmb *da*<sup>2</sup>*ā*<sup>2</sup>.

Agaw \**du*- “pour”: Aun *du-ḡ*.

LEC \**da*<sup>2</sup>- “rain” (v.): Som *da*<sup>2</sup>-.

Cf. also reduplication in SA \**dad*- “rainy season” (Saho *dada*).

Consonantal alternation \**-*<sup>2</sup>- ~ \*-*w*-.

595 \*da<sup>2</sup>-/\*daw- “man, chief”

Berb \**dVw*- “men”: Fgg *i-du*.

Cf. also Nfs *i-wd-an*, Sha *i-wd-an* id. continuing *\*wVd-*.  
 WCh *\*da<sup>3</sup>-* ‘‘chief’’: Sura *n-daa*, Ang *dē*.  
 CCh *\*da<sup>3</sup>i-* ‘‘man’’<sup>1</sup>, ‘‘people’’<sup>2</sup>: Mba *ᵛḍiya*<sup>1</sup>, Msg *dai*<sup>2</sup>.  
 Rift *\*daH-* ‘‘stranger’’: Irq *dahay-mo*, Bur *daha*, Asa *dē-imu*.

Consonantal alternation *\*-ᵛ-* ~ *\*-w-*. Related to *\*da<sup>3</sup>-* ‘‘child’’?  
 Note *\*nV-da-* ‘‘person; father’’ in WCh and CCh.

### 596 *\*da<sup>3</sup>ap-* ‘‘follow’’

WCh *\*da<sup>3</sup>ap-* ‘‘follow’’: Sura *tap*, Bol *ḍapp-*, Krk *dāf-*.  
 HEC *\*daHap-* ‘‘reconnoitre, spy’’: Had *daap*.

### 597 *\*da<sup>3</sup>aw-* ‘‘move’’

Sem *\*dV<sup>3</sup>aw/\*dV<sup>3</sup>ay-* ‘‘sneak (of a wolf)’’: Arab *d<sup>3</sup>w*, *d<sup>3</sup>y* [-a-].  
 Berb *\*dVw-* ‘‘arrive in the afternoon’’: Ayr *adwu*.  
 WCh *\*da<sup>3</sup>aw-* ‘‘return’’<sup>1</sup>, ‘‘come’’<sup>2</sup>: Hs *dāwō*<sup>1</sup>, Paa *dav*<sup>2</sup>.  
 Cf. also Miya *ḍiy* ‘‘follow’’ reflecting *\*dV<sup>3</sup>Vy-*, probably, corresponding to Arab *d<sup>3</sup>y*.  
 Derived from *\*da<sup>3</sup>-* ‘‘move’’.

### 598 *\*da<sup>3</sup>ud-* ‘‘trample’’

ECh *\*dV<sup>3</sup>ud-* ‘‘trample’’: Mkk *dūd-*.  
 Agaw *\*dad-* ‘‘trample’’: Bil *dad-*, Kwr *dad-*, Dmb *dad-*, Kem *dad-*.  
 Reduplication of *\*da<sup>3</sup>-* ‘‘move’’.

### 599 *\*da<sup>3</sup>üm-* ‘‘spear’’

Sem *\*da<sup>3</sup>im-* ‘‘spear’’: Akk *da<sup>3</sup>imu*.  
 Secondary inlaut laryngeal?  
 CCh *\*ᵛudum-* ‘‘spear’’: FJ *wudumi*, Gude *ᵛuduma*.  
 Assimilation of vowels and metathesis.

### 600 *\*dab-* ‘‘follow’’

CCh *\*da<sup>3</sup>Vb-* < *\*HV-dab-* ‘‘follow’’: Dgh *ḍaba*, Mnd *ḍaba*.  
 Metathesis of the laryngeal prefix.  
 Omot *\*dab-* ‘‘follow’’: Ome *dab(b)-*.

Cf. Sem *\*dib-* ‘‘crawl, walk slowly’’: Arab *dbb* [-i-].

### 601 *\*dab-* ‘‘vessel, box’’

Sem *\*dabb-* ‘‘vessel for oil’’: Arab *dabb-at-*.  
 Eg *db* ‘‘box’’ (n).  
 LEC *\*dob-* ‘‘vessel for oil’’: Som *dobi*.  
*\*-o-* < HS *\*a* before a labial consonant.

### 602 *\*dab-* ‘‘trample’’

Sem *\*dVb-dVb-* ‘‘trample’’: Arab *dbdb*.  
 Reduplication.  
 WCh *\*dabVH-* ‘‘trample (floor)’’: Hs *daḥa*.  
 Laryngeal suffix?

### 603 *\*dab-* ‘‘big animal’’

Sem *\*dabb-/\*dubb-* ‘‘bear’’: Akk *dabbu*, Amor *dabbu*, Hbr *dōb*, Aram (Syr) *debb-*, Arab *dubb-*, Gz *dəb*, Tgr *dəb*.  
*\*dubb-* is a secondary variant of *\*dabb-*.  
 Eg *db* ‘‘hyppopotamus’’ (OK).  
 Dhl *ḍaḥi* ‘‘animal, meat’’.

### 604 *\*dab-* ‘‘skin, hide’’

ECh *\*daḥ-* < *\*dabaH-* ‘‘skin’’: Kwn *daḥa*.  
 Irregular emphatic.  
 Agaw *\*dabb-* ‘‘tanned hide’’: Bil *dabba*.  
 Derivative in *\*dVbVl-* ‘‘hide’’: Bil *dəbbəla*, Kwr *dəbbəlaa*, Kem *dəbbəlaa*.  
 LEC *\*dub-* ‘‘skin’’: Som *dub*.  
 Secondary *\*u*.  
 Omot *\*dabb-* ‘‘clothes made of bull-hide’’: Kaf *dabboo*.

Cf. Bed *adeeb* ‘‘skin, hide’’ < *\*ᵛa-daHab-*. As to *-ee-* < *\*-aHa-*, see s.v. *\*daḥar-* ‘‘drive away’’.

## 605 \*dab-/\*dib- “break, beat”

WCh \*dab- “break”: Sura *teḫ*, Ang *tap*, *teḫ*, Mnt *teḫ*, Krk *dabu*,  
 Ngm *daḫ*, Glm *dw-*.

SA \*dib- “whisk, beat”: Afar *dibe*.

Alternation \*a ~ \*i. Connected with \*dab- “trample”?

606 \*daba<sup>3</sup>- “insect”

Sem \*daba<sup>3</sup>- “small locust”: Arab *dabā*(<sup>3</sup>)-*t-*.

CCh \*daḫ- < \*daba<sup>3</sup>- “termite”: Lame *daḫ*, *dəḫai*.

ECh \*dVb-dVb- “tsetse”: Kera *adəbdəbə*.

Reduplication.

607 \*daba<sup>3</sup>- “pound, grind”

Berb \*dVbV<sub>3</sub>- “thresh”: Zng *dəbəz*.

WCh \*daba<sup>3</sup>- “coarsely ground flour”: Hs *dābāza*.

Nominal derivative of the original verbal root.

## 608 \*dabin- “fence, trap”

Sem \*dibn- “enclosure”: Aram (Syr) *debn-*, Arab *dibn-*.

\*dibn- may result from a modification of \*dabin-?

LEC \*dabin- “trap”: Som *dabin*.

## 609 \*dabur- “insect”

Sem \*dabr- “bee”<sup>1</sup>, “wasp”<sup>2</sup>: Hbr *d<sup>3</sup>bōrā*<sup>1</sup>, Aram (Jud) *d<sup>3</sup>bōrā*<sup>1</sup>,  
 Arab *dabr-at-*<sup>2</sup>, *dabbūr-*<sup>2</sup>.

CCh \*dVbur- “termite”: Bata *dəvuŕ-ŋən*.

LEC \*darab- “earth-worm”: Or *darabii*.

Metathesis and assimilation of vowels?

Derived from or related to \*daba<sup>3</sup>- “insect”.

## 610 \*dac- “flint knife”

Eg *ds* “knife, flint” (pyr).

ECh \*das- “knife”: Gbr *dase-n*, Kbl *dasi*, Dor *dosi-n*.

HS \*-c- (and not \*s) is reconstructed on the basis of the related  
 \*dac- “cut, chop” where it is definitely attested in WCh and  
 CCh.

## 611 \*dac- “cut, chop”

Eg *ds* “cut” (t).

WCh \*dac- “cut”: Hs *dāça*.

Cf. Zem *ducə* “kill”.

CCh \*dVc- “chop”: Log *dəsə*.

ECh \*daHis- < \*Hi-das- “cut”<sup>1</sup>, “cut hair”<sup>2</sup>: Sbn *dyəs*<sup>1</sup>, Sok  
*dis*<sup>2</sup>.

Metathesis of the laryngeal prefix.

Related to \*dac- “flint knife”.

## 612 \*dad- “mother”

Sem \*dad- “nursing mother”: Arab *dada(h)*.

WCh \*dad- “mother, sister”: Ngz *daadu*.

May go back to \*daHad-.

CCh \*dad- “mother”: Gis *dada*.

Descriptive root.

## 613 \*dad- “man, boy”

Berb \*dad- “people”<sup>1</sup>, “brother, uncle”<sup>2</sup>: Izy *mi-dd-en*<sup>1</sup>, Kby  
*dadda*<sup>2</sup>.

Kby is also used as a term of respect.

WCh \*dad- “boy”: Bol *dāde*.

LEC \*dad- “men, people”: Som *dad*, Boni *dad*.

Descriptive root? Reduplication of \*da<sup>3</sup>-/\*daw- “man, chief”?

## 614 \*dad- “flow, be wet”

Eg *dɔdɔ* “flow away”.

WCh \*dVd- “be wet”: Wrj *dəd*, Diri *dəd*.

LEC \*dad- “flow of water”: Som *daad*.

HEC \*dad- “flow”: Had *daadd-*.

Reduplication of HS *\*daʔ-/\*daw-* ‘‘flow, be wet’’.

### 615 *\*daf-* ‘‘heat, sweat’’

Berb *\*dVf-* ‘‘warmth’’: Aks *ddfa*.

WCh *\*daHVf-* ‘‘sweat’’: Ngz *daafau*.

CCh *\*(mu-)daf-* ‘‘sweat’’: Ngw *mu-ɖufa*, Glv *ngu-dɛfa*, Gava *ngwu-ɖufa*, Log *mu-tfu*, Kus *n-dafy*.

Kus *n-* is assimilated from *\*mV-*.

Bed *duf* ‘‘sweat’’.

*-u-* < *\*a* before a labial.

Agaw *\*dif-* ‘‘sweat’’: Bil *dif*.

Irregular vocalism.

HEC *\*daff-* ‘‘sweat’’: Dar *daffa*.

Omot *\*duf-* ‘‘sweat’’: Hmr *duf*, *duuf*.

*-u-* < *\*a* before a labial.

Related to *\*dafaʔ-* ‘‘be hot, perspire’’.

### 616 *\*dafaʔ-* ‘‘be hot, perspire’’

Sem *\*dVpaʔ-* ‘‘be hot’’: Arab *ɖp* [-*a-*, -*u-*].

CCh *\*daf-* ‘‘hot, warm’’: Kus *ndafu*, Mus *dafu*.

Cf. Mtk *ɖuf-* ‘‘warm (water)’’ (v.).

HEC *\*daf(f)-* ‘‘perspire’’: Dar *daff-*.

Cf. WCh *\*daf-* ‘‘cook’’ (v.): Hs *dafaʔ*?. Related to *\*daf-* ‘‘heat, sweat’’.

### 617 *\*dag-* ‘‘forget, lose’’

ECh *\*dag-* ‘‘get lost’’: Mkk *daggiya*.

Suffix *-iya*.

LEC *\*dag-* ‘‘forget’’: Or *daga*.

### 618 *\*dag-* ‘‘see, know’’

Eg *dgy* ‘‘see, look’’.

Suffix *-y-*.

ECh *\*dVg-* ‘‘think’’: Kera *ɖigi*.

Irregular emphatic.

SA *\*(HV)dag-* ‘‘know, learn’’: Saho *-ɖag-*, *-ɖig-*, *-ɖeg-*, Afar *dag-*, *ɖag-*.

HEC *\*dag-/\*deg-* ‘‘know’’: Kmb *dag-*, *deg-*.

### 619 *\*dag-/\*dig-* ‘‘go’’

Sem *\*dig-* ‘‘go slowly’’<sup>1</sup>, ‘‘be slow’’<sup>2</sup>: Arab *dgg* [-*i-*]<sup>1</sup>, Gur *dəg*, *dəg*<sup>2</sup>.

Eg *dgɔ* ‘‘go’’ (n).

*-ɔ* stands for *\*a* of the root syllable.

Agaw *\*dig-* ‘‘come close’’: Aun *dig-əŋ*.

HEC *\*dag-* ‘‘come’’<sup>1</sup>, ‘‘go’’<sup>2</sup>, ‘‘escape’’<sup>3</sup>: Sid *dag-*<sup>1</sup>, Dar *dag-*<sup>2</sup>, Bmb *dag-*<sup>3</sup>.

Alternation *\*a* ~ *\*i*.

### 620 *\*dagan-* ‘‘corn’’

Sem *\*dagan-* ‘‘corn’’: Ug *dgn*, Phn *dgn*, Hbr *dāgān*.

WCh *\*dang-* ‘‘corn’’: Ang *tang*.

The development of the original structure in Chadic is parallel to similar structural changes in HS *\*čakin-* ‘‘knife’’ and *\*čakin-* ‘‘net’’.

### 621 *\*dagir-/\*dagur-* ‘‘beans, millet’’

Sem *\*digr-* ‘‘haricot’’<sup>1</sup>, ‘‘bean’’<sup>2</sup>: Arab *digr-*<sup>1</sup>, Soq *digir*<sup>2</sup>.

Assimilation of vowels from *\*dagir-*. Cf. also Arab *dagr-*, *dugr-* id.

ECh *\*dagir-* ‘‘millet’’: Sok *dagir*.

Agaw *\*ɔa-da(n)gur-* ‘‘bean’’: Xmr *adogur*, Dmt *adanguari*, Aun *adan-guari*.

Prefix *\*ɔa-*.

SA *\*ɔa-dagur-* ‘‘bean’’: Saho *adogur*.

Prefix *\*ɔa-*.

LEC *\*digir-* ‘‘bean’’: Som *digir*.

Assimilation of vowels. A Sem loanword?

### 622 *\*da<sup>c</sup>-/\*di<sup>c</sup>-* ‘‘look, know’’

WCh *\*diH-/\*diw-* ‘‘see’’: Cagu *duw-*, Fyr *ɖi*.

Secondary \*-w- < \*-H- before a rounded vowel (cf. also its influence upon the root vocalism in Cagu).

SA \*da<sup>c</sup>-/\*di<sup>c</sup>- ‘‘know, be able’’: Saho di<sup>c</sup>-, da<sup>c</sup>-, di<sup>c</sup>-, da<sup>c</sup>-, Afar di<sup>c</sup>-, da<sup>c</sup>-, da<sup>c</sup>-.  
 LEC \*da<sup>c</sup>- ‘‘understand’’<sup>1</sup>, ‘‘see’’<sup>2</sup>: Som da<sup>c</sup>-, da<sup>c</sup>-<sup>1</sup>, daay<sup>2</sup>, Bay d-<sup>2</sup>.

Dhl *daaw-at*- ‘‘look after’’.  
 -w- < \*-c-?

Rift \*da<sup>2</sup>- ‘‘watch, gaze’’: Kwz da<sup>2</sup>-am-.

Note Rift \*-c- < \*-c-.

Cf. reduplications in Dhl *diid*- ‘‘inspect’’ and Rift \**did*- ‘‘remember’’: Kwz *did*-.

Cf. reduplications in Dhl *diid*- ‘‘inspect’’ and Rift \**did*- ‘‘remember’’: Kwz *did*-.

### 623 \*daham- ‘‘vessel, container’’

Sem \*dahmay- ‘‘pan’’: Arab *dahmā*-.

Derived from \*dahm-.

WCh \*Ha-dam- ‘‘bag’’: Sura *daam*.

Metathesis. Cf. Hs *madāmi* ‘‘pot’’ < WCh \*ma-daHam-.

### 624 \*dahun- ‘‘lie, deceive’’

Sem \*dVhun- ‘‘deceive’’: Arab *dhn* [-u-].

WCh \*danuH- < \*daHun- ‘‘lie, deceive’’: Chip *ḏuṅ*, Bks *ḏaṅ*.

Metathesis.

### 625 \*dah-/diḥ- ‘‘fall’’

Sem \*dVh- ‘‘push’’: Akk *daḥū*, *deḥū*, Phn *dhy*, Aram (Syr) *deḥa*<sup>2</sup>, (Mand) *dh*<sup>2</sup>, Arab *dḥw*.

Various derivatives based on a biconsonantal stem.

WCh \*daH- ‘‘fall’’: Siri *da*, Cagu *dā*-, Mbu *dā*-.

CCh \*diH- ‘‘fall’’: Chb *ḏi*.

ECh \*daHwa- ‘‘fall’’: Kwn *ḏawē*, Mobu *ḏawe*.

Omot \*diḥ- ‘‘fall’’: Mch *dihi(ye)*.

Note \*-h- < \*-ḥ-.

### 626 \*dahar- ‘‘drive away’’

Sem \*dVhar- ‘‘drive away’’<sup>1</sup>, ‘‘divorce’’<sup>2</sup>: Arab *dḥr* [-a-]<sup>1</sup>, Gz *dḥr*<sup>2</sup>.

Bed *deer* ‘‘drive away’’.

-ee- < \*-aHa-.

SA \*daHar- ‘‘drive away’’: Afar *da<sup>2</sup>ar*.

Unexpected \*-j-.

LEC \*day(V)r- ‘‘drive away’’<sup>1</sup>, ‘‘send’’<sup>2</sup>: Som *dayri*-<sup>1</sup>, *dir*-<sup>2</sup>.

\*-y- may reflect an intervocalic laryngeal.

Any connection with \*dVhar- ‘‘hunt’’ (v.)? As far as the meaning is concerned, cf. Slav \**gъnati* ‘‘hunt, drive away’’. Derived from \*dar- ‘‘drive away’’.

### 627 \*daḥiḥ- ‘‘press, squeeze’’

Sem \*dVhVḥ- ‘‘oppress’’<sup>1</sup>, ‘‘trample over’’<sup>2</sup>: Akk *daṣū*<sup>1</sup>, Tgr *däḥaṣa*<sup>2</sup>, Tgy *däḥaṣä*<sup>2</sup>, Amh *daṣä*<sup>2</sup>, Gur *datä*<sup>2</sup>.

CCh \*daHiḥ- ‘‘squeeze’’: Gis *doč*, Mofu *ḏač*, Daba *ḏič*.

### 628 \*dahVr- ‘‘skin’’

Eg *dḥr* ‘‘skin’’ (MK).

ECh \*dar- ‘‘skin’’: Tum *dar*.

### 629 \*dah- ‘‘stone’’

Berb \*dVγ(Vγ)- ‘‘stone’’: Kby *adyay*.

Partial reduplication.

Eg *dḥ.w.t* ‘‘stone block’’ (n).

WCh \*daHya- ‘‘stone’’: Jmb *ḏaya*, Dwot *ḏayi*.

ECh \*dVHVγ- ‘‘stone, rock’’: Tum *dəə:y*.

### 630 \*dah- ‘‘smoke’’

Sem \*duḥ(h)- ‘‘smoke’’: Arab *daḥḥ*-, *duḥḥ*-.

Secondary vocalism in *duḥḥ*-.

CCh \*dyaH- < \*daHi- ‘‘smoke’’: LPe *dēoka*, Msm *deu*.

### 631 \*daHir- ‘‘press, squeeze’’

Berb \*dVr- ‘‘press’’: Ahg *a-dər*.

WCh \*daHir- ‘‘crack’’<sup>1</sup>, ‘‘thresh’’<sup>2</sup>: Hs *däre*<sup>1</sup>, Bol *diir*<sup>2</sup>, Wrj *dər*<sup>2</sup>, Kry *dər*<sup>2</sup>, Miya *dər*<sup>2</sup>, Cagu *dar*<sup>2</sup>, Mbu *dər*<sup>2</sup>, Jmb *dira*<sup>2</sup>.



If Hs does not belong here, it is quite plausible that the original form of the root was *\*dir-*.

### 632 \*dak- “niche, stair”

Sem *\*dak(k)-* “bench”<sup>1</sup>, “staircase”<sup>2</sup>: Arab *dakk-at-*<sup>1</sup>, Tgr *dəkka*<sup>1</sup>, Mhr *dekk-ūt-*<sup>1</sup>, Soq *dekk-oh*<sup>2</sup>.

Berb *\*dVwVk-* “niche”: Ghd *a-ddūk*.

Secondary formation based on *\*dVk-*.

### 633 \*dak-/\*duk- “beat, pound”

Sem *\*duk-* “pound”: Akk *dakāku*, Arab *dkk* [-u-].

Cf. Sem *\*dVka-* “pound, push”: Akk *dakū*, Hbr *dk*<sup>2</sup>.

WCh *\*dak-/\*duk-* “pound”: Hs *daka*, Bol *dak-*, Tng *tug-*.

CCh *\*dak-* “trample”<sup>1</sup>, “strike”<sup>2</sup>: Mba *dak*<sup>1</sup>, Log *tku*<sup>2</sup>.

Alternation *\*a* ~ *\*u*. Cf. *\*daḵ-/\*duḵ-* “break, pound”.

### 634 \*daḵ- “clay, sand”

Berb *\*dVḵ(k)-* “clay”: Sus *idəḵḵi*.

WCh *\*daḵ-* “clay soil”: Hs *daḵo*.

Bed *dek<sup>wa</sup>* “dust”.

Irregular *-k-* < *\*-ḵ-*. The development of the vowel is not quite clear.

Agaw *\*daḵu-* “clay”: Kwr *daḵ<sup>wa</sup>*.

### 635 \*daḵ-/\*duḵ- “break, pound”

Sem *\*duḵ-* “crush”<sup>1</sup>, “break, beat”<sup>2</sup>: Hbr *dqq*<sup>1</sup>, Arab *dqq* [-u-]<sup>2</sup>.

Berb *\*dVḵ-* “strike, pound”: Kby *duqq*.

WCh *\*ḍak-* < *\*daḵ-* “pound”: Hs *dan-daḵā*, Ngz *ḍaku*.

Dhl *ḍuk'-uδ-* “destroy”.

Alternation *\*a* ~ *\*u*.

### 636 \*dal- “buttocks”

Sem *\*dall-* “buttocks, hips”: Gz *dālle*, Amh *dalle*.

CCh *\*dal-* “buttocks”: Mrg *ta-dal*, Hld *ndə:lu*, Klb *ndəl*.

Prefixes *\*ta-* and *\*nV-*.

### 637 \*dal- “be weak, be tired”

Sem *\*dall-* “small, inferior”<sup>1</sup>, “weak”<sup>2</sup>, “imperfect”<sup>3</sup>: Akk *dallu*<sup>1</sup>, Ug *dl*<sup>2</sup>, Pun *dl*<sup>3</sup>, Hbr *dal*<sup>2</sup>.

LEC *\*dal-* “be tired”: Som *daal-*.

Omot *\*dall-* “become meager”: Kaf *dalli-*.

### 638 \*dalah- “go, walk”

Sem *\*dVlah-* “walk slowly”: Arab *dlh* [-a-].

CCh *\*dal-* “go (away)”: Glv *dal-*, Gdf *dala*, Nak *adala*, Gis *ndal*.

Cf. Zgh *dile*. Prefix *\*nV-* in Gis. Complete loss of the auslaut laryngeal.

ECh *\*dal-* “go”: Mobu *dale*.

### 639 \*dam- “blood”

Sem *\*dam-* “blood”: Akk *dāmu*, Ug *dm*, Hbr *dām*, Aram (Syr) *dāmō*, Arab *dam-*, Gz *dam*, Tgr *dām*, Tgy *dām*, Amh *dām*, Gaf *dām<sup>wa</sup>*, Hrr *dām*, Gur *dām*.

Berb *\*dam(m)-* “blood”: Ghd *damm-en*, Nfs *i-damm-en*, Siwa *i-damm-en*, Zng *damm-en*, Sml *i-damm-en*, Izd *i-damm-en*, Mzab *i-dam-en*, Shn *i-dam-en*, Sha *i-dam-en*, Kby *i-dam-en*, Izn *iḍammen*, Snh *eddem*.

The above forms are generalized pl. Sg. indicates *\*dim-*, cf. Kby *iḍim*.

WCh *\*dam-* “blood”: Sura *təyom*, Ang *tom*, Ank *tiyem*, Bol *dom*, Tng *tom*, Ngm *dom*, Maha *dom*, Bele *dom*, Krf *n-daame*, Gera *n-dooma*, Ngz *dədam*.

Omot *\*dam-* “blood”: Kaf *damoo*, Mch *damo*.

### 640 \*dam- “flow (of blood)” (v.)

Sem *\*dVm-* “wound” (v.): Aram *dmm*.

Eg *dmṣ* “coagulate” (med).

Eg *-ṣ* may indicate HS *\*a*.

Derived from *\*dam-* “blood”.

## 641 \*dam- “equid”

Sem \*dam-dam- “mule”: Akk *damdammu*.

Reduplication.

Berb \*dVm(m)- “mule”: Ayr *edami*.

ECh \*gV-dam- “horse”: Kera *gədaamo*.

Prefix \*gV-.

SA \*dam- “zebra”: Afar *daami*.

## 642 \*dam- “break, press”

Berb \*dVm- “press, squeeze”: Zng *a-ḡammi*.

WCh \*daVm- “beat”: Hs *ḡāmā*.

ECh \*diim- “break”: Jegu *ḡimm*-, Mkk *diimu*, Mig *ḡiimo*, Dng *ḡyiime*.

Rift \*dam- “knead”: Kwz *dam*-.

Secondary laryngeal infixes in WCh and ECh. An alternative reconstruction is \*daim-.

## 643 \*dam- “live, last, sit”

Sem \*dVm-/\*dūm- “dwell”<sup>1</sup>, “last” (v.)<sup>2</sup>, “stay a long time in one place”<sup>3</sup>: Ug *dm*<sup>1</sup>, Arab *dwm* [-u-]<sup>2</sup>, Hss *adīm*<sup>3</sup>, Mhr *adyim*<sup>3</sup>, Shh *edyim*<sup>3</sup>.

Secondary derivative from \*dVm- morphologically identical with HS \*dVwVm- “drip, flow” formed on the basis of \*dam- “cloud”.

Eg *dm* “lie”.

-j is a vocalic sign.

WCh \*dam- “dwell”<sup>1</sup>, “sit”<sup>2</sup>: Bgh *tam*<sup>1</sup>, Geji *dem-owi*, *dəm*<sup>2</sup>.

Secondary -e-.

ECh \*dam- “dwell, live, sit”: Smr *dam*, Sbn *dama*.

Rift \*dam- “wait”: Irq *dam*-.

## 644 \*dam- “knife”

Eg *dm.t* “sword” (MK).

CCh \*dam-dam- “knife”: Mafa *damdam*.

Reduplication.

Related to \*dam- “break, press”?

## 645 \*dam- “cloud”

Sem \*damm-/\*dim- “light fog with dew”<sup>1</sup>, “rainless cloud”<sup>2</sup>:

Aram (Syr) *dīm-ət*<sup>1</sup>, Arab *damm*-, *dimām*-<sup>2</sup>.

Cf. \*dVma- “rain” (v.): Arab *dm* [-a-].

WCh \*a-dam- “cloud”: Tng *adam*.

Prefix \*a-.

Cf. Berb \*adVm- “drip” (Izy *addum*).

## 646 \*damik- “hare”

Sem \*dVmVk- “run quickly (of a hare)”: Arab *dmk*.

Denominative verb.

WCh \*damik- “hare”: Paa *damiki*.

## 647 \*dan- “family”

Eg *dn.w.t* “family” (XVIII).

WCh \*dan-H-/\*Ha-dan- “family, clan, people”: Hs *dangi*, Sura *daḡ*, Ang *deng*.

Originally, \*Ha- is a prefix.

Cf. also Rift \*dan-H- “twins” (Irq *dangi*).

## 648 \*danah- “go, walk”

Sem \*dVnah- “walk slowly (carrying a load)”: Arab *dnh* [-a-].

WCh \*dan-H- “go”<sup>1</sup>, “come”<sup>2</sup>: Bgh *dang*<sup>1</sup>, Buli *dang*<sup>2</sup>.

CCh \*din-H- “go”: Mwl *udin-ən*, Kus *ndinga*.

Irregular vocalism results from the influence of a lost vowel preceding \*-H-.

ECh \*dan-H-/\*daHan- “run away”<sup>1</sup>, “go away”<sup>2</sup>, “follow”<sup>3</sup>:

Kera *dege*<sup>1</sup>, Jegu *daḡ*<sup>2</sup>, Mkk *daane*<sup>3</sup>.

Metathesis in Mkk.

## 649 \*dand- “run away”

WCh \*dand- “emigrate”: Hs *dandī*.

Agaw \*dand- “run away”: Kwr *daand*-.

## 650 \*dan(g)- “elephant”

HEC \*dan- “elephant”: Sid *daan-icco*, Had *daane-cco*, Kmb *dani-ēcco*.

Omot \*dang- “elephant”: Kaf *dangiyo*, Mch *dāggao*, Anf *dang-ecco*, Bwo *dang-as*.

Dhl *dannaβa* “female elephant”.

Rift \*dang- “elephant”: Irq *dangw*.

This root serves as a base for HS derivatives attested outside Cush and, thus, may be a HS archaism. Cf. also SA \*dakan- “elephant” (Saho *dakaano*, Afar *dakaano*), LEC \*dagon- id. (Som *dagon*, Dhl *dokomi* id.).

## 651 \*da(n)ger- “monkey”

CCh \*dagyal- “monkey”: Bud *dägel*.

Spontaneous change of \*r > \*l.

ECh \*dVgVr- “monkey”: Ndm *dəgre*.

LEC \*danger- “monkey”: Som *daŋer*, Boni *dašer*.

HEC \*dager- “monkey”: Had *dagieraa*, Kmb *dagieraa*.

## 652 \*dangol- “elephant”

ECh \*dVng[wa]l- “trunk”<sup>1</sup>, “elephant”<sup>2</sup>: Dng *dugulo*<sup>1</sup>, Mig *diŋgillu*<sup>1</sup>, Sok *dogol*<sup>2</sup>.

Omot \*dongor(r)- “elephant”: Ome *dongor*.

Assimilation of vowels.

Derived from \*dan(g)- “elephant”. The reconstruction of \*-a- in the first syllable is tentatively based on the vocalism of \*dan(g)-.

## 653 \*dankal-/\*dankul- “bean”

WCh \*dankal- “sweet potato”: Hs *dankali*.

Cf. Kanuri *dangali*.

Agaw \*a-dangwal- “beans”: Bil *adāngwal*.

Prefix \*a-.

LEC \*dangul- “beans”: Or *daangulle*.

Connected with \*dagir-/\*dagur- “beans, millet”? Cush shows voicing of the postnasal stop.

## 654 \*daparan- “tree”

Sem \*daparan- “juniper”: Akk *daparānu*, Ug *dprn*.

CCh \*dapVrVn- “acacia”: Mofu *davərna*.

Voiced -v- < \*-p- between two vowels?

An ancient composite? For the first component cf., probably, WCh \*da[p]- “leaf” (Krk *dafo*, Ngm *daho*, *davo*).

## 655 \*daq- “fall, push”

Eg *dh* “fall” (XIX).

WCh \*dak- < \*daq- “upset”: Tng *ḍako*.

Shift of emphatization.

CCh \*dVq- “push”: Mofu *-ḍag-*.

## 656 \*dar- “run”

Sem \*dVr- “run freely”<sup>1</sup>, “run tirelessly”<sup>2</sup>: Akk *darāru*<sup>1</sup>, Arab *ḍrr*<sup>2</sup>.

Berb \*dVrVr- “gallop”: Kby *dre*<sup>c</sup>.

Secondary \*-c-.

CCh \*dar- “run”: Tera *dara*, Glv.

Prefix \*mV- and modified vocalism in Glv.

## 657 \*dar- “road”

Sem \*darar- “straight way”: Arab *darar-*.

Partial reduplication.

WCh \*darVH-/\*daHVr- “road”: Grk *der*, Krk *ndaru*, Maha *ḍore*, Miya *darhi*, Mba *dēri*, Jmb *dāru*.

Secondary inlaut laryngeal. Prefix \*nV- in Krk.

Mgg *dar* “way, road”.

Derived from \*dar- “run”. For the semantic development, cf. Gk *ὁδός* “road” ~ Slav *\*xoditi* “walk” and many other similar formations in IE.

## 658 \*dar- “dwelling place”

Sem \*dār- “dwelling”<sup>1</sup>, “house”<sup>2</sup>, “granary”<sup>3</sup>: Hbr *dōr*<sup>1</sup>,  
 Aram *dāra*(?)<sup>1</sup>, Arab *dār*-<sup>2</sup>, Hrr *dēra*<sup>3</sup>.  
 Berb \*dar- “room”<sup>1</sup>, “house”<sup>2</sup>, “village”<sup>3</sup>: Rif *tha-ddar-t*<sup>1</sup>, Izn  
*thi-ddar-t*<sup>1</sup>, Snus *ḡa-ddar-t*<sup>2</sup>, Kby *ta-ddar-t*<sup>3</sup>.

## 659 \*dar- “man, master”

CCh \*dar- “bridegroom”: Msg *darai*.  
 Rift \*dar- “master”: Gor *daari*.

Cf. also Sem \*dār- “generation, family” (Akk *dāru*, Ug *dr*, Phn  
*dr*, Hbr *dōr*)?

## 660 \*dar- “drive away”

Sem \*dVr- “drive away, make go”: Arab *dr*<sup>3</sup>, Soq *ḡedre*.  
 Eg *dr* “drive away” (pyr).

Comparison with Arab *ṭrr* “drive” is also possible.  
 Omot \*dar- “drive away”: Kaf *dar*.

Cf. \*daḥar- “drive away”.

## 661 \*daraḥ- “shield”

Sem \*daraḥ- “leather shield”: Arab *daraq-at*.  
 ECh \*darag- “shield”: Mubi *daraga* (from Arab?).

## 662 \*darib- “road”

Sem \*dar(V)b- “road, street”: Arab *darb*-, Mhr *darb*.  
 CCh \*darVb- “road”: Log *darba* (< Arab?).  
 Bed *darib* “road”.  
 Agaw \*darib- “road”: Bil *därib*.  
 SA \*darib- “road”: Saho *darib*, Afar *darib*.  
 LEC \*darab- “enclosure”: Or *darabaa*.

Assimilation of vowels.

Derived from HS \*dar- “road”. Some of the above Cush forms  
 may be Arab borrowings.

## 663 \*das- “vessel”

Eg *ds* “clay jug” (pyr).  
 WCh \*das- “kind of calabash”: Hs *dasa*.  
 CCh \*dasya-/ \*daswa- “pot, calabash”: Mofu *des*, Gude *dosa*.

## 664 \*daw- “day”

Eg *dwɜ.w* “morning” (MK), Copt \*towī id.: Bhm *tooui*, Shd *tooue*.  
 -ɜ stands for a vowel.  
 ECh \*daw- “day”<sup>1</sup>, “sun”<sup>2</sup>: Smr *dawa*<sup>1 2</sup>, Sbn *dawa*<sup>1 2</sup>, Tum  
*dəw*<sup>2</sup>, Kera *dāway*<sup>1</sup>.

## 665 \*daw-/ \*day- “arrow”

WCh \*dVyiw- “arrow”<sup>1</sup>, “knife”<sup>2</sup>: Jmb *dāwa*<sup>1</sup>, Tng *diya*<sup>2</sup>.  
 Contraction.  
 ECh \*dVw- “dart” (n.): Tum *dəəw*.  
 LEC \*daw- “arrow”: Bay *dawwe*.  
 HEC \*day- “arrow”: Bmb *daaya*.  
 Traces of HS consonantal alternation \*-w- ~ \*-y-.  
 Rift \*daʔ- “quiver” (*daʔa*-) may also belong here.

## 666 \*dawaʔ-/ \*dayaʔ- “be ill”

Sem \*dūʔ-/ \*dūy- “be ill, be weak”: Ug *dw*, *dwɜ*, Hbr *dāwe*, Aram  
 (Syr) *dʷwī*, Arab *dw*<sup>3</sup> [-a-].  
 CCh \*daʔVw- “illness”: HNk *dəwa*, Kap *dawa*, HF *dawa*.  
 ECh \*dVw- “weak”: Kera *dewe*.  
 LEC \*dayaʔ- “be hurt badly”: Or *dayyaʔa*.

Consonantal alternation \*-w- ~ \*-y-.

## 667 \*dawak- “equid”

WCh \*dawak- “horse”: Hs *dōki*, Bol *dōso*, Krk *dōku*, Dera *dok*, *dōwi*,  
 Ngm *doku*, Bele *dōšo*, Krf *dūšo*, Gera *dūša*, Grm *dūsa*, Miya  
*duwakə*, Cagu *dākə-n*, Siri *dukwi*, Mbu *dāku*, Jmb *dakwa*, Ngz *dūka*.  
 Rift \*da[k]way- “donkey”: Irq *daqwai*, Alg *ndagʷai*, Bur *daqʷe*, Kwz  
*dagwagwai-ko*.

Secondary \**k*. Metathesis.

Agaw \**dikwar*- ‘donkey’ (Kem *doɣwaraa*, Kwr *dekoraa* etc.) seems to be derived from this stem.

### 668 \**dawal*- ‘big vessel’

Sem \**dal(V)w*/\**dal(V)y*- ‘bucket’: Akk *dalū*, Hbr *dāl*, Arab *dalw*-, Hss *dōlew*, Mhr *dēlew*, Shh *dele*.

Metathesis. Cf. Aram *dlw* ‘draw water’, Gz *dlw* id.

ECh \**dal*- ‘pot’: Dor *dali*.

No traces of contraction.

LEC \**dawVl*- ‘measure of weight’ (Or *daawlaa*) may also belong to this root.

### 669 \**dawal*- ‘go, enter’

Sem \**dūl*- ‘go around’: Akk *dālu*.

ECh \**dawal*- ‘enter’: Lele *dool*.

Contraction of \*-*awa*- > Lele -*oo*-.

### 670 \**dawhal*- ‘vessel’

Sem \**dawhal*- ‘basket’: Arab *dawhal-at*.

WCh \**duHVl*- ‘pot’: Sura *tugul*, Ang *tūl*.

WCh \**u* may go back to HS \*-*aw(V)*-.

CCh \**dawyl*- ‘pot, calabash’: Log *dōli*, Mofu *dagəlu*.

ECh \**d[u]gVl*- ‘basket’<sup>1</sup>, ‘pot’<sup>2</sup>: Kbl *dugul*<sup>1</sup>, Nch *degele*<sup>2</sup>.

ECh \**g* is a possible reflex of HS \**h*.

Any connection with \**dawal*- ‘big vessel’?

### 671 \**dawul*- ‘fence’

Sem \**dawl*- ‘vicinity’: Arab *dawl*.

WCh \**wVdul*- ‘goat pen, sheep fold’: Ang *dul*.

Voiced Ang *d*- in the anlaut proves the existence of a preceding syllable. Note metathesis.

ECh \**dVlVw*- ‘fence’: Tum *dələw*.

Metathesis.

The alternative reconstruction is \**wadul*-.

### 672 \**dawVh*- ‘tree’

Sem \**dawh*- ‘high tree’: Arab *dawh-at*.

WCh \**daw(VH)*- ‘kind of tree’: Hs *dauye*.

CCh \**duw*- < \**duHVw*- ‘kind of tree’: Gis *duway*.

Cf. Dgh *daḍa* ‘branch’ with reduplication.

ECh \**daH*- ‘tree’: Nch *dā*.

### 673 \**day*- ‘put’

Eg *wɔy* ‘put’ (pyr).

Eg *w*- may be a prefix.

CCh \**day*- ‘put’: Log *de-he*.

ECh \**daH*- ‘put (down)’: Mubi *da*.

Cf. a reduplication in Sok *doudoi* ‘lie down’.

Dhl *ḍaḥ*- ‘put into, insert’.

### 674 \**dayas*- ‘trample, beat, push’

Sem \**dūs*/\**dīs*- ‘trample’: Akk *dāšu*, Hbr *dwš*, *dys*, Aram (Syr) *dwš*, Arab *dws*, *dys* [-*u*-], Gz *dzy*, Mhr *dōs*, Shh *dos*, Hss *dōs*.

Metathesis in Gz. The vocalism of the first syllable is conditioned by intervocalic \*-*y*-.

WCh \**dya*- < \**dayas*- ‘pound’<sup>1</sup>, ‘beat, strike’<sup>2</sup>: Geji *desi*<sup>1</sup>, DB *daš*<sup>2</sup>.

HEC \**dayas*- ‘split’: Kmb *dayyaas*-.

Assimilation of vowels. Borrowing from Sem?

### 675 \**dehan*- ‘smoke’

Sem \**dVhan*- ‘be smoked’<sup>1</sup>, ‘dark-colored’<sup>2</sup>: Arab *dḥn* [-*a*-]<sup>1</sup>, Shh *edḥān*<sup>2</sup>.

Secondary vocalism in a derivative.

CCh \**dyaHVn*- ‘smoke’: Gudu *mi-ḍeni*.

Derived from \**daḥ*- ‘smoke’.

### 676 \**dehul*- ‘go, enter’

Sem \**dVhul*- ‘enter’: Arab *dḥl* [-*u*-].

WCh *\*dyaHul-* “enter”<sup>1</sup>, “go out”<sup>2</sup>: Sura *del*<sup>1</sup>, Chip *deɛl*<sup>1</sup>, Mnt *del*<sup>1</sup>, Pol *deli*<sup>2</sup>, Geji *deli*<sup>2</sup>, Diri *dulə*<sup>2</sup>.  
 ECh *\*dul-* “go out”: Jegu *dul*.

### 677 \*deḵ- “shave, cut hair”

ECh *\*dVḵ-* “cut hair”: Mkk *dik-*.  
 Shift of emphatization.  
 Rift *\*deḵ-* “shave bald”: Irq *deḵw-*.

### 678 \*deman- “cloud, rain”

WCh *\*dyaman-* “rainy season”<sup>1</sup>, “rain”<sup>2</sup>: Hs *dāmunā*, *dāminā*, *dāmanā*<sup>1</sup>, Bade *demanu*<sup>2</sup>, Ngz *dəman*<sup>1</sup>.  
 Secondary vowels in the second syllable in Hs.  
 CCh *\*dyaman-* “rainy season”: Gude *devən*, Log *dēman*, Kus *deman*.  
 Dissimilation of nasals in Gude.  
 Agaw *\*dimin-* “cloud”: Bil *demna*, Xmr *dimmena*.  
 Reflects HS *\*demin-?*  
 HEC *\*duman-* “cloud”: Dar *duuman-ca*, Bmb *dumman-ci*.  
 Labialization of the vowel in the first syllable.  
 Omot *\*daman-* “cloud”: Ome *dämmānaa*.  
 Assimilation of vowels.  
 Derived from *\*dam-* “cloud”.

### 679 \*deman- “insect”

Sem *\*diman-* “insect”: Akk *dimānu*.  
 Eg *dnm* “worms” (BD).  
 Metathesis.  
 WCh *\*dyaman-* “spider”: Hs *dāmanā*.  
*de-* is a forbidden sequence in Hs.  
 Derived from *\*dim-* “insect”.

### 680 \*den- “stone”

Eg *dny* “stone block” (n).  
*-y* is a vocalic sign.  
 WCh *\*dyan-H-* “whetstone”: Bks *ᶏa-deṇ*, *ma-deṇ*.

Suffix *\*-H-*.

ECh *\*dVn-H-* “stone”: Tum *dəṇ*.  
 Suffix *\*-H-*.

### 681 \*den- “dwell, remain”

Sem *\*dūn-* “remain”: Hbr *dwn*.  
 Modification of biconsonantal *\*dVn-*.  
 WCh *\*dyan-* < *\*dyaHVn-* “sit”: Ngm *dəno*, Maha *dəna*.  
 ECh *\*dyan-* “dwell”: Kbl *den*.  
 SA *\*din-* “sleep”: Saho *diin*, Afar *diin*.

### 682 \*der- “dress” (v.)

Eg *dr* “put on (clothes)” (gr).  
 WCh *\*dyar-* “put on (clothes)”: Kera *dere*.  
 ECh *\*dyar-* “take off (clothes)”: Lele *der*.

### 683 \*der- “bird”

ECh *\*dyar-* “dove”: Mkk *deere*, Kwn *dere*.  
 Agaw *\*dir(u)-* “hen”: Bil *diruwa*, Kwr *dirwa*, Aun *dur-*.  
 Aun *-u-* < *\*-i-* under the influence of the rounded vowel in the second syllable.  
 Omot *\*der-* “rooster”: Ome *deeraa*.

### 684 \*diʔ- “sickness”

Sem *\*diʔ-* “sickness”: Akk *diʔu*.  
 Rift *\*diʔ-* “sick person”: Kwz *diʔ-ako*.

Related to *\*dawaʔ-/dyaʔ-* “be ill”.

### 685 \*diʔay- “fly” (v.)

Sem *\*dVʔVj-* “fly” (v.): Ug *dʔy*, Hbr *dʔy*.  
 WCh *\*diyaH-* “fly” (v.): Krk *diyau*.  
 Metathesis.  
 Related to *\*diʔVw-/diʔVj-* “bird”.

686 \*di<sup>3</sup>im- ‘‘be red’’

Sem \*dV<sup>3</sup>Vm- ‘‘be dark red’’<sup>1</sup>, ‘‘red’’<sup>2</sup>, ‘‘brown’’<sup>3</sup>: Akk d<sup>3</sup>m<sup>1</sup>,  
Amh *dama*<sup>2</sup>, Hrr *dāma*<sup>3</sup>.

Eg *idmy* ‘‘red cloth’’ (pyr).

Metathesis. A Sem loanword?

Agaw \*dVm(m)- ‘‘(be) red’’: Aun *damma*.

SA \*dum- ‘‘red’’: Saho *duma*.

\*-u- < \*-i- before a labial.

LEC \*diHim- ‘‘red, red-brown’’: Or *diimaa*.

HEC \*diHim-/ \*diHum- ‘‘red’’<sup>1</sup>, ‘‘become red’’<sup>2</sup>: Sid *daama*<sup>1</sup>,  
*duumo*<sup>1</sup>, *duu<sup>3</sup>m-*<sup>2</sup>, Dar *diimma*<sup>1</sup>.

Secondary vocalism in Sid?

Rift \*dim-ay- ‘‘red’’: Kwz *dimayi-*.

687 \*di<sup>3</sup>Vw-/ \*di<sup>3</sup>Vy- ‘‘bird’’

Sem \*da<sup>3</sup>-/ \*day- ‘‘vulture’’: Ug d<sup>3</sup>iy, Hbr *dayyā*.

Secondary -a- in Sem.

WCh \*dway- < \*dVway- < \*dVHay- ‘‘bird’’: Bgh *dway*.

CCh \*diyaw- < \*di<sup>3</sup>aw- ‘‘bird’’: Gis *diyew*, Bld *diyaw*.

ECh \*dVHaw- ‘‘night bird’’: Tum *doo*.

Assimilation of vowels.

Related to \*di<sup>3</sup>ay- ‘‘fly’’ (v.).

## 688 \*dib- ‘‘take’’

Eg *dbdb* ‘‘grasp, take back’’ (XXI).

Reduplication.

WCh \*diHab- ‘‘take out, pluck, gather’’: Hs *ḏība*.

Secondary inlaut laryngeal? The original root was \*dib-.

LEC \*deb- ‘‘grasp’’<sup>1</sup>, ‘‘give back’’<sup>2</sup>: Som *dab*<sup>1</sup>, Or *deebisa*<sup>2</sup>.

## 689 \*dibin- ‘‘round container’’

Eg *dbn* ‘‘round box; ring’’ (OK).

CCh \*dibin- ‘‘basket’’: Gude *divin*.

Cf. \*dabin- ‘‘fence, trap’’ ← \* ‘‘round structure’’?

## 690 \*dič- ‘‘sneeze’’

Sem \*datt- ‘‘cold, catarrh’’: Arab *datt-at-*.

Deverbative.

WCh \*dič- ‘‘sneeze’’: Sha *dəš*, DB *diš*.

## 691 \*di(m)bur- ‘‘back’’

Sem \*dubr- ‘‘back’’: Hbr *d<sup>3</sup>bīr*, Arab *dubr-*.

Secondary formation in Hbr. Assimilation of vowels.

CCh \*di(m)bur- ‘‘buttocks’’: WMrg *dimbur*.

From \*dub- ‘‘back, tail’’.

## 692 \*did- ‘‘elder’’

Sem \*did- ‘‘honorable title’’: Mhr *ḥa-dīd*, Shh *edid*, *did*, Soq *dedo*.

WCh \*did- ‘‘chief’s title’’: Ang *didē*.

Cf. Miya *didi* ‘‘in-law’’.

CCh \*did- ‘‘grandparent’’: Gis *dide*.

Descriptive stem?

## 693 \*did- ‘‘bee’’

WCh \*did- ‘‘fly’’ (n.): Bol *didi*, Krf *di:di*, Gera *didi*, Ngm *didi*.

Agaw \*did- ‘‘honey’’: Kem *didaa*.

SA \*did- ‘‘wasp’’: Afar *diidaa*.

HEC \*did- ‘‘bee, honey’’: Dar *diida*, Bmb *diida*.

Descriptive stem. Reduplication?

## 694 \*did- ‘‘clothes’’

Sem \*dīd- ‘‘kind of clothes’’: Akk *dīdu*.

WCh \*HV-did- ‘‘shirt’’: Ang *did*.

Prefix \*HV-.

## 695 \*dif- ‘‘vessel’’

Eg *dḏy* ‘‘vessel’’ (OK).

-y is a vocalic sign.

CCh *\*dif-* ‘‘pot’’: Mwu *deevo*, Nza *dəvə*, FBw *divə-n*, FMch *divu*.

Omot *\*dip-* ‘‘gourd’’: Ome *dip̚ee*.

Note emphatic *-p̚-*.

### 696 *\*di<sup>c</sup>-/\*du<sup>c</sup>-* ‘‘speak, call’’

Sem *\*du<sup>c</sup>-* ‘‘call’’<sup>1</sup>, ‘‘be called’’<sup>2</sup>: Arab *d<sup>c</sup>w* [-*u*-]<sup>1</sup>, Tgr *d<sup>c</sup>y*<sup>2</sup>.

Various triconsonantal formations based on *\*du<sup>c</sup>-*.

CCh *\*diHya-* ‘‘call, say’’: Lame *də*, Masa *də<sup>3</sup>ε*, Msm *də*, *də*, *d̥i*, Bnn *diye*.

ECh *\*diy-* ‘‘say’’: Dng *diye*.

Probably, from *\*diHya-* as in CCh.

Bed *di* ‘‘speak, call’’.

SA *\*da<sup>c</sup>-* ‘‘call’’: Saho *da<sup>c</sup>*, Afar *da<sup>c</sup>*.

The root vowel is not clear.

Alternation *\*i* ~ *\*u*.

### 697 *\*di<sup>c</sup>as-* ‘‘walk’’

Sem *\*dV<sup>c</sup>aš-* ‘‘trample’’<sup>1</sup>, ‘‘tread down’’<sup>2</sup>: Arab *d<sup>c</sup>s* [-*a*-]<sup>1</sup>, Tgr *dāhasa*<sup>2</sup>.

Cf. also Tgy *dāhasā*, Gur *dasā* ‘‘destroy’’ with different laryngeals.

WCh *\*diHV<sub>s</sub>-* ‘‘follow’’: DB *d̥is-*.

CCh *\*dVHV<sub>s</sub>-* ‘‘enter’’: Gbn *d̥əsi*.

Cf. *\*dayas-* ‘‘trample, beat, push’’.

### 698 *\*dihas-* ‘‘cut, skin’’ (v.)

Sem *\*dVḥaš-* ‘‘skin, peel off’’: Arab *dḥs* [-*a*-], Tgr *dāḥsa*, Shh *dḥas*, *dḥaš*, Soq *dōḥes*.

WCh *\*diHV<sub>s</sub>-* ‘‘cut, skin’’: Bol *d̥iss-*.

### 699 *\*diḥus-* ‘‘hide, skin’’

Berb *\*dV<sub>s</sub>-* ‘‘tanned leather’’: Ahg *te-dəse*, Ayr *te-dase*.

No traces of the inlaut laryngeal.

WCh *\*diHus-* ‘‘hide, skin’’: Ngm *d̥iši*, Gera *d̥iši*, Grm *duči*, Bol *d̥iši*.

Related to *\*dihas-* ‘‘cut, skin’’.

### 700 *\*diHab-* ‘‘enter, return’’

ECh *\*diyab-* < *\*diHab-* ‘‘enter’’<sup>1</sup>, ‘‘run away’’<sup>2</sup>: Kbl *diyabə*<sup>1</sup>, Kera *debe*<sup>2</sup>.

LEC *\*deHeb-* ‘‘return’’: Or *deebi<sup>2</sup>a*.

Contracted from *\*diHab-*.

Cf. HS *\*diHVp-* ‘‘enter’’.

### 701 *\*diHVp-* ‘‘enter’’

Berb *\*dVf-* ‘‘enter’’: Izn *a-def*.

CCh *\*diHVp-* ‘‘enter’’: Hwn *d̥əf-ən*.

LEC *\*daf-* ‘‘hurry, hasten’’ (Or *daf-*) may also belong here. Cf.

HS *\*diHab-* ‘‘enter, return’’.

### 702 *\*dik-* ‘‘bird’’

Sem *\*d̥ik-* ‘‘rooster’’: Aram (Syr) *d̥ik-*, Arab *d̥ik-*.

ECh *\*dik-* ‘‘rooster’’: Mubi *d̥ik*.

Bed *diik* ‘‘rooster’’.

### 703 *\*dik-* ‘‘build’’

Sem *\*nVdVḥ-* ‘‘build’’: Gz *nadaqa*, Tgr *nadqa*, Tgy *nadaqa*, Amh *nāddāqā*.

Prefix *\*nV-*.

WCh *\*dik-* < *\*dik-* ‘‘build’’: Sura *d̥ik*, Chip *d̥ik*.

Shift of emphatization.

### 704 *\*dik-* ‘‘be small, be thin’’

Sem *\*dik(k)-* ‘‘be small’’<sup>1</sup>, ‘‘be thin, fine’’<sup>2</sup>: Akk *daqāqu*<sup>1</sup>, Ug *dq*<sup>2</sup>, Arab *diqq-*<sup>2</sup>, Gz *dqq*<sup>2</sup>, Soq *dqq*<sup>2</sup>.

LEC *\*dik(k)-* ‘‘become faint, tenuous’’<sup>1</sup>, ‘‘small’’<sup>2</sup>: Som *d̥iq-*<sup>1</sup>, Or *diqqa*<sup>2</sup>.

Related to *\*daḥ-/\*duḥ-* ‘‘break, pound’’.



## 705 \*dikar- “pot”

Sem \*dikār- “pot”: Akk *dīqāru*.

CCh \*digyar- < \*digar- “pot, jar”: Mofu *dəger*, Gis *diger*.

CCh \*-g- may reflect earlier intervocalic \*k.

## 706 \*dim- “voice”

Sem \*dimm- “moan” (n.): Arab *dimm-at*.

WCh \*dim- “sound of voice”: Hs *dimī*, *ḍumī*.

*u* < *i* under the influence of the labial. Irregular Hs and WCh

*ḍ*- < \**d*- reflects an original prefix \*HV-.

CCh \*dim- “song”: Gis *dim-es*.

Related to \*dVm- “utter”.

## 707 \*dim- “go, run”

Sem \*dVm-dVm- “march”: Tgr *dmdm*.

Reduplication.

Berb \*dVm- “pant (when running)”: Ahg *əddəm*.

The meaning makes the comparison dubious.

Eg *dmy* “move” (pyr).

-y is an infinitive suffix.

CCh \*dim- “enter”<sup>1</sup>, “go out”<sup>2</sup>: Mnd *dəm*-<sup>1</sup>, Bch *dəmə*<sup>2</sup>, Gudu *dəmu*<sup>2</sup>, Mwu *udima*<sup>2</sup>.

Prefix \*u- in Mwu.

ECh \*dVm- “enter”: Sbn *də:mə*.

## 708 \*dim- “insect”

Sem \*dimm- “locust”<sup>1</sup>, “louse, ant”<sup>2</sup>: Akk *dim-i-tu*<sup>1</sup>, Arab *dimm-at*<sup>2</sup>.

CCh \*da-daHVm- “locust”: Mofu *ḍa-ḍamiy-daw*.

Partial reduplication. Note the inlaut laryngeal and the secondary vocalism.

## 709 \*dim- “dwelling, place”

Sem \*dim- “tower”<sup>1</sup>, “borough”<sup>2</sup>: Akk *dim-atu*<sup>1</sup>, Ug *dm-t*<sup>2</sup>.

Eg *dmy* “town” (pyr), Dem *dmy* id., Copt \**tmi* “village”: Boh *tmi*, Shd *ṛme*.

Copt shows that Eg -y continues a suffix.

## 710 \*dimb- “gourd (vessel)”

WCh \*dimb- “gourd”: Krf *dimbi*.

LEC \*dibb- “gourd, gourd vessel”: Or *dibbe*.

HEC \*dibb-/ \*dimb- “drum”: Sid *dibbe*, Had *dibbeʿe*, Dar *dibbe*, Kab *dibb-ita*, Bmb *diimba*.

## 711 \*din- “cloud, rain”

Sem \*dīn- “long rain”: Arab *dīn-at*.

WCh \*din- “cloud”: Mnt *tīn*.

## 712 \*din- “vessel”

Eg *dny.t* “bowl, basket, vessel” (MK).

-y stands for a front vowel.

CCh \*din- “cooking pot”: Lame *dinai*, LPe *dənai*.

Suffix -ay- in individual forms.

## 713 \*din- “be weak”

Sem \*dūn- “be weak”: Arab *dwn*.

Based on biconsonantal \*dVn-.

Berb \*dVn- “be weak”: Zng *a-dən*.

Rift \*din- “get old”: Irq *dīn*-.

## 714 \*ding- “bird”

WCh \*ding- “guinea fowl”: Grm *dingi*.

Rift \*ding- “stork”: Irq *dingi*.

It is difficult to say whether \*-ng- is an original HS cluster or the result of the loss of a vowel in the second syllable (if a reconstruction \*dinVg- is suggested).

## 715 \*dink- “dwarf”

Eg *dng* “dwarf” (pyr).

\*-nk- > Eg -ng- in a contact position.

LEC \*dink- “dwarf”: Or *dinki*.

HEC \*dink- “dwarf”: Kmb *danka*, Tmb *dinka*.

A borrowing LEC → HEC or HEC → LEC? On \*-nk- see HS \*ding- “bird”.

## 716 \*dinkar- “lizard”

WCh \*dVnkar- “lizard”: Krk *dankara*, Ngm *dakura*.

Cf. Msg *diḡidiḡi* id., Hs *kadangara* id.

Omot \*dingar- “lizard”: Kaf *dingaro*, Gim *dingar*.

Omot \*-ng- may be a regular reflex of HS \*-nk-.

Somehow connected with \*dink- “dwarf”?

## 717 \*dinVy- “divide”

Eg *dny.t* “part” (n), Copt \**toy(i)*: Boh *toi*, Shd *toe*.

ECh \**i-dinVy*- “divide”: Dng *idinye*.

Prefix \**i*-.

## 718 \*dir- “learn, remember”

Sem \*dVrVy-/\*dVrVy- “learn, understand”: Arab *dry* [-i-].

Based on biliteral \**dar*-/\**dir*-.

CCh \*HV-dir- “remember”: Lame *qir*-.

## 719 \*dirac-/\*dirač- “press, beat”

Sem \*dVrVs- “force out, trample”: Akk *drs*, Aram (Jud) *drs*, Arab *drs* [-i-, -u-].

Irregular vocalism of the second syllable.

WCh \*dirVč- “press down”: Hs *dirče*, Kry *dərəcə*.

CCh \*dVrac- “push (away)”: Mofu *dəras*.

Sem ~ WCh correspondence is irregular as far as the affricate is concerned. CCh \*-c- is inconclusive.

## 720 \*dišar- “cereal”

Sem \*dišar- “wild growing cereals”: Akk *dišarru*.

Eg *dšr* “corn” (OK).

A cultural loanword?

## 721 \*diway- “fly” (n.)

Sem \*dawVy- “Spanish fly”: Aram *dāwəy-at*.

Assimilated from \*diway-?

WCh \*diyaw- “fly”: Krk *diyəw*, Pero *tiyo*.

Metathesis from \*diway-?

CCh \*dV<sup>2</sup>Vy- “fly”: Hwn *də*, Gbn *dəya*.

ECh \*\*diw- “fly”: Dng *duwo*, Jegu *diwo*, Brg *diwo*, Mig *duwwu*,

Mubi *quwo*, Sok *dōu*.

Unexpected emphatic in Mubi.

## 722 \*diy- “plant”

Eg *dy* “cabbage” (gr).

ECh \*Hwa-diy- “grass”: Mkk *oḡiyu*.

Prefix \*Hwa-.

## 723 \*dob- “water”

Sem \*dVbb- “ocean”: Ug *dbb*.

Omot \*dob- “rain”: Ome *dubi*, Dime *dobi*, Kar *dobi*.

Semantically, the HS word seems to denote abundance of (flowing) water. As far as the meaning of Sem is concerned, cf. OIr *ler* “sea” ~ Slav \**liti* “pour, flow”.

## 724 \*dob- “speak, call”

Sem \*dub- “speak”: Akk *dabābu*.

WCh \*dwab- “call”: Tng *dobi*.

LEC \*deb- “answer”: Or *deeb-isa*.

Unexpected vowel.

## 725 \*dog- “forge, beat”

Sem \*dug- “grind (to a powder)”: Arab *dgg* [-u-].

Berb \*dVg- “forge”: Aks *dəg*.

CCh \*dwag- “smith”: Bid *dōgei*.

ECh \*dwag- “forge”: Mubi *dogga*.

HEC \*dug- “tan”: Sid *duug*-, Had *duug*-, Bmb *duug*-.

A typical case of tanning described as beating. Cf. another possible cognate: HEC \*dig- “demolish, destroy” (Sid *diig*-, Dar *diig*-).

## 726 \*dohan- “fat, grease”

Sem \*duhn- “fat, grease”: Aram (Palm) *dhn*-, (Syr) *dūhān*-, Arab *duhn*-.

Berb \*dun- “fat, grease”: Sml *ta-dun-t*, Znt *ra-dun-t*, Snus *ra-dun-t*,

Ahg *t-adən-t*, Twl *tā-dhən-t*, Tsl *ta-dhən-t*, Zng *tə-dun-t*, Izy *radunn*.

WCh \*dwan-H- “fat, grease”: Sura *dəw*.

Metathesis.

## 727 \*doḥVn- “millet, grain”

Sem \*duḥn- “sorghum”: Akk *duḥnu*, Hbr *dōḥan*, Aram (Syr) *duḥnā*, Arab *duḥn*-.

CCh \*dwan- “corn”: Mtk *dawna*.

From \*dwaHVn-.

## 728 \*don- “stand up”

Eg *dwn* “stand up” (med).

-w- stands for a rounded vowel.

WCh \*dwan-H- “stand up”: Fyer *dway*.

Secondary \*-H-, probably, functioning as a suffix.

## 729 \*don- “be strong”

Sem \*dVn- “be strong”: Akk *danānu*.

Eg *wdn* “be strong, be heavy” (XVIII).

w- is a vocalic sign.

CCh \*dwanu- “strong, strength”: Chb *dəna*, Wmd *duno-ma*, Ngw

*dina*, Mrg *dəna-ma*, Mba *dono*, Log *donō*, Bud *dunoa*, Gul *dunu*, Kus *dunu*.

ECh \*dwanu- “strong”: Smr *dwana*, Sok *duno*.

## 730 \*dub- “horn”

Eg *db* “horn” (med), Copt \**tap* id.: Boh *tap*, Shd *tap*.

ECh \*ba-dub- “horn”: Tum *ba-dubo*.

Prefix \*ba-.

## 731 \*dub- “back, tail”

WCh \*dub- “tail”: Ang *tup*.

CCh \*dub- “back”<sup>1</sup>, “buttocks”<sup>2</sup>: Mofu *duba*<sup>1</sup>, Gis *dəba*<sup>1 2</sup>, Daba *dədəba*<sup>2</sup>, Msg *dəba*<sup>1</sup>, Gid *dubo*<sup>1</sup>, Zime *duḥu*<sup>1</sup>, FJ *ḍuba-ku*<sup>2</sup>.

LEC \**dib*-/ \**dub*- “tail”<sup>1</sup>, “buttocks”<sup>2</sup>: Som *dib*<sup>1</sup>, Or *duboo*<sup>1</sup>, Rnd *dub*<sup>1</sup>, Arb *dub*<sup>2</sup>.

Cf. also Som *dabo* “tail, buttocks”, Bay *däbe* id.

HEC \*dub- “tail (of sheep)”: Dar *duba*.

Omot \**duḥ*- < \**duHVb*- “tail”: Ome *duuḥiya*.

The development of HS \**b* to Omot \**ḥ* is not quite clear. It may be explained by the influence of an intervocalic laryngeal.

CCh (Zime, FJ) and Omot may indicate HS \**duHVb*-. It is not clear whether the present root is also connected with Agaw \**danb*- “back, bottom” (Bil *dānbī*) and Omot \**damb*- “anus, back” (Kaf *dambo*, Anf *dombo*).

## 732 \*dubar- “speak”

Sem \**dVbur*- “speak”<sup>1</sup>, “retell”<sup>2</sup>: Phn *dbr*<sup>1</sup>, Hbr *dbr*<sup>1</sup>, Arab *dbr* [-u-]<sup>2</sup>.

Secondary \*-u-.

ECh \**duwVr*- < \**dubwar*- “speak”: Kbl *duwər*.

Secondary \**wa* after a labial?

HEC \**dabar*- “answer”: Had *dabar*- “answer”.

Assimilation of vowels.

Derived from \**dob*- “speak, call”.

## 733 \*duč- “push, beat”

Sem \*dVt- “beat, push”: Ug *dt*, Arab *dt*.

WCh \*duč- “push”<sup>1</sup>, “pound”<sup>2</sup>: Ang *tus*<sup>1</sup>, Dera *duše*<sup>2</sup>.

## 734 \*dud- “vessel”

Sem \*dūd- “pot, cauldron”: Akk *dūdu*, Ug *dd*, Hbr *dūd*, Aram (Syr) *dūd*.

Eg *dd.t* “pot, cauldron”.

WCh \*dud- “calabash”: Sura *tū*, Ang *tūt*.

Reduplication?

## 735 \*dud- “bird”

Sem \*dūd- “bird”: Akk *dūdu*.

ECh \*dudi- “bird”: Smr *dudi*, Sbn *dudi*, Dng *ḍuḍa*, Mig *ḍiḍu*, Sok *diḍi*.

Secondary emphatization in Dng and Mig.

Descriptive stem, cf. \*did- “bee”.

## 736 \*dug- “bird”

Sem \*dugg- “thrush”: Arab *dugg*.

CCh \*dug- “kite”: Chb *dugu*.

Cf. also \*kwa-dig-/ \*kwa-dug- “vulture” (FK *kwadəgu*, HF *wadəyu*, Klb *kwadiga*, Gudu *kadugwa*).

## 737 \*dugan- “darkness, night”

Sem \*dugn- “darkness”: Arab *dugn*.

ECh \*dugVn- “at night”: Kera *duugn*.

LEC \*dukan- “darkness”: Or *dukkana*.

Unexpected \*-k- < HS \*-g-.

HEC \*dukan- “darkness, cloud”: Bmb *dukkani*.

Unexpected \*-k- < HS \*-g-.

\*-k- seems to be a common Cush innovation in this word.

## 738 \*duham- “be dark”

Sem \*duhm- “black”: Arab *duhm*.

ECh \*dVHam- “darkness”: Gbr *damā*, Kbl *dama*.

A reduplication in Mubi *deḍem* id. with -e- in the root continuing \*-uHa-.

SA \*dum- “be dark”: Saho *dum*, Afar *dum*.

## 739 \*duk- “bury”

CCh \*dVk- “bury”: Gis *dik*, Mafa *da-dsg*.

Secondary -i- in Gis.

Omot \*duk- “bury”: Ome *duk*-, Kaf *dukki*, Mch *duukki*, Bwo *duk*-, Anf *duk*-, Gim *duk*-.

## 740 \*dum- “destroy”

Sem \*dum- “destroy”: Hbr *dmm*.

LEC \*dum- “be destroyed”: Som *dum*.

Any connection with \*dum- “split, pierce”?

## 741 \*dum- “worm, snake”

Eg *dm* “worm” (NK).

WCh \*dum- “eel, water snake”<sup>1</sup>, “snake”<sup>2</sup>: Hs *dumiya*<sup>1</sup>, Krk *ḍadmo*<sup>2</sup>, Krf *duma*<sup>2</sup>.

Prefix \*ḍa- in Krk.

CCh \*dum- “ascarid”: Mba *dum-say*.

HEC \*dum- “roundworm”: Bmb *duma*.

Omot \*dVm- “python”: Mch *dāmo*.

## 742 \*dum- “antelope”

Berb \*dVmVw-/ \*dVmVy- “gazelle”: Ahg *a-dmū*, Twl *te-dāmi-t*, Zng *dāmi*, *damma*, Sha *ra-dāmu-τ*.

Derivatives of \*dVm-.

Omot \*dum- “kind of antelope”: Yam *dumaa*.

## 743 \*dum- “split, pierce”

Berb \**dVm*- “split”: Rif *əddəm*.

Eg *dm* “sharpen, pierce” (l).

WCh \**dum*- “plunge a weapon (into a person)”: Hs *duma*.

## 744 \*dumb- “ring”

WCh \**dumb*- “bracelet”: Hs *dumbā*.

LEC \**dub*- “ring”: Som *duub*.

\*-b- seems to continue \*-mb-.

## 745 \*dun- “sing, murmur”

Sem \**dun*- “buzz”: Arab *dnn* [-u-].

Cf. also Arab *dndn* id.

Berb \**dVn-dVn*- “sing”: Snus *dəndən*.

Reduplication.

Related to \**dün*- “sound, voice”. A reduplication \**dVn-dVn*- may be reconstructed.

## 746 \*dun- “be bent”

Sem \**dVn*- “be bent”: Arab *dnn*, *dn*<sup>2</sup>.

Formations based on biliteral \**dVn*-

Berb \**dun*- “squat, be bent”: Ahg *dun-ət*.

## 747 \*dur- “flow”

Sem \**dir-/dur*- “drip”<sup>1</sup>, “flow abundantly”<sup>2</sup>: Hbr *dr̥r*<sup>1</sup>, Arab *dr̥r* [-u-, -i-]<sup>2</sup>.

Eg *dr* “prevent water from flowing down” (med).

WCh \**duHwar*- “pour”: Hs *ḏūra*, Tng *ḏer*, Pol *ḏurəw*.

Secondary laryngeal. Probably, \**duHwar*- < \**Hwadur*-.

Cf. nominal derivatives in WCh \**dVHar*- “river” (Gera *doora*, Bks *ḏara*, DB *ḏeer*, *ḏiyar*), CCh \**nV-dwar*- “rainy season” (Msm *ndor*) and SA \**darur*- “rain-cloud” (Saho *darur*, Afar *darur*).

## 748 \*dur- “bird”

Sem \**durr*- “parrot”: Arab *durr-at*.

WCh \**durwa*- “quail”: Hs *durwā*.

ECh \**dur*- “hen”: Smr *durē*.

## 749 \*düVč- “grass”

Sem \**dič*<sup>2</sup>- “grass, new grass”<sup>2</sup>: Akk *daṣ̌u*, *diṣ̌u*, *dišu*, Hbr *deše*<sup>2</sup>, Aram *dičā*, SAr *dič*.

Metathesis.

WCh \**duVč*- “thatching grass”: Hs *ḏūsā*.

## 750 \*düm- “vessel”

Eg *dmy* “vessel” (n).

-y stands for a vowel.

WCh “bottle-gourd”: Hs *dumā*.

## 751 \*düm- “feline”

Sem \**dimm*- “cheetah”<sup>1</sup>, “cat”<sup>2</sup>: Akk *dumāmu*<sup>1</sup>, Arab *dimm-at*<sup>2</sup>, Gz *dəmm-at*<sup>2</sup>, Tgr *dəmmu*<sup>2</sup>, Tgy *dəmmu*<sup>2</sup>, Amh *dəmm-ät*<sup>2</sup>.

Secondary formation in Akk.

WCh \**dum*- “hyaena”: Sura *ndumu*, Grk *domu*, Ank *tumu*.

Agaw \**dam-Vy*- “cat”: Kwr *damyaa*, Kem *daməya*.

\*a in the root is not quite clear. Maybe \**dumay*- > \**damay*-?

SA \**dumm*- “cat”: Saho *dummu*, Afar *dumoo*.

Rift \**duḡum*- “leopard”: Irq *duḡuma*, Bur *duḡuma*, Alg *duḡuma*, Kwz *duḡumayi*, Asa *duḡumok*.

The original root structure is modified in Rift with an innovative inlaut laryngeal.

## 752 \*dün- “sound, voice”

Sem \**dinn*- “reverberation”<sup>1</sup>, “bang, noise”<sup>2</sup>: Mhr *den*<sup>1</sup>, Hss *dennēt*<sup>2</sup>.

Berb \**dun*- “rough voice”: Ahg *a-dün-a*.

Eg *dny.w.t* “howl” (n.) (MK).

Related to \**dun*- “sing, murmur”.

## 753 \*düp- ‘‘push’’

Sem \*dVp- ‘‘push’’: Hbr *dpy*, Hss *dōfa*, Mhr *dōfa*, Shh *defa*<sup>c</sup>.  
 Cf. also Sem \*dVhVp- ‘‘push away’’ (Akk *daʿapu*, Hbr *dhp*) and  
 \*nVdVp- ‘‘push’’: Hbr *ndp*, Arab *ndf*.  
 WCh \*dup- ‘‘push’’: Sura *tup*.  
 Rift \*dif- ‘‘beat, fight’’: Alg *dif*-, Bur *dif*-.  
 Omot \*dup- ‘‘throw’’: Kaf *dup*-.

754 \*dV<sup>3</sup>V<sub>3</sub>- ‘‘bow’’ (n.)

Eg *dʒz* ‘‘bow-string’’ (sarc).  
 ECh \*dV<sup>3</sup>V<sub>3</sub>- < \*dV<sup>3</sup>V<sub>3</sub>- ‘‘bow’’: Smr *dese*, Kbl *dəsə*.  
 Smr and Kbl -s- may also reflect ECh \*-ʒ-.

## 755 \*dVbVh- ‘‘pot’’

Eg *dbh.w* ‘‘crocery’’ (OK).  
 CCh \*dVhVb- ‘‘pot’’: Gul *dsbe*.  
 Metathesis.

An alternative reconstruction is \*dVhVb-.

## 756 \*dVg-dVg- ‘‘trample, press’’

Sem \*dVg-dVg- ‘‘trample down’’<sup>1</sup>, ‘‘press, squeeze’’<sup>2</sup>, ‘‘tap’’<sup>3</sup>:  
 Tgr *dägdägä*<sup>1</sup>, Tgy *dägdägä*<sup>1</sup>, Amh *dagäddägä*<sup>1</sup>, Gur *dägdägä*<sup>2</sup>,  
 Jib *edägdäg*<sup>3</sup>, Shh *adägdäg*<sup>3</sup>.  
 Berb \*dVg-dVg- ‘‘break’’: Ghat *dägdäg*, Ahg *dägdäg*, Twl *dagdag*, Kby  
*ddegdeg*.  
 Eg *dgdg* ‘‘press, squeeze, trample’’ (XX).

Reduplication in most HS branches. The root vowel may have  
 been \*i. Cf. \*dog- ‘‘forge, beat’’?

## 757 \*dVgol- ‘‘look, see’’

Sem \*dVgVl- ‘‘look’’: Akk *dagālu*.  
 Cf. Aram (Syr) *dägil-ūt*.  
 Eg *dḡḡ* ‘‘see’’ (gr).  
 May be identical with *dgy* ‘‘see, look’’ < \*deg- or represent  
 \*dVgVl- with \*-l- > -ḡ.

CCh \*dVgwal- ‘‘look’’: Msg *dəḡwələ*.

Derived from \*dag- ‘‘see, know’’.

## 758 \*dVgVy- ‘‘hide’’

Sem \*dVgVy- ‘‘cover’’: Arab *dgy*.  
 Eg *dgy* ‘‘hide’’ (MK).

759 \*dV<sup>c</sup>Vc- ‘‘pound, grind’’

Sem \*dV<sup>c</sup>Vs- ‘‘grind’’: Arab *d<sup>c</sup>s*, Amh *dasä*.  
 Berb \*dVc- ‘‘pound’’: Ahg *əddəh*, Twl *əddəz*, Zng *əddəž*, Sgr *əddəz*,  
 Kby *əddəz*.

## 760 \*dVhar- ‘‘hunt’’ (v.)

Sem \*dVhVr- ‘‘hunt’’: Hbr *dhr*.  
 CCh \*dar- < \*dVHar- ‘‘hunting’’: Masa *dara*.

## 761 \*dVm- ‘‘utter’’

Sem \*dVm- ‘‘moan’’ (v.): Ug *dmm*.  
 Eg *dm* ‘‘announce, pronounce’’ (OK).  
 WCh \*dVm- ‘‘swear’’: Ngz *dəma*.

## 762 \*dVn- ‘‘cut off’’

Sem \*dVn- ‘‘cut off’’: Tgr *dnn*.  
 Eg *dn* ‘‘cut off (head), kill’’ (XVIII).

## 763 \*dVpir- ‘‘squeeze, push’’

Sem \*dVpVr- ‘‘squeeze’’<sup>1</sup>, ‘‘push away’’<sup>2</sup>: Akk *dpr*<sup>1</sup>, Arab *dfr*<sup>2</sup>,  
 Shh *deḡōr*<sup>2</sup>.  
 Berb \*dVfir- ‘‘squeeze’’: Zng *edfir*.

Derived from \*düp- ‘‘push’’?

764 \*dV<sub>r</sub>-dV<sub>r</sub>- “turn, rotate”

Sem \*dV<sub>r</sub>-dV<sub>r</sub>- “turn, rotate”: Hbr *drdr*, Arab *drdr*.

Agaw \*dV<sub>r</sub>-dV<sub>r</sub>- “turn, rotate”: Aw *dərdər*.

Full reduplication.

## 765 \*dVwVd-/ \*dVyVd- “worm, snake”

Sem \*dud- < \*dVwVd- “worms”: Arab *dūd*.

Cf. also Arab *dwd* “swarm (of worms)” (v.).

Berb \*dVy-dVy- “kind of worm”: Izy *aδiuδiu*.

Eg *ddy* “snake”.

-y stands for a front vowel.

CCh \*dVd- “kind of snake”: Mofu *dedew*.

-ew- is a suffix.

Reduplication. Cf. WCh \*daw-day- “kind of snake” (Hs *daudai*). Derived from HS \*da<sup>2</sup>- “worm, snake”?

## 766 \*dVwVm- “drip, flow”

Sem \*dūm- “moisten, rain continuously”: Arab *dūm* [-u-, 1].

Berb \*dVwVm- “ooze, flow”: Izy *addum*, Sml *əddəm*, Rif *udum*, Kby *iδim*.

Derived from \*dam- “cloud”. Cf. CCh \*ta-dam- “wet” (Kus *tadām*, Gul *tadam*).

## 767 \*dVwVn- “register, count”

Sem \*dūn- “register”: Arab *dūn*.

Berb \*dVwVn- “count”<sup>1</sup>, “compare, estimate”<sup>2</sup>: Ahg *ədwən*<sup>1</sup>,

Zng *uddən*<sup>1</sup>, Ayr *ədwən*<sup>2</sup>.

Eg *wdn* “register” (NK).

Metathesis.

## 768 \*dVwVr- “turn”

Sem \*dūr- “turn”: Arab *dūr* [-u-], Hss *dawr*, Mhr *dawr*, Shh *dəbr*.

ECh \*wVdVr- “turn”: Kbl *wədəra*.

Metathesis.

An alternative reconstruction is \*wVdVr-.

## \*f

769 \*fa<sup>2</sup>V<sub>L</sub>- “foretell”

Sem \*pV<sup>2</sup>V<sub>L</sub>- “foretell fortune”: Arab *f<sup>2</sup>l*, Gz *fwl*.

Cf. Hbr *p<sup>2</sup>* “make miracles”

HEC \*fa<sup>2</sup>V<sub>L</sub>- “deceive”: Had *fa<sup>2</sup>l*.

Related to \*fal-/ \*fa<sup>2</sup>V<sub>L</sub>- “magic word, omen”.

770 \*fa<sup>c</sup>- “hit, strike”

WCh \*fay- < \*faHya- “strike”: Bks *fayi*.

Rift \*fa<sup>2</sup>- “hit”: Kwz *fa<sup>2</sup>-am*.

\*-<sup>2</sup>- < \*-<sup>c</sup>- as in a number of other Rift words.

Dhl *faa<sup>c</sup>* “smash”

## 771 \*faḥat- “dig, pierce”

Sem \*paḥat- “pierce”: Aram (Syr) *fḥt*, Arab *fḥt* [-a-, 1].

Dhl *faat*- “dig”.

## 772 \*faḵ- “pierce, tear”

Sem \*pVka<sup>2</sup>- “pierce, open, tear out (eye)”<sup>1</sup>, “break”<sup>2</sup>: Arab *fq<sup>2</sup>* [-a-, 1]<sup>1</sup>, Gz *fq<sup>2</sup>*<sup>2</sup>.

Based on \*pVḵ-.

Eg *fḵ*, *fḵw* “of a lion tearing its prey” (XX).

-w may be a suffix.

Agaw \*faḵ- “tear”: Bil *faḵ*.

Dhl *pak<sup>2</sup>k<sup>2</sup>-eeδ*- “uncover”.

Irregular *p*-.

Cf. SA \*faḵ- “open” (Saho *fak*, Afar *fak*) and HEC \*foḵ- “open” (Had *foḵḵ*).

## 773 \*fal- “bone, leg”

WCh \*falal- “middle bone of an animal’s foreleg”: Hs *fālālā*.

Partial reduplication.

CCh *\*fVl-* “foot”: Bud *fɛle*.

Bed *fīl-ik* “top of the shin-bone”.

The comparison is valid if the Bed word may be segmented as *fīl-ik*. The vowel of the first syllable is assimilated.

Rift *\*falaʔ-* “bone”: Kwz *falaʔa-to*, pl. *falala*.

Assimilation of vowels.

Note the grammatical function of the partial reduplication in Rift in view of WCh.

#### 774 *\*fal-/faʔVl-* “magic word, omen”

Sem *\*faʔl-* “omen”: Shh *fōl*, Mhr *fōl*, Hss *fōl*.

Eg *fnn.wy* “magic words” (pyr).

Partial reduplication.

Agaw *\*fal-* “omen”: Bil *faal*.

SA *\*fal-* “omen”: Saho *faal*.

LEC *\*fal-* “omen”: Som *faal*.

Related to *\*faʔVl-* “foretell”.

#### 775 *\*fal-/ful-* “liver, lungs”

WCh *\*ful-* “lungs”: Mpn *ful-fuk*, *flok*, Ang *fwolok*, Sura *fəlok*, Ank *fələl*.

Partial reduplication in Ank.

CCh *\*fa-ful-* “lungs”: Bch *fəful-awey*.

Partial reduplication.

HEC *\*ʔa-fal-* “liver”: Sid *affale*, Bmb *affala*, Kmb *afel-ita*.

Prefix *\*ʔa-*.

Omot *\*ʔa-fall-* “liver”: Mch *apaaro*, Anf *afaaro*, Bwo *afaara*.

Prefix *\*ʔa-*. Note Mch *-p-*.

#### 776 *\*faliy-* “insect”

Sem *\*pāliy-* “scarabeus”: Arab *fāliy-at-*.

CCh *\*fili[y]-* “spider”: Hil *ma-fili*, Wmd *pəla-tagu*.

Assimilation of vowels. Prefix *\*ma-* in Hil.

#### 777 *\*fan-* “look for, watch”

ECh *\*pan-* “seek, look for”: Mubi *fān*, *hu-bān*.

LEC *\*fan-* “watch, follow”: Or *fana*.

#### 778 *\*far-* “bone, leg”

WCh *\*far-/fuwar-* “leg”: Klr *far-aw*, Bks *ʔa-foor*, Fyer *furu*, DB *fuur*.

As it may be concluded from Klr, *\*fuwar-* is a metathesis from *\*fur-aw-*.

Rift *\*far-* “bone”: Irq *fara*, Ala *fara*, Bur *fara*.

#### 779 *\*far-* “clay, earth”

WCh *\*far-* “arid soil”: Hs *farā-farā*.

Reduplication.

HEC *\*far-* “clay”: Gel *faara*.

#### 780 *\*far-* “equid”

Sem *\*paraʔ-* “onager”: Akk *parū*, Ug *pri*, Hbr *pereʔ*, Arab *faraʔ-*.

SA *\*farar-* “horse”: Saho *farar*, Afar *farar*.

Partial reduplication.

LEC *\*faraw-* “zebra”: Som *faraw*, Arb *faraw*.

Omot *\*far-* “horse”: Ome *faraa*.

#### 781 *\*far-* “climb”

Sem *\*pVrVʔ-* “climb”: Arab *frʕ* [-a-, 1].

Sem *\*-c-* finds no support in other branches of HS.

Berb *\*fVr-* “fly”: Izy *afɿu*.

Eg *fɿy* “raise high”.

May belong to *\*fay-*.

ECh *\*par-* “climb”: Mobu *pare* (pl.).

SA *\*far-* “climb”: Saho *for*, Afar *fär*.

Secondary *-o-* in Saho.

Partial reduplication in Berb *\*fVrir-* “be elevated” (Qbl *i-frir*).



## 782 \*fat- “wish, desire”

Sem \*pVtVw- “desire, seek”<sup>1</sup>, “decide on a plan”<sup>2</sup>: Gz *ftw*<sup>1</sup>, Hss *aftō*<sup>2</sup>, Mhr *heftō*<sup>2</sup>, Shh *εfte*<sup>2</sup>.

Based on biconsonantal \*pVt-.

WCh \*fat- “wish well to person, pray”: Hs *fālā*.

## 783 \*fat-/fit- “move”

Sem \*pūt- “pass, go (of time)”: Arab *fwṭ* [-u-, 1, 8].

Modification of the original biliteral structure \*pat-.

Berb \*fVt- “walk”<sup>1</sup>, “pass (of time)”<sup>2</sup>, “having passed”<sup>3</sup>: Sml *i-ftu*<sup>1</sup>, Izy *far*<sup>2</sup>, Mns *i-fur-ən*<sup>3</sup>.

Izy and Mns may be loanwords from Arab.

WCh \*fat-/fit- “go out”<sup>1</sup>, “come”<sup>2</sup>: Hs *fita*<sup>1</sup>, Bol *fat*<sup>1</sup>, Krk *fat*<sup>1</sup>, Dera *pori*<sup>1</sup>, Tng *pod-*<sup>1</sup>, Ngm *hata*<sup>1</sup>, Bele *feti*<sup>1</sup>, Gera *fid-*<sup>1</sup>, Glm *paz-*<sup>1</sup>, Wnd *fut-*<sup>2</sup>.

Agaw \*fat-/fit- “go away”: Bil *far*, Xmt *fit-*, Aun *fat-*.

Bil -r- < \*-t- occurs in a number of Agaw forms.

Rift *fit*- “drive, run after”: Irq *fiit*.

A reduplication of the original \*fat-/fit- is, probably, also reflected in Eg *ftft* “jump, spring” (med). Note the alternation \*a ~ \*i.

## 784 \*fatVq- “pierce, split”

Sem \*pVtVh- “pierce”: Akk *patāḫu*.

CCh \*patVk- “split”: Mofu *pətkw-*.

\*-wa- may be reconstructed in the 2nd syllable.

## 785 \*faṭ- “tear”

WCh \*faṭ- “tear, rip”: Hs *fatta*, Dirī *fəta*.

Omot \*feṭ- “tear”<sup>1</sup>, “rags”<sup>2</sup>: Omet *peḍ-*<sup>1</sup>, Kaf *heeṭo*<sup>2</sup>.

Innovative Cush \*-e- in verbs.

## 786 \*faṭaḱ- “tear”

Eg *fdk* “tear off” (MK).

-d- < \*-ṭ- is regular.

WCh \*faṭaḱ- “lacerate”: Hs *fatattakā*.

ECh \*pVtVk- “pull by”: Dng *petke*.

Dng -e- is secondary.

## 787 \*fay- “lift, go up”

Eg *fay* “lift, carry” (OK).

-y- stands for \*-a-.

ECh \*pay- “fly, go up”: Kera *fe*.

## 788 \*feʔ- “arrow”

WCh \*nV-fyaʔ- “arrow”: Bks *nvyā*, DB *nvyah*.

Prefix \*nV-.

LEC \*fiʔ-/fuʔ- “arrow”: Or *fia*, *fue*.

Rift \*fay- “arrow”: Alg *fayu*, Bur *fayu*.

Rift may continue a HS form \*fey- as a variant of \*feʔ-.

Cf. also Sem \*piʔ-/paʔ- “edge”: Hbr *pēʔā*, Aram *pāʔ-t-*?

## 789 \*feč- “blow”

Sem \*(nV-)pit- “blow”: Akk *pašū*, Arab *nfi* [-i-, -u-].

In Arab, a formation using prefix \*nV-.

WCh \*fyač- “blow”: Cagu *fēs*, Dirī *fəču*, *fuču*.

Dirī -u- in *fuču* results from an assimilation.

CCh \*fič- “blow”: Mba *pise*.

## 790 \*fed- “tear”

Eg *fdy* “pluck off” (pyr).

-y reflects a front vowel in the root.

HEC \*fed- “tear (cloth)”: Bmb *feedi-*.

## 791 \*fedik- “split”

Eg *fdk* “divide, split” (MK).

Bed *fedig* < \*fedik- “split, separate”.

Related to \*fed- “tear”?

## 792 \*fer- “scratch, peel”

Sem \*pVr- “scratch, cut wood, husk”: Amh *farä*.

WCh \*fyar- “pare off outer surface of rind”<sup>1</sup>, “scratch”<sup>2</sup>: Hs *fēra*<sup>1</sup>, Ang *fīr*<sup>2</sup>.

ECh \*pir- “peel” (v.): Bid *pir*, Mig *pir-aw*.

## 793 \*feras- “fall”

ECh \*par- < \*pyar- “fall (from a tree)”: Mkk *parso*.

Bed *feraas* “fall”.

Agaw \*firas-/ \*firis- “fall”: Bil *feras*, Xmr *feriš*.

## 794 \*ferik- “dig, divide”

Sem \*pVrik- “split”<sup>1</sup>, “divide”<sup>2</sup>, “break”<sup>3</sup>: Akk *parāqu*<sup>1</sup>, Ug *prq*<sup>3</sup>, Aram (Syr) *prq*<sup>2</sup>, Arab *frq* [-i-, -u-]<sup>1 2</sup>, Gz *frq*<sup>2</sup>.

Secondary \*u as a variant of \*i in Arab.

ECh \*pVrVg- “dig”: Kera *fərgi*.

-g- may continue \*-k- in the intervocalic position.

Bed *ferik* “dig”.

Cf. \*fedik- “split”.

## 795 \*fet- “break, cut”

Sem \*pVt- “break”<sup>1</sup>, “destroy”<sup>2</sup>: Hbr *ptt*<sup>1</sup>, Arab *ftt* [-u-]<sup>2</sup>, Gz *ftt*<sup>1</sup>.

WCh \*fyat- “slaughter”: Sura *fet*.

CCh \*fVt- “cut”: Mofu *fət-aq*.

## 796 \*fet- “sweep”

WCh \*fyat- “sweep”: Sura *fet*, Ang *fet*.

CCh \*fyat- “sweep”: Gudu *mī-fīda*, Mwu *ufedō*.

HEC \*fīt- “sweep”: Sid *fīt*.

Omot \*fīt- “sweep”: Ome (Koyra) *fit*.

Dhl *fīt'a* “plaster wall with mud and dung”.

797 \*fi<sup>2</sup>- “blow”

Sem \*pV<sup>2</sup>Vy- “blow off”: Hbr *p<sup>2</sup>y*.

Based on \*pV<sup>2</sup>-.

WCh \*fi<sup>2</sup>- “blow”: Sura *fī*, Ang *fī*.

CCh \*fa<sup>2</sup>-/\*fi<sup>2</sup>- “blow”: Bura *fīa*, Mrg *fī*, Gis *fē*, Bud *pha*, ZBt *fo<sup>2</sup>o*.

Gis may go back to CCh \*fay- < \*fa<sup>2</sup>Vy- identical with Sem \*pV<sup>2</sup>Vy-.

Rift \*fi<sup>2</sup>-/\*fu<sup>2</sup>- “catch one’s breath, rest”<sup>1</sup>, “sniff, snuff up”<sup>2</sup>:

Asa *fu<sup>2</sup>-it*<sup>1</sup>, Kwz *fi<sup>2</sup>-*<sup>2</sup>.

Secondary \*-u-.

## 798 \*fič- “be wet”

CCh \*fič- “wet, soak”: Mrg *fiču*.

LEC \*finč- “flow”: Or *finčaa<sup>w</sup>a*.

\*-n- may be an infix.

HEC \*fač-/ \*fič- “sprinkle”: Dar *fīt*-, Bmb *fac*-.

Traces of the *a*-grade in Bmb.

## 799 \*fidaḥ- “break, cut”

Sem \*pVdaḥ- “break (skull)”: Arab *fdḥ* [-a-, 1].

WCh \*fidaH- “cut open, wound”: Tng *pide*, Pero *peḍḍo*.

\*-a- of the second syllable explains -e- in Pero.

CCh \*fidaH- “cut, carve”: Mafa *fid*-, Bch *fyedō*, Dgh *piḍa*.

800 \*fi<sup>c</sup>- “speak, shout”

Sem \*pV<sup>c</sup>Vy- “cry, shout”: Hbr *p<sup>c</sup>y*.

Based on \*pV<sup>c</sup>-.

WCh \*fi<sup>c</sup>- “speak”: Sha *fī*.

CCh \*fVy- “call”: Bud *fē*.

From \*fVHVy- or \*fVHi-.

Agaw \*fiw- “cry”: Kw *few*-, Dmb *fuw*-.

Continuation of \*fiHw-?

## 801 \*fil- “skin, rub”

Sem \*wVpVL-/ \*yVpVL- “skin, peel” (v.): Arab *wfl*, *yfl*.

Prefix \*wV-/ \*yV-.

WCh *\*fyal-* < *\*fila-* “skin” (v.)<sup>1</sup>, “rub”<sup>2</sup>: Sura *fēl*, Ang *fil*, Bks *fyal*<sup>2</sup>.

CCh *\*fil-* “rub”: Dgh *fila*.

ECh *\*pil-* “skin” (v.): Bid *pil*, Smr *pəl*.

### 802 \*fin- “nose; smell”

Berb *\*fun-fan-* “muzzle, nose”<sup>1</sup>, “nostrils”<sup>2</sup>: Ahg *a-fun-fan*<sup>1</sup>, Twl *i-fūfan-ən*<sup>2</sup>.

Reduplication with modified vocalism.

Bed *fin* “scent, smell” (v.).

Agaw *\*fin-* “scent, smell” (v.): Bil *fin*.

### 803 \*finaḥ- “opening”

WCh *\*finaḥ-* “hole”<sup>1</sup>, “mouth”<sup>2</sup>: Sura *fuj*<sup>1</sup>, Ang *fuj*<sup>1</sup>, Wrj *vinahə-na*<sup>2</sup>, Kry *vinahə*<sup>2</sup>, Diri *vəna*<sup>2</sup>, Paa *vingi*<sup>2</sup>, Mbu *vəghu*<sup>2</sup>, Miya *vun*<sup>2</sup>, Cagu *vehe*<sup>2</sup>, Siri *vengi*<sup>2</sup>, Jmb *vina*<sup>2</sup>, Fyer *fuj*<sup>1</sup>.

CCh *\*fun-H-* “mouth”: HG *fuge*, Bnn *funa*, LPe *vun*, Masa *funano*.

Partial reduplication in Masa.

Omot *\*pin-H-* “opening, hole”: Ome *pinge*.

Related to *\*finaḥ-* “break”. Thus, “opening” ← \* “breach” as ON *rauf* “hole” ~ *rjūfa* “break”.

### 804 \*finaḥ- “break”

Sem *\*pVnaḥ-* “damage (of a bone)” (v.): Arab *fnḥ* [-a-, 1].

Berb *\*fVnVḥ-* “beat”: Kby *s-funneh*.

WCh *\*fin-H-* “break”: Klr *fūny-*.

### 805 \*fir- “monkey”

Eg *nfry* “monkey” (gr).

Is *n-* a prefix? *-y* stands for a front vowel.

WCh *\*fir-* “red monkey”: Fyer *fūr*.

CCh *\*fir-* “monkey”: Mba *fre*, Masa *fira*, Gis *vri*, Lame *vir*, Masa *fira*.

Cf. also Msg *afri*, *afrig* id.

### 806 \*fir- “be good”

Sem *\*purr-* “best ones, elite”: Arab *furr-*.

Deverbativ formation with a secondary vowel.

Berb *\*fVrVr-* “be good”: Ahg *i-frar*.

Partial reduplication based on *\*fVr-*.

Eg *nfir* “good, beautiful”.

Prefix *\*nV-*.

Agaw *\*fir-* “best”: Bil *feraa*.

SA *\*fer-* “best”: Saho *feer*.

### 807 \*fir-ut- “insect”

WCh *\*mV-firut-* “mosquito”: Jmb *avirvir*, Kry *aviltu*, Paa *vituwī*, Sura *mfut*, Ang *fut*.

CCh *\*ff[i]r-ut-* “mosquito”: Daba *vərrut*.

Vocalism and segmentation are indicated by CCh *\*fir-/fur-* “mosquito”: Gaa *fir-da*, Gbn *gər-diča*, Boka *fir-daʼa*, Bnn *furu-na*, Masa *furu-tna*, Msm *vursu*.

Agaw *\*firrut-* “insect(s)”: Bil *filuta*, Xmr *felta*, Kem *felät*.

### 808 \*firVt- “tear off, pluck”

Sem *\*pVrVt-* “pluck (fruit)”<sup>1</sup>, “knock fruit down from the tree”<sup>2</sup>: Akk *parāḫu*<sup>1</sup>, Aram (Syr, Jud) *prṭ*<sup>1</sup>, Arab *frṭ* [-u-, 26]<sup>2</sup>.

CCh *\*firVt-* “tear”: Bud *firte*.

### 809 \*fit- “land”

Sem *\*pitt-* “area, region”: Akk *pittu*.

CCh *\*fVt-* “earth”: Msg *futi*, *fate*, *feti*.

### 810 \*fit-/fut- “jump”

Eg *flft* “jump, spring” (med).

Reduplication.

WCh *\*pit-* “jump”: Bgh *pit*.

Irregular *\*p-*.

LEC *\*fut-* “spring back”: Or *futtaʼa*.

Alternation *\*i* ~ *\*u*.

811 \*fita<sup>2</sup>- ‘forget’

Sem \*pVta<sup>2</sup>- ‘forget’: Arab ft<sup>2</sup> [-a-, 1].

CCh \*fit[a]H- ‘forget’: Gudu filei.

\*-aHi- > -ei in the auslaut.

812 \*fiṭa<sup>2</sup>-/\*fiṭay- ‘destroy’

Sem \*pVta<sup>2</sup>- ‘break’: Arab ft<sup>2</sup> [-a-, 1].

Berb \*fVtVγ- ‘be pierced’: Ahg fəḍəi.

Bed fədi(y) ‘split, separate’.

LEC \*fiṭ- ‘destroy’: Or fiṭa.

Consonantal alternation \*-ṭ- ~ \*-y-.

## 813 \*fiwaḥ- ‘smell, blow’ (v.)

Sem \*pūḥ- ‘spread (of smell)’: Arab fwh.

Berb \*fVwVh- ‘stink, smell’: Kby fuh.

WCh \*ff[i]w[a]h- ‘blow’: Bks fu<sup>2</sup>, Sha fyah, DB fu<sup>2</sup>.

-ya- in Sha results from \*-i<sup>2</sup>a- < \*-iwa-.

CCh \*fiyaH- ‘smell’: Mnd ʔifiya<sup>2</sup>a.

\*-iya- < \*-iwa-.

ECh \*pwaH- < \*pVwaH- ‘blow’: Tum po.

Rift \*faḥ- ‘blow’: Alg faḥ-.

Contraction of \*-iwa- > \*-a- or a more archaic form of the original root?

Cf. \*fiwaq- ‘blow’.

## 814 \*fiwaq- ‘blow’

Sem \*pūḥ- ‘blow’: Hbr pwh, Aram pwh, Arab fwh.

WCh \*fiq- ‘blow’: Paa fuki, Siri fiku, Sha fuk, Fyer vivik.

Partial reduplication in Fyer.

CCh \*fuqu(w)- ‘blow’: Mafa fukuw, Lame fuku, Msm fok.

Secondary vocalism after a labial.

ECh \*pu[w]uk- ‘breathing’: Mkk puukiyo.

-uu- results from assimilation (and contraction?).

Agaw \*fiḫw- ‘blow, breathe, rest’: Bil fiḫw, Kem fiḫw, Aun fiḫ-wḡ.

Dhl fook- ‘catch one’s breath, rest’.

Contraction of \*-iwa- yielding to -oo-.

Cf. \*fiwaḥ- ‘smell, blow’. The alternative reconstruction is \*fiqaw-.

## 815 \*fiyal- ‘cook, boil’

Berb \*fVl-fVl- ‘boil’: Izy flufell.

Reduplication.

WCh \*fiyal-/\*fuwVl- ‘boil’: Ang fil, Chip fiyal, Ank fial, Bol pūlō,

Pol fula, Geji huluwi, Brm fule, Buli fulu.

\*fuwVl- goes back to a co-variant \*fiwal-.

LEC \*ʔa-fēl- ‘cook’ (v.): Or affeela.

Contraction of the original cluster \*-iya- > \*ē. Prefix \*ʔa-.

816 \*fo<sup>2</sup>- ‘sand, dust’

Eg fɔ.t ‘dust (?)’ (pyr).

The meaning is not certain.

WCh \*fwa<sup>2</sup>- ‘sand’: Dera pwa.

## 817 \*fo(ʔ)- ‘mouth’

Sem \*pa(ʔ)-/\*pi(ʔ)- ‘mouth’<sup>1</sup>, ‘forehead’<sup>2</sup>, ‘face’<sup>3</sup>: Akk pa<sup>2</sup>u, pū<sup>1</sup>, Ug p<sup>1</sup>, Hbr pe<sup>1</sup>, Aram (Syr) pa-t<sup>2</sup>, Arab fi<sup>2</sup>-at-<sup>2</sup>, fūw-, fūh-at-<sup>1</sup>, Amh fi-t<sup>2 3</sup>, Soq fio<sup>2 3</sup>.

\*-a- < \*-u- after a labial. The stem has an irregular structure in which -ʔ- of Arab may be a result of a late analogical modification.

WCh \*fwa(H)- ‘mouth’: Fyer fo, Bks fo, DB fo, foh.

Related to \*fi<sup>2</sup>- ‘blow’?

## 818 \*foc- ‘roast, cook’

Eg fs ‘cook’ (a), Copt \*fisi id.: Boh fisi, Shd pise.

Copt may reflect HS \*-e-.

WCh \*fwac- ‘burn’<sup>1</sup>, ‘cook’<sup>2</sup>, ‘roast’<sup>3</sup>: Fyer fwaš<sup>1</sup>, Bks fos<sup>2</sup>, Sha fos<sup>2</sup>, DB faš<sup>3</sup>.

DB -a- < \*-wa- after a labial.

## 819 \*foh- “fire; burn”

Eg *wfḥ* “burn” (1).

*w-* stands for a rounded vowel.

CCh \**a-ffwa*- “fire”: Log *fo*, Msg *afu*, Gid *afa*, Mba *fē*.

Irregular vowels in individual languages may continue  
\**-yaHu-*/\**-waHu-*.

## 820 \*fosah- “be bad”

Sem \**pašah-* “be bad, be spoilt”: Arab *fṣḥ* [-a-, 4].

\**-a-* of the first syllable is a regular reflex of Sem \**-u-* < HS \**-o-* after a labial.

WCh \**fwas-* “bad”: DB *fwaš*.

Related to \**fus-* “be angry”.

## 821 \*fos[i]ʔ- “breathe”

Sem \**pVšVʔ-* “breathe, blow”: Akk *pašū*.

HEC \**fošēʔ-* “breathe”: Kmb *fošēēʔ-*.

From \**fošīʔ-*?

## 822 \*fot- “wipe, scrape”

Sem \**pVt-* “wipe oneself with small stones after excreting”: Jib *fett*.

An isolated archaism?

Eg *ftt* “erase (inscriptions)”.

WCh \**fwat-* “scratch ground”: Ang *fwot*.

Omot \**fut-* “oil” (v.): Kaf *hut*.

*h-* < \**f-*, cf. Kaf *futo* “ointment”.

## 823 \*foy- “cloth”

Eg *fy* “cloth” (NK).

CCh \**fway-* “loincloth”: Mwu *fwoyi*.

## 824 \*foya3- “mouse, rat”

Sem \**pVyaz-* “mouse”: Akk *piazu*.

WCh \**fwaya3-* “rat”: DB *fwayaš*.

An archaic separate isogloss replaced in the majority of languages with such innovations as \**antuʔ-*/\**antaw-* and \**ber-*/\**per-* “mouse, rat”.

## 825 \*fuʔon- “meat, flesh”

LEC \**foHon-* “meat, flesh”: Or *fon*, *foon*.

Rift \**fuʔun-* “meat”: Irq *fuʔuni*, Bur *fuʔunai*.

Note Arab *ʕn* [-i-] “make meat rot”.

## 826 \*fuf- “lung, breast”

Berb \**fVf-* “breast”: Ghd *i-fef*, Siwa *i-fiff-an*, Ghat *i-fef*, Ahg *e-fef*, Twl *ā-faf*, Zng *i-fəffi*, Sml *t-iffi-t*, Ntf *i-ff*, Izy *i-ff*, Mzab *i-f*, Wrg *i-f*, *i-ff*, Fgg *i-f*, Snus *i-fef*, Kby *i-f*.

WCh \**fuf-* “lung”<sup>1</sup>, “breast”<sup>2</sup>: Hs *fūfū*<sup>1</sup>, Mpn *fufu*<sup>2</sup>, Fyer *fuf*<sup>2</sup>, Bks *fof*<sup>2</sup>, Klr *fuf*<sup>2</sup>.

CCh \**fiʃ-/fuf-* “lung”: Tera *fufuf*, Gaa *pipifa*, Hwn *pufə*, Bura *fufu*.  
Tera and Gaa reflect a “double” reduplication by adding one more syllable in the anlaut.

ECh \**pupi-* “breast”: Brg *fiʃo*, Mig *pūpu*, Bid *pūpa*.

Any connection with Sem \**pawp-* “bull’s bladder” (Arab *fawf*)? Reduplication of \**ffüʔ-* “lungs, belly”.

## 827 \*fuḡVr- “open” (v.)

Sem \**pVḡVr-* “open wide”: Hbr *pʕr*, Aram (Syr) *pʕr*, Arab *fḡr*.

LEC \**fur-* “open, free, untie”: Som *fur-*, Or *fur-*, Rnd *fur-*, Boni *fur-*, Kon *fur-*, Gid *fur-iyi*.

Inlaut \**-ḡ-* lost without leaving any traces.

828 \*fu<sup>c</sup>un- “thigh, leg”

Sem \**pV<sup>c</sup>Vn-* “thigh, leg”: Akk *pēnu*, Ug *p<sup>c</sup>n*.

WCh \**fun-H-* “knee”: Fyer *fug*.

Metathesis.

CCh \**pun-* “thigh”: FK *punuʔ*.

Metathesis. Irregular \**p-*.

An alternative reconstruction is \*funu<sup>c</sup>-. Cf. also Akk *pēmu* ‘‘thigh’’, Hbr *pa<sup>c</sup>am* ‘‘foot’’, Shh *fa<sup>c</sup>m*, Hss *fām*, Mhr *fēm* (< \*pV<sup>c</sup>Vm-) and Kwz *pa<sup>c</sup>am-uko* ‘‘foot’’ (< Rift \*paHam-), eventually pointing out to HS \*pa<sup>c</sup>am- with initial \*p-!

### 829 \*ful- ‘‘go up, mount’’

CCh \*ful- ‘‘mount’’: Chb *fəl-ti*, Klb *afül-tü*.

Prefix \*<sup>2</sup>a- in Klb.

HEC \*ful- ‘‘go up, go out’’: Sid *ful*, Dar *ful*, Kmb *ful*.

### 830 \*ful- ‘‘bore a hole’’

ECh \*pul- ‘‘big hole’’: Tum *pül*.

Deverbative.

LEC \*ful- ‘‘break through, pierce through’’: Or *full-a<sup>2</sup>a*.

Rift \*ful- ‘‘bore a hole’’: Irq *ful*-.

### 831 \*ful- ‘‘hide, husk’’

ECh \*pulVl- ‘‘shell’’: Tum *puləl*.

Partial reduplication.

Rift \*fal-/ful- ‘‘hide’’: Bur *fala*, Asa *fulo*.

a-vocalism may be a Rift innovation or an assimilation in Bur.

### 832 \*funVg- ‘‘nose’’

Eg *fnḏ* ‘‘nose’’ (pyr).

Eg *ḏ* < \*g palatalized before a middle vowel (\*o or \*e).

LEC \*fung- ‘‘nose’’: Or *fuññ-aan*.

Cf. \*finaḡ- ‘‘opening’’ (and also ‘‘mouth’’!) and, on the other hand, \*fin- ‘‘nose; smell’’. \*-Vg- may be a suffix.

### 833 \*furVh- ‘‘fear’’ (v.)

Sem \*pVrVh- ‘‘fear’’: Gz *frh*, Amh *färra*.

An Ethio-Sem archaism?

LEC \*fūr- < \*fuHVr- ‘‘fear’’: Kon *fūr*, Gid *hūr*.

Metathesis.

### 834 \*furVk- ‘‘skin, bark’’

Berb \*fVrVk- ‘‘bark’’: Ahg *ta-fər-k-it*, Twl *ti-frāk-āwin*, Sml *ti-fər-k-īt*, Ntf *ti-fər-k-it*.

ECh \*purVk- ‘‘bark’’: Sok *furkia*.

Derived from \*fuwar- ‘‘skin, bark’’.

### 835 \*fus- ‘‘be angry’’

Sem \*pūš- ‘‘be angry’’: Akk *puāšu*.

Based on the original HS \*fus-.

WCh \*fus- ‘‘anger’’: Hs *fuši*, Gwn *huši*, puši.

### 836 \*fut- ‘‘hole, vulva’’

Sem \*put- ‘‘vulva’’: Hbr *pot*.

WCh \*fut- ‘‘hole’’: Ang *fut*.

LEC \*fut- ‘‘vulva’’<sup>1</sup>, ‘‘anus’’<sup>2</sup>: Som *futo*<sup>1</sup>, Or *futee*<sup>2</sup>.

Cf. Eg *wft* ‘‘pierce’’.

### 837 \*fut- ‘‘vomit’’

WCh \*fut- ‘‘vomit’’: Sura *fūt*, Ang *fut*, Ank *fūt*, Mpn *fūt*.

Wrz \*fat- ‘‘vomit’’: Gaw *fač-fat*.

Reduplication with modified vocalism.

### 838 \*fuwar- ‘‘skin, bark’’

Sem \*parw- ‘‘skin’’<sup>1</sup>, ‘‘fur’’<sup>2</sup>, ‘‘shell, husk’’<sup>3</sup>: Akk *pāru*, *parru*<sup>1</sup>, Hbr *parwā*, Arab *farw*-<sup>1</sup>, Gz *farra*<sup>3</sup>.

Metathesis. Regular Sem \*-a- < \*-u- after a labial.

Berb \*fVwVr- ‘‘skin disease’’<sup>1</sup>, ‘‘bark’’<sup>2</sup>: Ahg *tafure*<sup>1</sup>, Zng *ta-ffrāh*<sup>1</sup>, Sml *ta-fāri*<sup>1</sup>, Ntf *ta-fura*<sup>1</sup>, Ghd *ti-fra*<sup>2</sup>.

WCh \*fuwar- ‘‘skin of monkey-nuts’’<sup>1</sup>, ‘‘peel’’<sup>2</sup>, ‘‘bark’’<sup>3</sup>: Hs *fūrū*<sup>1</sup>, Tng *paara*<sup>2</sup>, Diri *fu-fur*<sup>3</sup>.

Reduplication in Diri.

ECh \*pVr- ‘‘shell’’: Kera *ke-fre*.

Prefix \*kV-.

## 839 \*fuwat- ‘‘cloth’’

Sem \*puwat- ‘‘table-cloth’’: Arab *fūt-at-*, pl. *fuwat-*.

WCh \*fVwat- ‘‘cloth’’<sup>1</sup>, ‘‘loin-cloth’’<sup>2</sup>: Sura *fwat*<sup>1</sup>, Ang *fwet*<sup>2</sup>,

Mpn *fwāt*<sup>2</sup>.

Cf. DB *fata*<sup>2</sup>u ‘‘cloth’’.

## 840 \*fuy- ‘‘chaff, shell’’

Sem \*puy- ‘‘chaff’’: Akk *pū*.

WCh \*fwaf- ‘‘shell’’: Ang *fwop*.

Partial reduplication.

CCh \*puy- ‘‘bark’’: Bch *puyey*.

Suffix \*-ay- > Bch -ey.

## 841 \*f[ü]ʔ- ‘‘lungs, belly’’

Eg *wfʔ* ‘‘lungs’’ (BD).

Initial *w-* reflects a labial root vowel.

Bed *fiʔ* ‘‘belly’’.

LEC \*fiʔ- ‘‘belly’’: Som *fiʔ*.

Unexpected \*-ʔ- < \*-ʔ-.

Related to \*fiʔ- ‘‘blow’’. Note the semantic evolution in Cush.

## 842 \*füč- ‘‘sweep, clean’’

WCh \*füč- ‘‘clean, wash’’: Tng *puče*.

CCh \*füč- ‘‘sweep’’: Mofu *fəč*, Gis *fuča*.

Rift \*fič- ‘‘sweep’’: Irq *fič*-, Alg *fič*-, Bur *fič*-.

Cf. \*fel- ‘‘sweep’’.

## 843 \*fVhVḱ- ‘‘scrape, scratch’’

Sem \*pVhVḱ- ‘‘scrape, scrub’’: Gz *fhq*, Tgy *fähaq<sup>w</sup>ä*, Hrr *fēhaqa*.

WCh \*fuk- ‘‘scrape, polish’’: Ang *vuk*.

Agaw \*fak- ‘‘scrape’’: Xmr *faq*-, Aun *faki*.

SA \*fik- ‘‘scratch’’: Saho *fik*.

LEC \*fik- ‘‘scratch’’: Som *fiq*-.

Various contractions in Chadic and Cush.

## 844 \*fVḱir-/fVḱur- ‘‘pierce, tear’’

Sem \*pVḱir-/pVḱur- ‘‘pierce, dig, tear out (eye)’’: Arab *fqr* [-i-, -u-].

Eg *fḱʔ* ‘‘tear off’’ (n).

-ʔ goes back to \*-r-.

Derived from \*fak- ‘‘pierce, tear’’.

## 845 \*fVl- ‘‘divide, pierce’’

Sem \*pVl- ‘‘divide’’<sup>1</sup>, ‘‘(be) split’’<sup>2</sup>: Hbr *ply*<sup>1</sup>, Aram (Jud) *ply*<sup>1</sup>, Gz *fly*<sup>1,2</sup>, Tgr *fäla*<sup>2</sup>, Tgy *fly*<sup>2</sup>, Amh *fälläl*<sup>2</sup>.

The original biliteral stem \*pVl- is represented either as \*pVlV- or as \*pVlVl-.

Berb \*fVlVw- ‘‘pierce’’: Kby *flu*.

## 846 \*fVr- ‘‘boil’’

Sem \*pūr- ‘‘boil’’: Arab *fur* [-u-].

Eg *ʔfr* ‘‘boil’’ (gr).

Both in Sem and Eg derivatives of \*fVr- are presented. Probably, the original root should be reconstructed as \*fVwVr-/ \*fVʔVr- or \*ʔVfVr-/ \*wVfVr-.

## 847 \*fVt- ‘‘feel aversion, ignore’’

Sem \*pūt- ‘‘go round, avoid’’: Arab *fwl*.

Eg *ft* ‘‘feel aversion, boredom’’.

Connected with \*fut- ‘‘vomit’’?

## 848 \*fVṭ- ‘‘pull out, take (out)’’

WCh \*fat- ‘‘pull out’’: Bol *foḍu*, Gera *faḍ*-, Ngz *fəta*.

LEC \*fuṭ- ‘‘take’’: Or *fuḍa*.

Irregular vocalism. If -o- in Bol is a reflex of \*-wa-, HS should be \*foṭ-. Cf. Dhl *fīr*- ‘‘take out’’?

## \*g

849 \*ga<sup>2</sup>- “rise”

Sem \*gV<sup>2</sup>Vy- “rise”<sup>1</sup>, “be high”<sup>2</sup>: Hbr g<sup>2</sup>y<sup>1</sup>, Aram g<sup>e2</sup>ā<sup>2</sup>.

Trilateral formation based on \*gV<sup>2</sup>-.

ECh \*ga<sup>2</sup>ay- “increase”: Bid gāya, Mig gāyo.

Derivative from \*ga<sup>2</sup>- similar to the Sem formation in \*-y-.

Agaw \*gwi<sup>2</sup>- “be high”: Bil gwe, Xmr gwe, Kwr gwe, Dmb gwe, Kem gwee.

Unexpected vocalism reflecting HS \*ū.

850 \*ga<sup>2</sup>ab- “dwelling”

Eg gb<sup>2</sup> “side of a room” (Westc.).

Metathesis.

WCh \*ga<sup>2</sup>ab- “room”: Bol gabi, Dera gawi, gaḫi, Tng kaabi, Krf kaafi, Gera gawa, Glm gaabu.

Connected with \*gab- “wall, dwelling”.

851 \*ga<sup>2</sup>id- “face”

WCh \*ga<sup>2</sup>id- “face”: Bol gaido.

Bed gedi “face, eye”.

Composite of prefix \*ga- and \*id- “eye”. For a similar semantic development cf. Goth *and-augi* “face” ← *augo* “eye”.

852 \*ga<sup>2</sup>ur- “wall, yard”

Sem \*igār- “wall”<sup>1</sup>, “roof”<sup>2</sup>: Akk igāru<sup>1</sup>, Aram gr<sup>1</sup>, Arab iggār-<sup>2</sup>.

Metathesis.

WCh \*gar-gar- “low wall or mount”: Hs gargarī.

Reduplication.

CCh \*ga<sup>2</sup>ur- “shed”: Log gaura.

ECh \*ga<sup>2</sup>Vr- “pricky fence”: Mkk gāra.

Bed ga<sup>2</sup>ra, gaar<sup>2</sup>a “yard”.

Assimilation of vowels.

Rift \*garV<sup>2</sup>- “wall of the verandah”: Irq gar<sup>2</sup>ai.

Metathesis.

853 \*ga<sup>2</sup>už-/gawuž- “calabash, basket”

Berb \*gaž Vw- “calabash”: Ghd *ta-gazu-l*.

Metathesis.

WCh \*ga<sup>2</sup>už- “calabash”: Hs gōžī.

ECh \*guž- “calabash”<sup>1</sup>, “basket”<sup>2</sup>: Kbl guž-e-gā<sup>1</sup>, Tum gōž<sup>2</sup>.

Contraction.

Consonantal alternation \*-ž- ~ \*-w-.

## 854 \*gab- “wall, dwelling”

Sem \*gabb- “entrance, vestibule”<sup>1</sup>, “enclosure”<sup>2</sup>: Gz gabgab<sup>1</sup>, Gur gabbi<sup>2</sup>.

Reduplication in Gz.

Eg gb.w “palace” (NK).

ECh \*gab- “wall”: Tum gab, Ndam gaba.

## 855 \*gab- “weapon”

Sem \*gabāb- “sling”: Akk gabābu.

Partial reduplication. Cf. Akk *kapāpu* id.

HEC \*gab- “bow and arrow”: Dar gabe.

## 856 \*gab- “side, bank, beach”

WCh \*gaḫ- < \*gabV<sup>2</sup>- “bank”: Hs gāḫa.

Suffix \*-V<sup>2</sup>-.

Bed gāb, geb “side”.

From \*gabi-?

Agaw \*gab(b)- “side”: Bil gaf, Xmr gōba.

LEC \*geb- “bank”: Som gebi.

Secondary \*e. Cf. Bed.

HEC \*gab- “side”: Bmb gaba.

Cf. Sem \*ganb- “side (particularly, of the body)” (Aram (Syr) *gabba*, Arab *ganb*-), presumably, a deverbative related to Arab *gnb* “be near smb.”. Cf. also Eg *wḏb* “bank” (pyr) that could be a reflex of \*gob-.



## 857 \*gab- ‘‘earth, clay’’

Sem \*gabīb- ‘‘ground, earth’’: Akk *gabību*, Arab *gabīb-*, *gabūb-*.

Partial reduplication.

Eg *gbb* ‘‘earth, Earth-god’’ (pyr).

Partial reduplication.

CCh \*gVb- ‘‘field’’: Gis *guva*.

Secondary -u- in Gis before a labial.

ECh \*gab- ‘‘clay’’: Tum *gab*, Ndam *ga:b*.

## 858 \*gab- ‘‘front’’

Sem \*gabh- ‘‘forehead, front, brow’’: Arab *gabh-at-*, Jib *gəbh-ət*, Hss *yabheh*, Shh *gebhat*.

Secondary derivative in \*-h-? Cf. also \*gabb- ‘‘part of the body, (?) brain’’: Akk *gabbu*.

WCh \*gab- ‘‘physical front of a person’’<sup>1</sup>, ‘‘breast, chest’’<sup>2</sup>: Hs *gabā*<sup>1</sup>, Say *gəp*<sup>2</sup>, Dwot *guṗ*<sup>2</sup>, Ngz *bo-gaba*<sup>2</sup>, Bade *bo-gawa*<sup>2</sup>.

Prefix \*bwa- in Ngz and Bade. Dwot -u- may be explained if WCh \*gabu- is reconstructed.

## 859 \*gaba²- ‘‘hand, arm’’

Eg *gbj* ‘‘arm’’.

WCh \*gaḅ- < \*gaba²- ‘‘joint, limb’’: Hs *gaḅa*.

SA \*gab- ‘‘hand’’: Saho *gabaa*, Afar *gaba*, *gabaa*.

## 860 \*gabar- ‘‘male’’

Sem \*gabr- ‘‘man’’: Phn *gbr*, Moab *gbrn*, Hbr *geber*, Aram (Mand) *gabra*.

WCh \*gwar- < \*gVbar- ‘‘man’’: Sura *gwar*, Bol *gwor-zo*, Krk *gworzo*, Ngm *gwor-zo*.

LEC \*garVb- ‘‘slave’’: Or *garba*.

Metathesis.

HEC \*gabar- ‘‘slave, farmer’’: Bmb *gabari*, Kmb *gabare*.

Dhl *gaḅara* ‘‘male lion’’.

Note the meaning, presumably, from \*‘‘male’’.

## 861 \*gabVḤ- ‘‘be weak’’

Sem \*gVbVḤ- ‘‘be weak’’<sup>1</sup>, ‘‘soften’’<sup>2</sup>: NSyr *gāwih*<sup>1</sup>, Tgr *gābhā*<sup>2</sup>, Tgy *gābhē*<sup>2</sup>.

Eg *gby* ‘‘be weak’’ (n).

Late Eg loss of the laryngeal (substituted by -y?).

CCh \*gaḅ- < \*gabaH- ‘‘weakness’’: Lame *gaḅa*, LPe *gaḅ*, Msm *gab*.

LEC \*ga-gab- ‘‘be exhausted’’: Or *gaggaba*.

Partial reduplication.

Cf. WCh \*gāb- < \*gaHab- ‘‘febrile cattle disease’’: Hs *gābu*.

## 862 \*gac- ‘‘bank, side’’

Eg *gs* ‘‘side’’ (pyr).

WCh \*gač- ‘‘bank’’: Hs *gači*.

Isolated parallel, probably, of archaic provenance.

## 863 \*gac-/\*gic- ‘‘face’’

Eg *ḡs* ‘‘person’’ (pyr).

*ḡ-* < \*g- before \*e or \*o. For the semantic development, cf. Lat *persōna*.

Agaw \*gac- ‘‘face’’<sup>1</sup>, ‘‘figure’’<sup>2</sup>: Bil *gaš*<sup>1</sup>, Xmr *gač*<sup>1</sup>, Kwr *gaš*<sup>1</sup>, Dmb *gaš*<sup>1</sup>, Kem *gaš*, *gāš*<sup>1 2</sup>.

LEC \*gos- ‘‘chin, beard’’: Arb *goos*.

Reflects one more HS variant \*goc-?

Rift \*gic- ‘‘face’’: Irq *gitsa<sup>c</sup>a*.

Reconstruction of vocalism is very shaky. Note parallel forms \*gač-/ \*gawač- ‘‘cheek, chin’’, \*gač-/ \*guč- ‘‘cheek, chin’’. Note an alternative comparison for Eg *ḡs* ~ WCh \*das- ‘‘man’’ (Sura *dās*, Ang *des*) implying a tentative phonological correspondence Eg *ḡ* ~ WCh \*d ‘see \*pVud- ‘‘knee’’).

## 864 \*gač- ‘‘spear’’

WCh \*gač- ‘‘spear’’: Ang *gaš*, Krk *agači*, Dera *gai*, Gera *gossa*, Glm *gass*, Pol *gəs*, Geji *gəsi*, Buli *gəs*, Ngz *ngas*.

Gera -o- may reflect a rounded vowel of the second syllable.

CCh \*gač- ‘‘spear’’: Tera *gas*, Jara *gas*.

SA \*gaš- ‘‘spear’’: Saho *gaša*.

## 865 \*gač- ‘‘be wet’’

Eg *gʒʃ* ‘‘pour out’’ (n).

-ʒ- is a sign for \*-a-.

WCh \*gač- ‘‘wet’’: Ngz *gāša*, *gaža*

## 866 \*gač- ‘‘cheek, chin’’

Berb \*/g/ač- ‘‘cheek’’: Ahg *ayaz*.

Irregular reflex of \*g-.

WCh \*gač-/guč- ‘‘cheek’’: DB *gaš-am*, Jmb *guša*.

CCh \*gušwa- ‘‘cheek’’: Zime *ngušo*, Bnn *ngošo-no*.

Cf. Mofu *gwaš* ‘‘molar’’ ← ‘‘cheek tooth’’. \*-u- seems to be secondary as well as in WCh.

ECh \*gač- ‘‘cheek’’: Bir *gadayo*, Bid *gəde-ma*, Mig *gaḍu-mo*, Jegu *gede*.

HEC \*gač- ‘‘chin, jaw’’: Sid *gaččo*, Bmb *gaččo*, Kab *geča*.

Omot \*gač- ‘‘chin’’: Mch *gač-ano*.

Dhl *gač’a* ‘‘beard’’.

Confusion of two meanings, ‘‘chin’’ and ‘‘beard’’, is typical of IE \*smek’ru-.

Cf. \*gac-/gic- ‘‘face’’.

## 867 \*gad- ‘‘be old; elder’’

Sem \*gad- ‘‘be considerable, be respectable (of men)’’: Arab *gdd* [-a-].

Note a nominal derivative of this verb in Arab *gadd*- ‘‘grandfather, ancestor’’.

ECh \*gaḍ- ‘‘old’’: Kwn *gāḍ-atē*, Ngm *gaḍe*.

Originally, from \*gad-VH-.

HEC \*gad- ‘‘age group, generation’’: Bmb *gada*.

Rift \*gad- ‘‘old man’’: Alg *gar-mo*, Bur *gad-uwa*.

If Alg reflects a different root \*garVm- it might be compared with CCh \*gurVm- ‘‘become old’’: Mofu *gurm*.

## 868 \*gad- ‘‘cut, split’’

Sem \*gVd- ‘‘cut off’’: Aram (Syr) *gdd*, SAr *gdd*.

ECh \*gad- ‘‘split’’: Tum *gād*, Ndm *gəda*.

## 869 \*gad- ‘‘river’’

Sem \*gad(y)- ‘‘river-bank’’: Hbr *gādā*, Aram (Mand) *gada*, *gida*, Arab *gady-at*.

WCh \*g[a]daw- ‘‘lake’’: Ngm *godo*.

Assimilation of vowels.

CCh \*nV-gad- ‘‘river’’: Bud *ngada*.

Prefix \*nV-.

Agaw \*gad- ‘‘river-bed’’: Bil *gadi*.

SA \*gad- ‘‘river, stream’’: Saho *gadee*.

## 870 \*gadeb- ‘‘stomach’’

WCh \*gadyab- ‘‘kidneys’’: Hs *gažēbā*.

CCh \*gVdVb- ‘‘belly’’: Gdr *gəḍəf*.

Unvoiced -f in the auslaut.

HEC \*godeb- ‘‘belly’’: Sid *godoba*, Ala *gəḍḍeba*, Kmb *gʷəḍḍesba*, *godaba*, Dar *godaba*, Had *godabo*.

Irregular \*-o- of the first syllable.

## 871 \*gadel- ‘‘fertile soil’’

Sem \*gadīl- ‘‘land, beach’’: Arab *gadīl*.

Secondary formation?

Eg *ddʒ* ‘‘fertilize (field)’’ (gr).

Denominative verb reflecting \*godVl- with \*-l- > Eg -ʒ.

ECh \*gVdya- ‘‘(clay) earth’’: Kera *gedel*.

Assimilation of vowels.

## 872 \*gadum- ‘‘cut; axe, hoe’’

Sem \*gVdVm- ‘‘cut off’’: Akk *gadāmu*, Aram *gdm*, Arab *gdm*.

Bed *gaduum* ‘‘axe’’.

SA \*godum- ‘‘axe’’: Saho *gəḍumaa*.

\*o < \*a is influenced by \*u of the second syllable.

LEC \*gudum- ‘‘axe’’: Som *guddum*.

Assimilation of vowels.

Derived from \*gad- ‘‘cut, split’’. \*gadum- as a nominal stem appears to be a common Cush innovation.

## 873 \*gag- “roof”

Sem \*gag- “flat roof”: Akk *gaggu*, Ug *gg*, Hbr *gāg*.

Berb \*gVg- “arch supporting a tent”: Ayr *a-gəgu*, Twl *a-gəgu*.

Reduplication?

874 \*ga<sup>c</sup>- “be empty”

Eg *ḡ* “be deserted” (XIX).

Irregular *ḡ* < \*g- implies the influence of \*e or \*o in the original HS verb.

WCh \*gay- “empty”: Tng *gayε*.

From \*gaHi-.

ECh \*gay- “desert”: Tum *gay*.

A deverbative formation.

875 \*ga<sup>c</sup>-/\*gi<sup>c</sup>- “dig, bury”

WCh \*giH- “dig”: Zaar *gi*.

CCh \*gaH- “bury”: Bud *gau*.

ECh \*gay- “bury”: Kera *ge* (*ti tiḡ*).

From \*gaHi-.

SA \*ga<sup>c</sup>- “bury”: Afar *ga<sup>c</sup>*.

Cf. Eg *ḡt* “tomb” (NK)?

876 \*ga<sup>c</sup>ad- “dog, wolf”

Sem \*ga<sup>c</sup>d- “wolf”: Arab *ga<sup>c</sup>d-at-*, *ga<sup>c</sup>ād-at-*.

Berb \*gVd- “dog”: Kby *agdi*.

CCh \*gVd- “dog”: Mofu *gədey*.

Suffix \*-ay- > Mofu *-ey*.

ECh \*gad- “dog”: Mkk *gede* (masc.), *gada* ((fem.)), Smr *do-gədi*.

Prefix \*dwa- in Smr.

Cf. a derivative in LEC \*ged-al- “jackal” (Or *gedallo*).

## 877 \*gaḥun- “stomach”

Sem \*gaḥun- “belly”: Hbr *gāḥōn*.

CCh \*guHan- “stomach”: Log *ḡgun*, Bud *ḡun*, Kus *nguen*, Gf *um-guen*.

Metathesis of vowels. Prefix \*mV-/ \*nV-.

ECh \*gya-gVHVn- “stomach”: Tum *gegə:n*.

Partial reduplication.

## 878 \*gal- “vessel”

Eg *gn.t* “vessel” (NK).

Note -n < \*-l-.

WCh \*gal- “calabash”: Wrj *galiya*, Kry *gali*, Geji *gale*, Brm *kal*, Buli *gal*, Wnd *gal*.

Suffix *-iya* in Wrj.

CCh \*gal- “pot”: Bnn *gala*.

## 879 \*gal- “go, enter”

Sem \*gūl- “go, travel”: Arab *gwl* [-u-].

Secondary interfix -w-. Cf. Arab *glw* “migrate, resettle”.

Berb \*gVl(Vw)- “go”: Kby *glu*.

WCh \*gal-/ \*gul- “run” <sup>1</sup>, “follow” <sup>2</sup>: Sha *gal* <sup>1</sup>, *gulay* <sup>2</sup>.

Note WCh alternation \*a ~ \*u.

ECh \*gal- “go out”: Ndam *gal-ḡoyo*, Mobu *gale*.

SA \*gal-/ \*gil- “run” <sup>1</sup>, “go” <sup>2</sup>: Saho *gil* <sup>1</sup>, Afar *gaḷ* <sup>2</sup>.

SA reflects an alternation \*a ~ \*i.

LEC \*gal- “enter”: Som *gal-*, Or *gala*, Arb *gal-*.

HEC \*gal- “enter”: Bmb *gal-*.

Omot \*gal- “enter”: Ome *gal-*, Anf *gal-*.

## 880 \*gal- “throw”

Sem \*gVla<sup>3</sup>- “throw, overturn”: Arab *gl<sup>3</sup>* [-a-].

Formation based on \*gal-. Cf. also Arab *ngl* [-i-].

WCh \*gal- < \*giHal- “throw”: Klr *gyol*.

ECh \*gVl- “throw”: Ndm *gala*.

881 \*gal-/ \*ga<sup>3</sup>il- “egg”

CCh \*gal-/ \*ga<sup>3</sup>il- “egg”: Gaa *ge<sup>3</sup>ila*, Gbn *nge<sup>3</sup>ele*, Boka *ngala*, Hwn *ngala*, Tera *ngərli*.

Secondary laryngeal in some CCh forms. Note prefix \*nV- in Boka, Hwn and Tera.

ECh \**gr<sup>3</sup>il*- ‘‘lay eggs’’: Jegu *giil*.

Denominative verb.

SA \**gVIVl*- ‘‘egg’’: Afar *gələlo*.

Partial reduplication.

### 882 \*galab- ‘‘give’’

Sem \**gVIVb*- ‘‘procure’’: Arab *glb* [-i-, -u-].

The vowels of the second syllable may be secondary.

WCh \**galab*- ‘‘give’’: Mnt *gallap*.

\*-b- is unvoiced in the final position.

### 883 \*galam- ‘‘ram’’

Sem \**galam*- ‘‘ram with long legs’’: Arab *galam*-.

CCh \**gama*l- ‘‘ram’’: Lame *gəmla*, Bnn *gamala-na*.

Metathesis.

ECh \**gamVI*- ‘‘ram’’: Kera *gamla*.

Metathesis.

Dhl *ngolome* ‘‘buffalo’’.

Secondary vocalism and prefix \**nV*-.

### 884 \*gal-an- ‘‘river, lake’’

CCh \**galan-H*- ‘‘swampy river-branch’’: Mba *gologay*.

Secondary vocalism.

LEC \**galan*- ‘‘sea’’: Or *galaana*.

HEC \**galan*- ‘‘river’’: Dar *galaana*.

Cf. Sem \**gal*- ‘‘wave’’ (Hbr *gal*) that may reflect HS \**gal*- ‘‘river, wave’’ from which the present root is derived.

### 885 \*gal-gal- ‘‘hunger’’

Sem \**gal-gal*- ‘‘hunger’’: Akk *galgaltu*, *galgallatu*.

HEC \**gar-gal*- ‘‘famine’’: Bmb *gaargale*.

Dissimilation of liquids.

Reduplication?

### 886 \*gal-gal-/gal-gil- ‘‘thunder’’

Sem \**gal-gāl*- ‘‘continuous thunder’’: Arab *galgāl*-.

ECh \**gal-gil*- ‘‘thunder’’: Mig *galgilo*.

A descriptive reduplicated stem.

### 887 \*gam- ‘‘vessel’’

Sem \**gām*- ‘‘bowl’’: Arab *gām*-.

ECh \**gVm*- ‘‘clay pot’’: Tum *gəmi*.

Cf. HEC \**gamb*- ‘‘jar’’ (Had *gambo<sup>3</sup>o*).

### 888 \*gam- ‘‘be full’’

Sem \**gim*-/\**gum*- ‘‘be full’’: Arab *gmm* [-i-, -u-].

Secondary vocalism?

WCh \**gamu*- ‘‘fill, be full’’: Sura *gam*, *kum*, Ang *gam*, Mnt *gum*, Ank *gam*, Grk *kum-pan*, Bol *gom*, Krk *nžamū*, Pero *kem*, Ngm *ngama*.

Cf. Berb \**gVm*-/\**gVwVm*- ‘‘scoop, draw (water)’’ (Kby *ag<sup>w</sup>em*)?

### 889 \*gamaḥ- ‘‘wait’’

Eg *gmḥ* ‘‘wait’’ (MK).

ECh \**gam*- ‘‘wait’’: Smr *gam*, Sbn *gam*-.

No traces of the auslaut laryngeal.

### 890 \*gan- ‘‘field’’

Sem \**gann*- ‘‘garden’’: Hbr *gan*, Arab *gann-at*.

Berb \**gVn*- ‘‘plateau’’: Kby *ag<sup>w</sup>ni*.

Note labialization, probably reflecting an earlier \**gVwVn*- (cf. WCh!).

WCh \**gaHwan*- ‘‘field’’: Hs *gōnā*, Tng *kaŋ*, Fyer *ha<sup>n</sup>gon*, Sha *goŋ*, DB *goŋ*.

Sha and DB reflect the secondary metathesis of laryngeal yielding to -ŋ- in contact with \*-n-.

ECh \**gaHan*-/\**gan-H*- ‘‘field’’: Mig *gaan*, Bid *gaŋ*.

Secondary laryngeal in WCh and ECh.

## 891 \*gan- ‘leg’

CCh \*gwan- < \*ganu- ‘leg’: Bata *gwone*.

ECh \*ganu- ‘leg’: Dor *de-ganu*, Nch *guan-ung*.  
Prefix in Dor.

Omot \*gan- ‘leg’: Mch *gano*.

An isolated archaic formation that may be somehow connected with \*gonVh- ‘elbow, shoulder, wing’ as a word for ‘extremity, limb’.

## 892 \*gan-/\*gin- ‘go’

Sem \*gVn- ‘come’ (imperative): Akk *gana*.

WCh \*gan- ‘go’: Fyer *gan*.

ECh \*gin- ‘go out’: Sok *ginē*.

Alternation \*a ~ \*i.

## 893 \*ganah- ‘bend’

Sem \*gVnah- ‘bend’: Arab *gnh* [-a-].

WCh \*ma-gan- ‘bend’: Sha *magan*.

Prefix \*ga-.

CCh \*gan- ‘bend’: Zime *gan*.

## 894 \*gar- ‘container, vessel’

Sem \*garr- ‘box’<sup>1</sup>, ‘jug’<sup>2</sup>: Akk *garra*<sup>1</sup>, Arab *garr-at*-<sup>2</sup>.

Berb \*gVr- ‘small wooden vase’: Izy *ta-gla*.

WCh \*gar- ‘tin container’: Hs *garwa*.

CCh \*gVr- ‘pot’: Gude *gəra*, Nza *gəra*.

## 895 \*gar- ‘boat, ship’

Sem \*gāriy- ‘ship’: Arab *gāriy-at*.

WCh \*gVr- ‘boat’: Krf *gerre*.

The vocalism of the first syllable in Krf is induced by the final -e.

ECh \*gar- ‘boat’: Kwn *ga:r*.

Etymologically identical with \*gar- ‘container, vessel’?

## 896 \*gar- ‘calf, bull’

Eg *ḡr* ‘calf’ (MK).

*ḡ* < \*g- usually before \*e or \*o.

CCh \*gar- ‘bull’: Msg *gari*.

## 897 \*gar- ‘be angry’

Sem \*gūr- ‘be unjust’<sup>1</sup>, ‘be audacious’<sup>2</sup>: Arab *gwr* [-u-]<sup>1</sup>, Tgr *gawārā*<sup>2</sup>.

Secondary \*-w-?

Berb \*gVr- ‘be enraged’: Kby *egru*.

CCh \*gar- ‘angry, anger’<sup>1</sup>, ‘evil’<sup>2</sup>: Mnd *gər-ha*<sup>1</sup>, Lame *ngar*<sup>2</sup>.

Prefix \*nV- in Lame.

## 898 \*gar-/gawar- ‘antelope’

WCh \*gar- ‘oryx’: Cagu *gāre*, Mbu *gāri*.

Cf. Paa *gur-maši* ‘antelope’, Siri *zəb-gəri* id.

CCh \*gar- ‘antelope’: Log *garia*.

ECh \*gawar- ‘antelope’: Tum *gəru*, Kwn *gowor-to*.

Bed *gar-uwa* ‘kind of antelope’.

Omot \*gar- ‘kind of antelope’: Ome *gaaraa*.

Rift \*gwar- ‘antelope’: Irq *gwaraay*.

Reflects HS \*gVwVr-?

In ECh and Rift, a characteristic innovation: C<sup>2</sup> = -w-.

## 899 \*garab- ‘disease’

Sem \*garab- ‘lepra, scabies’: Akk *garābu*, Hbr *gārāb*, Aram (Syr) *garbō*, Arab *garab*.

ECh \*gabyar- < \*gabari- ‘syphilis’: Smr *gaberi*.

Metathesis.

An alternative reconstruction is \*gabar-.

900 \*gara<sup>c</sup>- ‘cut’

Sem \*gVrV<sup>c</sup>- ‘cut (hair)’: Hbr *gr<sup>c</sup>*, Jib *gera<sup>c</sup>*, Soq *gara<sup>c</sup>*.

SA \*gara<sup>c</sup>- ‘cut, strike’: Saho *gara<sup>c</sup>*-, Afar *gara<sup>c</sup>*-.

LEC \*gara<sup>c</sup>- ‘‘cut’’: Or gara<sup>c</sup>-.

Cf. Som gur- id.

### 901 \*gas- ‘‘container’’

Eg gsɔ ‘‘sack’’ (pyr).

Auslaut -ɔ reflects the root vowel.

CCh \*mi-gis- ‘‘basket’’: Suk migisa.

Prefix \*mi-. Assimilated from \*mi-gas-.

Cf., probably, a reduplicated stem in ECh \*gV<sub>3</sub>as- ‘‘bottle’’ (Kera gəsasi).

### 902 \*gas-/ \*gus- ‘‘move’’

WCh \*gusya- ‘‘move’’: Hs gusa, Sura gyes.

LEC \*goš- ‘‘ply between two places’’: Som goš-.

Rift \*gus- ‘‘drive (away)’’: Irq gus-, Alg gus-im-.

Cf. Omot \*gaš- ‘‘drive’’: Kaf gaš-.

### 903 \*gaso<sup>2</sup>- ‘‘antelope’’

Eg gsɔ ‘‘antelope’’ (OK).

WCh \*gas- ‘‘kind of antelope’’: Ngz gas-ka.

ECh \*gawas- ‘‘antelope’’: Ndam gōs, Smr gawsa.

From \*gaHwas-?

LEC \*gu-guš- ‘‘antelope’’: Or guguf-to.

Partial reduplication. Note Arb gasar ‘‘buffalo’’. Note Or -f- continuing a sibilant.

Rift \*ga-gV<sub>3</sub>s- ‘‘antelope’’: Irq gagəs.

Partial reduplication.

### 904 \*gaṭ- ‘‘hunt’’

WCh \*gaṭ- ‘‘hunt’’: Gera gaḏə, Sha gəḏ.

LEC \*u-gaṭ- ‘‘hunt’’: Som ugaad-s-.

Denominative formation. Prefix \*u-.

HEC \*u-gaṭ- ‘‘hunt’’: Sid ugaat-.

Identical with LEC.

### 905 \*gaw- ‘‘bull, buffalo’’

Berb \*gaw- ‘‘bull’’: Izy ayuḡu, pl. iyuḡ<sup>w</sup>awen.

Eg gw ‘‘bull’’ (MK).

ECh \*gVwVɔ- ‘‘bull’’: Tum guṽy.

Omot \*gah- ‘‘buffalo’’: Kaf gahoo.

As in some other cases, it is not clear whether -h- is a part of the root.

### 906 \*gaw- ‘‘man, people’’

Sem \*gaw- ‘‘people’’: Akk ga<sup>2</sup>-, gaw-, Hbr gōy, SAr gw.

WCh \*nV-gaw- ‘‘man’’: Sura ngo, Ang go, Krk ngā, Ngm ngo.

Prefix \*nV-.

ECh \*ga- ‘‘friend’’: Bid gee- (masc.), gaa- (fem.).

Bed gaw ‘‘tribe, family’’.

Wrz \*i-kaw- ‘‘clan’’: Hrs iko.

Prefix \*i-.

### 907 \*gaway- ‘‘body’’

Sem \*gVwy- ‘‘body, belly’’: Hbr g<sup>w</sup>iyā, Aram (Palest) giwy<sup>ē</sup>tā.

Cf. reduplicated \*gu<sup>2</sup>- in Arab gu<sup>2</sup>gu<sup>2</sup>- ‘‘chest’’.

WCh \*gaw- ‘‘corpse’’: Hs gāwā.

Probably, reflects original HS \*gaw-.

ECh \*gway- < \*gaway- ‘‘corpse’’: Sok goy.

Related to \*gaw- ‘‘man, people’’?

### 908 \*gawaɜ- ‘‘go, walk’’

Sem \*gūɜ- ‘‘pass, go’’: Hbr gwz, Aram (Syr) gāz, Arab gwz [-u-], SAr gz.

Berb \*gaɜ- ‘‘go away’’: Kby ggaj.

Agaw \*ga<sup>c</sup>Vɜ- ‘‘depart’’: Bil ga<sup>c</sup>d-.

Unexpected \*-<sup>c</sup>-. A reflection of \*-w-?

The original form of the root could be \*gaɜ-.

### 909 \*gawV<sub>F</sub>- ‘‘interior’’

Sem \*gawp- ‘‘body’’<sup>1</sup>, ‘‘heart, middle, interior’’<sup>2</sup>: Hbr gūp<sup>1</sup>, Arab gawf-<sup>2</sup>, Tgr gof<sup>2</sup>.

CCh *\*gu-guf-* ‘heart’<sup>1</sup>, ‘lungs’<sup>2</sup>: Klb *guguwi*<sup>1</sup>, HNk *gugufe*<sup>1</sup>,  
FKi *gugufi*<sup>2</sup>, Gude *guguf-in*<sup>2</sup>, FM *gugufi*<sup>2</sup>, FBw *guguf-in*<sup>1</sup>.

Partial reduplication. Contraction of the inlaut cluster  
\**-awV-* > \**u*.

### 910 \*gay- ‘move’

Sem *\*gi<sup>2</sup>-* ‘come’: Arab *gy<sup>2</sup>* [-i-].

Cf. Gz *giwayya* ‘run’. Based on *\*gVy-*.

WCh *\*gay-/\*guy-* ‘ride, run away’: Bol *gay*, Krk *guy*.

CCh *\*gway-* ‘enter’<sup>1</sup>, ‘return’<sup>2</sup>, ‘follow’<sup>3</sup>: Klb *gwa*<sup>1</sup>, Mrg  
*gwa*<sup>1</sup>, Glv *gwi*<sup>2</sup>, Bud *gya*<sup>3</sup>, Masa *gwo*<sup>1</sup>.

The original form of the root was *\*gaywa-*.

ECh *\*giy-* ‘come’: Kbl *giyə*.

Secondary \**i* before \**y*.

SA *\*gay-* ‘arrive’: Afar *gay-*.

LEC *\*gay-* ‘arrive’: Or *gaya*.

HEC *\*ge(ʔ)-* < *\*gay-* ‘arrive’: Dar *ge-*.

Cf. Rift *\*gow-* ‘run away’: Irq *gow-*.

### 911 \*gay- ‘say’

Eg *dwy* ‘call, say’ (pyr).

Causes of palatalization are not clear.

WCh *\*gay-* ‘tell’: Hs *gaya*.

CCh *\*ga-* ‘speak’: Tera *ga*.

Omot *\*gay-* ‘say’: Shk *ge*, Dime *gee-mu*, Gll *gay*, Ari *gai-*.

Cf. Sem *\*gV<sup>c</sup>Vy-* ‘shout’: Hbr *g<sup>c</sup>y*.

### 912 \*gayV<sup>c</sup>- ‘work’

Sem *\*yVgV<sup>c</sup>-* ‘be tired’<sup>1</sup>, ‘work’<sup>2</sup>: Akk *egū*<sup>1</sup>, Hbr *ygc*<sup>1 2</sup>.

Metathesis.

Berb *\*gVH-* ‘make, put’: Izy *iga*, Kby *agg*.

CCh *\*gaH-/\*gay-* ‘do, make’<sup>1</sup>, ‘build’<sup>2</sup>: Gis *ge*<sup>1</sup>, Mwl *ugo*<sup>1</sup>,  
Log *ga<sup>2</sup>e*<sup>2</sup>.

ECh *\*giy-* ‘work’ (n.): Smr *giya*.

Deverbative. Cf. Kera *geye* ‘be tired’ < *\*g[a]y-*.

### 913 \*ga3aw- ‘tumor, paunch’

Sem *\*gVzVw-* ‘tumor’: Tgr *gəzwa*, Tgy *gəzwa*.

Berb *\*ga3aw-* ‘paunch, offal’: Ayr *ši-gəza*, Twl *te-gazaw-t*.

### 914 \*gaž-/ \*gawaž- ‘cheek, chin’

ECh *\*gaž-/ \*gwaž-* ‘cheek’: Smr *gaže*, Kbl *kwaži*.

\**gwaž-* < *\*gawaž-*.

Bed *g<sup>w</sup>až* ‘face’.

Phonetic development similar to ECh.

SA *\*gaž-* ‘face’: Saho *gazaa*, *gadaa*.

LEC *\*gaž-* ‘chin’: Som *gaž*, *gaḍ*.

A typical CVC- ~ CVwVC- root pattern.

### 915 \*gelal- ‘be weak’

Eg *gnn* ‘be weak’ (OK).

Note -*n-* < \**-l-*.

ECh *gyalal-* ‘weak’: Gbr *gelāle*.

Partial reduplication?

### 916 \*gena<sup>c</sup>- ‘hand’

ECh *\*gyan-* ‘hand’: Tum *geny-*.

LEC *\*gen-* ‘hand’: Som *žini*, Bay *gene*.

Som *ž-* < *g-* before -*i-*.

Bed *gana<sup>a</sup>*, *gan<sup>a</sup>a* ‘hand’.

Assimilation of vowels.

SA *\*gena<sup>c</sup>-* ‘hand, palm’: Saho *gina<sup>c</sup>*, Afar *gena<sup>c</sup>*.

Note \**-c-* < \**-h-*.

LEC *\*ga<sup>c</sup>an-* ‘hand, arm’: Som *ga<sup>c</sup>an*, Or *gana*, Boni *ka<sup>c</sup>an*.

Metathesis and assimilation of vowels.

Wrz *\*kana<sup>c</sup>-* ‘hand’<sup>1</sup>, ‘palm’<sup>2</sup>: War *kanse<sup>2</sup>e*<sup>1</sup>, Gaw *kan<sup>c</sup>ate*<sup>2</sup>,  
Hrs *kana<sup>c</sup>e*<sup>2</sup>.

Assimilation of vowels.

Mgg *kinne<sup>2</sup>-* ‘hand’.

### 917 \*ger- ‘dog, cub’

Sem *\*gVrw-* ‘wild animal’s cub’<sup>1</sup>, ‘cub, puppy’<sup>2</sup>: Akk *gerru*<sup>1</sup>,

Hbr *gūr* <sup>2</sup>, Aram (Syr) *guryō* <sup>2</sup>, Arab *garw-*, *girw-*, *gurw-* <sup>2</sup>, Hss *yeru* <sup>2</sup>.

ECh *\*gyara-* “dog”: Nch *gera*, Lele *gira*, Kbl *gara*.

Cf., probably, HEC *\*giraw-* “cat” (Bmb *giraawee*).

### 918 \*gi<sup>2</sup>- “see, look”

Eg *gḡḡw* “look” (XVIII).

Reduplication.

WCh *\*giy-* < *\*giH-* “look”: Bol *giy*.

### 919 \*gid-/gud- “be big, be numerous”

Sem *\*gidd-* “many, much”: Arab *gidd-*.

Berb *\*gVwVd-* “be numerous”: Izy *egguḡ*.

Based on *\*gud-*.

WCh *\*gVd-* “many”: Bol *godo*.

Secondary vocalism influenced by the auslaut vowel.

LEC *\*gud(d)-* “large”: Or *guddaa*.

Alternation *\*i* ~ *\*u*.

### 920 \*gidol- “be big”

Sem *\*gVdVl-* “big” <sup>1</sup>, “be big” <sup>2</sup>, “become big, strong” <sup>3</sup>: Ug *gdl* <sup>1</sup>, Hbr *gdl* <sup>2</sup>, *gādōl* <sup>1</sup>, Aram *g<sup>c</sup>dal* <sup>2</sup>, Arab *gādil-* <sup>1</sup>, *gdl* <sup>3</sup>.

CCh *\*digwal-* “big”: Klb *dūgōlu*, Mrg *digal*.

Consonantal metathesis.

Derived from *\*gid-/gud-* “be big, be many”.

### 921 \*gif- “strike, pierce”

Sem *\*nVgVp-* “strike, push, shake”: Hbr *ngp*, Gz *ngf*.

Prefix *\*nV-*.

ECh *\*gif-* “strike (with a sword)”: Sok *gifē*.

### 922 \*gi<sup>c</sup>- “beer”

Sem *\*gi<sup>c</sup>-* “beer”: Arab *gi<sup>c</sup>-at-*.

WCh *\*giy-* < *\*giHya-* “beer”: Hs *giya*.

### 923 \*gi<sup>c</sup>ar-/gi<sup>c</sup>ur- “seek”

Eg *ḡr* “seek” (MK).

CCh *\*giHar-* “seek”: Daba *gir*, Mus *gər*, Masa *gar*, *gāra*.

SA *\*gVHur-* “seek”: Saho *guur*.

### 924 \*giHad-/giyad- “neck”

Sem *\*gīd-* “tendon” <sup>1</sup>, “muscle” <sup>2</sup>, “nerve” <sup>3</sup>, “neck” <sup>4</sup>: Akk *gīdu* <sup>1 2</sup>, Hbr *gīd* <sup>1 3</sup>, Aram *g<sup>c</sup>yādā* <sup>1 3</sup>, Arab *gīd-* <sup>4</sup>, Soq *žid* <sup>3</sup>.

Contraction of *\*giyVd-*.

WCh *\*nV-giḡd-* < *\*nV-giHVd-* “neck”: Krf *ngiḡo*, Glm *ngirya*.

Prefix *\*nV-*.

ECh *\*giHad-* “neck”: Dng *gaadya*, Tum *geer*, Ngam *ger-*, Sok *get-im*, *gere*.

Contraction in individual languages.

Consonantal alternation of a laryngeal (presumably, *\*-ʔ-*) and *\*-y-*. Cf. also another possible cognate in LEC *\*gaHad-* “breast”: Som *gaaddo*. The semantic variety of Sem makes the whole comparison dubious.

### 925 \*gil- “cloud, dew”

Sem *\*ḡVl-* “drops (of dew)”: Hbr *ḡgel*.

Prefix *\*ḡ-*.

WCh *\*nV-gil-* “cloud” <sup>1</sup>, “sky” <sup>2</sup>: Krf *ngilla* <sup>1</sup>, Glm *ngəla* <sup>2</sup>.

Prefix *\*nV-*.

Forms with prefixes in both Sem and WCh.

### 926 \*gim- “receive”

Eg *gmy* “receive, find” (NK), Copt *\*ḡimi* id.: Boh *ḡimi*, Shd *ḡime*.

Copt *\*-i-* reflects HS *\*-i-*.

WCh *\*gVm-* “get”: Cagu *gəḡm-*.

### 927 \*gin- “grind, pound”

Eg *ḡn* “grind” (med).

Palatalization of *\*g-* before a front vowel.

ECh *\*gin-* “pound”: Smr *gine*, Tum *gən*, Ndm *gəna*, Dng *igina*.



## 928 \*gin- “fire”

Eg *dndn.t* “fire” (sarc).

Reduplication.

CCh \*gin- “roast”: Mafa *gin-*.

Denominative formation.

## 929 \*gin-/gun- “build”

Berb \**gVn-* “set up (house), lay off (garden)”: Ghd *ə-gnu*.

WCh \*gin- “build”: Hs *gina*.

CCh \*gun- “build”: Log *gun-*.

Alternation \*i ~ \*u.

## 930 \*gir- “fire”

Sem \**gir-* “fire, deity of fire”: Akk *giru*, *girru*.

Eg *ḡr* “fire” (gr).

Palatalization of \*g- before a front vowel.

SA \*gir- “fire”: Saho *gira*, Afar *gira*.

HEC \*gir- “fire”: Sid *giira*, Dar *giira*, Had *giira*, Kmb *giira*.

Cf. Rift \**gi<sup>2</sup>ir-* “embers” (Irq *gi<sup>2</sup>i*, Bur *gi<sup>2</sup>iru*, Alg *gi<sup>2</sup>iru*).

## 931 \*gir- “be hot”

WCh \**gir-gir-* “hot”: Maha *girgir*, Dera *gərgət*.

Reduplication. Dera < \**gərgər*. Cf. Hs *gūra* “set fire”.

CCh \**gVr-gVr-* “hot”: Tera *gərgər*, Bura *gərgər*.

Reduplication.

HEC \**gir-* “burn”: Sid *giir-*, Had *giir-*.

Related to \**gir-* “fire”.

## 932 \*gir- “live”

Sem \**gūr-* “live”<sup>1</sup>, “be close by”<sup>2</sup>: Hbr *gwr*<sup>1</sup>, Arab *gwr*<sup>2</sup>.

Based on \**gVr-*.

LEC \**gir-* “be, exist”: Som *gir-*, Or *gir-*, Rnd *gir-*, Bay *gir-*.

933 \*gir-/gi<sup>2</sup>ur- “corn”

Sem \**gir-* “bean, corn”: Hbr *gērā*.

WCh \**gi<sup>2</sup>ur-* “millet”: Hs *gērō*, Sura *gor*, Diri *agyura*, Say *gyoro*.

Secondary laryngeal in the inlaut.

CCh \**-gur-* “bean”: Mnd \**gire*, Zgh *ḡgure*, Glv \**agura*, Gvo *ḡgəre*,

Log *māgurē*.

Various prefixes in individual languages.

ECh \**gir-* “bean”: Smr *giri*, žiri, Jegu *giri*, *giri-k*.

A root pattern including a morphonological variant with C<sup>2</sup> = -ḡ-.

## 934 \*gir-/gur- “go, run”

Sem \**gVrVy-* “run, flow”<sup>1</sup>, “pass”: Arab *gry* [-i-]<sup>1</sup>, Hss *gerō*<sup>1</sup>, Mhr *gerō*<sup>2</sup>.

Derived from biconsonantal \**gVr-*.

Berb \**gVwVr-* “go, walk”: Rif *uḡur*, Izn *uyur*.

Based on \**gVr-*.

WCh \**gura<sup>2</sup>-* “come”<sup>1</sup>, “go around”<sup>2</sup>: Dera *gur-*<sup>1</sup>, Bks *gara<sup>2</sup>*<sup>2</sup>.

Suffix \*-a<sup>2</sup>-.

CCh \**gwar-* < \**gura-* “go (into)”<sup>1</sup>, “return”<sup>2</sup>, “follow”<sup>3</sup>: Tera *gəri*<sup>2</sup>, Hil *gwər*<sup>1</sup>, Log *gər*<sup>1</sup>, Bnn *gwərə*<sup>3</sup>.

ECh \**gVr-* “come”: Sbn *gər*.

Bed *agir* “return”.

Metathesis of \**gira<sup>2</sup>-*, cf. WCh.

HEC \**geHer-* “run”: Had *geer-*.

Metathesis from \**gi<sup>2</sup>ar-*, cf. WCh.

Alternation \*i ~ \*u. In WCh and Cush, similar derivatives in \*-a<sup>2</sup>- are worth notice.

## 935 \*go- “stone, mountain”

Eg *ḡw* “mountain” (pyr), Copt \**[t]ōw*: Boh *tōou*, Shd *toou*.

There are no traces of a laryngeal in Eg.

CCh \**gwa<sup>2</sup>-* “stone”: Lame *ngwai*, LPe *gwoi<sup>2</sup>*, Zime *gwo<sup>2</sup>*.

Secondary \*-ḡ-. \**gwa<sup>2</sup>-* may go back to \**gwa-i<sup>2</sup>-*.

936 \*go<sup>2</sup>- ‘‘sing’’

Eg *gʷ* ‘‘sing’’ (n).

The palatalization of \**g* is unmarked in late Eg.

CCh \**gwa*<sup>2</sup>- ‘‘sing’’: Bata *goo*.

LEC \**go*<sup>2</sup>- ‘‘moan’’: Or *go*<sup>2</sup>*a*.

Note a reduplication in WCh deverbative \**gwag*- ‘‘song, dance’’: Mpn *kook*.

937 \*go<sup>2</sup>Vy- ‘‘carry’’

Eg *dʷy* ‘‘bring’’ (gr).

Regular palatalization of \**g*-.

WCh \**gwa*<sup>2</sup>Vy- ‘‘carry (on one’s back)’’: Hs *gōyā*.

## 938 \*gob- ‘‘bend’’

Eg *gb* ‘‘stoop’’ (gr).

No traces of palatalization in late Eg.

CCh \**gwaḥ*- ‘‘bend’’: Gis *goḥ*-, Mofu *gəḥ*.

Unexpected emphatic \**ḥ*. A trace of a laryngeal, also indicated by the vowel length in SA?

ECh \**gwab*- ‘‘bend’’: Kera *gobe*.

SA \**gub*- ‘‘be bent’’: Afar *guub*.

Cf. LEC \**gop*- ‘‘hunchback’’ (Or *goopḥo*)?

## 939 \*gočal- ‘‘ant’’

Sem \**gašl*- ‘‘ant’’: Arab *gašl-at*-.

From HS \**gočal*- with assimilation of vowels.

WCh \**gwačal*- ‘‘ant’’: Wrj *gwašala-na*.

940 \*goda<sup>6</sup>- ‘‘injure, damage’’

Sem \**gVda*<sup>6</sup>- ‘‘mutilate (of nose or lips)’’<sup>1</sup>, ‘‘cut’’<sup>2</sup>, ‘‘beat’’<sup>3</sup>, ‘‘damage’’<sup>4</sup>: Hbr *gd*<sup>6</sup><sup>2</sup>, Aram (Syr) *gd*<sup>6</sup><sup>1 2</sup>, Arab *gd*<sup>6</sup> [-a-]<sup>1</sup>, Gz *g<sup>w</sup>d*<sup>3</sup><sup>3</sup>, Tgr *gd*<sup>3</sup><sup>3</sup>, Tgy *g<sup>w</sup>d*<sup>3</sup><sup>3 4</sup>, Amh *g<sup>w</sup>dd*<sup>4</sup>, Arg *g<sup>w</sup>dd*<sup>4</sup>.

Labiovelars in Ethio-Sem may reflect an earlier rounded vowel of the first syllable. Note Ethio-Sem -<sup>2</sup>-.

Agaw \**gwad*- ‘‘injure’’: Bil *g<sup>w</sup>ət*-, Kwr *g<sup>w</sup>ad*-, Kem *gäd* *y*-, Aun *g<sup>w</sup>əd*-.

Omot \**gond*- ‘‘injure’’<sup>1</sup>, ‘‘be bad’’<sup>2</sup>: Kaf *gond*-<sup>1</sup>, Mch *gondo*<sup>2</sup>, Bwo *gondo*<sup>2</sup>.

Nasal infix?

## 941 \*godVn- ‘‘ant’’

ECh \**gwadVn*- ‘‘ant’’: Kera *godnoy*.

LEC \**gonVd*- ‘‘ant’’: Or *gondaa*.

Metathesis.

Cf. HEC \**goṭan*- ‘‘termite’’ (Sid *goṭan-čoo*) and Omot \**gutun*- ‘‘worm’’ (Ome *gutune*).

## 942 \*go-go- ‘‘skin’’

CCh \**gwa-gwa*- ‘‘skin’’: Mnd *gwogwa*.

LEC \**gog*- ‘‘skin’’: Or *googa*.

HEC \**gog*- ‘‘skin’’: Sid *googa*, Bmb *goga*, *gogaa*, Dar *goga*, Kmb *goga*.

Omot \**gog*- ‘‘skin’’<sup>1</sup>, ‘‘bark’’<sup>2</sup>: Yam *goṇa*<sup>1</sup>, Kaf *goggo*<sup>1</sup>, Bwo *gooka*, *gookaa*<sup>1</sup>, Nao *gogu*<sup>2</sup>.

Reduplication?

## 943 \*go-gor- ‘‘bird’’

CCh \**gwa-gwar*- ‘‘hen’’: Mofu *gwagwar*.

ECh \**gu-gur*- ‘‘hen’’: Kera *guugur*.

LEC \**go-gor*- ‘‘guinea fowl’’: Or *gogorrii*.

Partial reduplication. A descriptive stem. Cf. \**guray*- ‘‘hen’’.

944 \*go<sup>6</sup>ad- ‘‘stick’’

Eg *ḡdd* ‘‘stick’’ (n).

Note the palatalization of \**g*-.

WCh \**gwaHad*- ‘‘stick’’: Paa *dan-gwaḍi*, Mbu *gwadə*.

Prefix in Paa.

CCh \**gad*- ‘‘stick’’: Mafa *gada*.

## 945 \*goḥ-goḥ- ‘‘monkey’’

Eg *ḡḡḡ* ‘‘monkey’’ (reg).

WCh *\*gwagu-* < *\*gwaH-gwaH-* ‘‘baboon’’<sup>1</sup>, ‘‘monkey’’<sup>2</sup>: Hs *gōgo*<sup>1</sup>, Sha *gugwa*<sup>2</sup>, Klr *guga*<sup>2</sup>.  
Reduplication.

#### 946 \*gohas- ‘‘scratch’’

Sem *\*gVhaš-* ‘‘skin’’ (v.): Arab *ghs* [-a-].  
WCh *\*nV-gwas-* < *\*nV-gwaHV-* ‘‘scratch’’: Sha *ngos*.  
CCh *\*nV-gas-* < *\*nV-gVHas* ‘‘mark, make scratches on pottery’’:  
Mafa *ngas*.

Prefix *\*nV-* in Chadic.

#### 947 \*gol- ‘‘cloud, water’’

Berb *\*gVL-gVL-* ‘‘quiet water’’: Izy *iglugel*.  
Reduplication.  
Eg *wgɔ* ‘‘waters’’ (n).  
*w-* stands for a rounded root vowel. No traces of palatalization  
in a late Eg form.  
WCh *\*gwal-* ‘‘cloud’’: Ang *gwal*.  
Related to *\*gil-* ‘‘cloud, dew’’.

#### 948 \*gol- ‘‘be round, go around’’

Sem *\*gVL-* ‘‘go around’’<sup>1</sup>, ‘‘roll’’<sup>2</sup>: Akk *galālu*<sup>2</sup>, Arab *gwl*<sup>1</sup>, Amh *gʷll*<sup>2</sup>.  
Infix *\*-w-* in Arab and a labiovelar in Amh may reflect an original  
back (rounded) vowel of the first syllable.  
Berb *\*gVVL-* ‘‘be round’’: Tua *gelellet*.  
Partial reduplication.  
CCh *\*gwal-* ‘‘round’’: Log *ngolō*.  
Prefix *\*nV-*.

#### 949 \*gol- ‘‘vagina’’

CCh *\*gwal-* ‘‘vagina’’: Glv *rwala*, Nak *rwala*, Bch *gwuley*.  
LEC *\*gul-* ‘‘genitals’’: Or *gula*.  
Cf. Rnd *gel* ‘‘vagina’’, Arb *gel* id.  
Rift *\*gwal-* ‘‘vagina’’: Irq *gwalay*, Gor *golay*, Kwz *gulaʔ-iko*.

#### 950 \*golah- ‘‘be bald’’

Sem *\*gVlah-* ‘‘make bald’’<sup>1</sup>, ‘‘become bald’’<sup>2</sup>: Hbr *glh*<sup>1</sup>, Arab *glh*  
[-a-]<sup>2</sup>.  
Bed *gʷɔPa* ‘‘baldness’’.  
Agaw *\*gwalVh-* ‘‘be bald’’: Bil *gʷalh-ay-*.  
LEC *\*golah-* ‘‘bald spot, baldness’’: Som *golah*, *galaḥi*.

#### 951 \*golan- ‘‘soup, sauce’’

Eg *gnn* ‘‘kind of food’’ (n).  
Note *\*-l-* > Eg *-n-*.  
ECh *\*gwalan-* ‘‘soup’’: Jegu *goloŋ*.  
Secondary vocalism of the second syllable.  
Cf. CCh *\*[g]unan-* ‘‘soup’’ (Log *ɣunan*) with assimilation of  
sonants and irregular anlaut.

#### 952 \*goma<sup>c</sup>- ‘‘gather, meet’’

Sem *\*gVma<sup>c</sup>-* ‘‘gather’’: Arab *gm<sup>c</sup>* [-a-], Hss *egtōma*, Mhr *gatma<sup>2</sup>*, Shh *gotma<sup>c</sup>*.  
*T* stirpes in Hss, Mhr and Shh.  
WCh *\*gwama-* < *\*gwamaH-* ‘‘meet together’’: Hs *gamu*, Ang *gwom*,  
Mnt *kwam*, Bol *gom*, Krk *gam*, Tng *komb-*, Bade *gam-*.  
Secondary *-mb-* < *\*-m-* in Tng.

#### 953 \*gon- ‘‘poultry’’

Eg *ɗndn* ‘‘poultry’’ (MK).  
Reduplication.  
WCh *\*gwan-* ‘‘rooster’’: Fyer *gwene*.

#### 954 \*gonVh- ‘‘elbow, shoulder, wing’’

Eg *ɗnh* ‘‘wing’’ (pyr).  
WCh *\*hVgwan-* ‘‘shoulder, wing’’<sup>1</sup>, ‘‘arm’’<sup>2</sup>: Sura *kəgən*<sup>1</sup>, Ang  
*gwon*, *gwong*<sup>1</sup>, Dwot *kuyun*<sup>1</sup>, Bks *koŋ*<sup>2</sup>, Sha *ngaan*<sup>2</sup>.  
Metathesis of the laryngeal.  
CCh *\*gwan-* ‘‘elbow’’: Msg *gono-gone*.  
Reduplication.

HEC \**gon(n)*- ‘‘wing’’: Kmb *gonna-ta*.

Rift \**gon(g)oh*- ‘‘elbow’’: Irq *gongohi*.

Unexpected inlaut -*g*-.

Cf. a secondary deverbative formation in Sem \**gināḥ*- ‘‘arm’’<sup>1</sup>, ‘‘wing’’<sup>2</sup>: Arab *gināḥ*-, *ganāḥ*-<sup>1</sup>, Mhr *ginah*<sup>2</sup>. The root is, probably derived from \**ganaḥ*- ‘‘bend’’, cf. Lat *ulna* ‘‘forearm’’, OIr *uilind* ‘‘elbow’’ derived from \**elə*- ‘‘bend’’.

### 955 \**gor*- ‘‘back’’

Sem \**gur*- ‘‘back of the house’’: Tgr *gəray*, Tgy *g<sup>w</sup>aro*, Amh *g<sup>w</sup>aro*, Gur *g<sup>w</sup>aro*.

HEC \**gor*- ‘‘back’’: Bmb *gooroo*.

### 956 \**gor*- ‘‘wall, house, dwelling’’

Eg *dry.t* ‘‘dwelling’’ (gr), *drw* ‘‘part of house’’ (MK), *dry* ‘‘wall’’, Copt \**doye* id.: Boh *doi*, Shd *doie*.

According to Copt, -*y* reflects a suffix while \**g*- > Eg *d*- before HS \**o*.

LEC \**gor*- ‘‘house’’<sup>1</sup>, ‘‘wall’’<sup>2</sup>: Som *guri*, *guuri*<sup>1</sup>, Or *gooroo*<sup>2</sup>.

HEC \**gor*- ‘‘shed’’: Bmb *goore*, Dar *goo<sup>o</sup>re*.

Omot \**gorr*- ‘‘house’’: Ome *guolle*.

### 957 \**gor*- ‘‘catch’’

Eg *ndry* ‘‘catch’’ (a), *ndr* ‘‘seize’’ (XVIII).  
*n*- is a prefix.

ECh \**gwar*- ‘‘catch’’: Ndam *gōre*, Sok *gcurē*.

### 958 \**gor-gor*- ‘‘plant, leaf’’

Sem \**gur-gur*- ‘‘plant’’: Akk *gurgurru*.

Eg *drdr* ‘‘leaf’’ (Amar).

WCh \**gwar-gwar*- ‘‘kind of grass’’: Hs *gōragōra*.

Reduplication. HS \**o* is corroborated by the palatalization in Eg. Cf. LEC \**gor*- ‘‘fruit found in the forest’’ (Or *goraa*).

### 959 \**goraf*- ‘‘friend, servant’’

WCh \**ma-gwaraf*- ‘‘friend’’: Bol *gworavi*, Krk *nžarafu*, Ngm *ngerfo*, Ngz *magirəf*, Bade *magərav-an*.

Unexpected -*i*- in Ngz.

Agaw \**gwirrVf*- ‘‘servant’’: Bil *g<sup>w</sup>əlf-aaraa*.

### 960 \**gora*<sup>c</sup>- ‘‘throat, neck’’

Sem \**gVr*<sup>c</sup>- ‘‘throat’’: Gz *g<sup>w</sup>ər<sup>c</sup>ē*, Tgy *g<sup>w</sup>ärära*.

The vowel of the first syllable may be reconstructed as \*-*u*- causing labialization of the initial velar.

WCh \**gwar(VH)*- ‘‘throat’’: Hs -*gwarō*.

In a compound.

CCh \**gwar*- ‘‘neck’’: Tera *gura*, Pad *guara*, Mba *gur- dōy*.

SA \**gara*<sup>c</sup>- ‘‘throat’’: Saho *gara<sup>c</sup>*, Afar *gara<sup>c</sup>*.

Assimilation of vowels.

LEC \**g[o]ra*<sup>c</sup>- ‘‘throat’’: Som *gawra<sup>c</sup>*.

Is -*aw*- a reflex of \**o*?

Cf. compounds with the same element in Agaw \**gwir-gum*- ‘‘throat, neck’’ (Bil *gurgumaa*, Aun *g<sup>w</sup>ergum*, Dmt *g<sup>w</sup>ergem*) and SA \**gur-dum*- ‘‘throat’’ (Saho *durgumaa*, Afar *gurdumee*).

### 961 \**gorum*- ‘‘young man’’

Eg *d<sup>o</sup>m* ‘‘young man’’ (MK).

Palatalization of \**g*-.

WCh \**gwarum*- ‘‘slave’’: Sura *kurom*, Mpn *krom*, Ang *kwarm*, Bol *ngaru*, Krk *nčarum*.

Prefix \**nV*- in Bol and Krk.

LEC \**gorom*- ‘‘young man’’: Som *gorom-saa*.

Assimilation of vowels.

Rift \**garVm*- ‘‘boy’’: Irq *garma*.

Unexpected \*-*a*-.

### 962 \**gorun-gorun*- ‘‘knee’’

ECh \**gwarun-gwarun*- ‘‘knee’’: Sok *gorungorun-du*.

Rift \**gurun-gu(n)d*- ‘‘knee’’: Irq *gurungura*, Alg *gurunguda*, Bur *gurugunda*.

Haplology and dissimilation from \**gurun-gurun-*.

Reduplication.

### 963 \*gos- ‘fish’

Eg *ḡs* ‘kind of fish’ (n).

Palatalization of \**g-*.

WCh \**gwas-* ‘fish’: Zem *giši*, Say *gwusi*, Bks *guše*, Sha *gwaše*.

Cf. ECh \**gwas-* id. (pl.): Sib *gose* (sg. is *dose*!).

### 964 \*gos- ‘be small’

Eg *ḡs* ‘small’ (pyr).

Prefix \**nV-*. Note the palatalization of \**g-*.

CCh \**gwas-* ‘short’: HF *gusi*, FK<sub>i</sub> *gwusu*, Gude *gwus*, Nza *gus*, FJ *gwus*.

### 965 \*goy- ‘bird’

Eg *ḡwy.t* ‘kind of bird’ (sarc).

-*w-* stands for a rounded vowel.

CCh \**gya-* < \**gVya-* ‘hen’<sup>1</sup>, ‘bird’<sup>2</sup>: Gude *gyagya*<sup>1</sup>, Mnd *giye*<sup>2</sup>.

Reduplication in Gude. Secondary -*i-* under the influence of -*y-* in Mnd.

### 966 \*go3- ‘woman’

Sem \**agūz-* ‘old woman’: Arab *‘agūz-*.

Cf. Arab *‘gz [-u-]* ‘become old (of a woman)’. Prefix \**‘a-*.

CCh \**nV-gwa3-* ‘woman’: Gis *ḡgos*, Bld *ḡgas*, Mtk *ḡgwaz*.

Prefix \**nV-*. Unvoicing of final \**-3* in Gis and Bld.

Prefixes both in Sem and CCh.

### 967 \*gu<sup>2</sup>- ‘container’

Eg *ḡw3.t* ‘box’ (MK).

-*w-* stands for a rounded vowel.

WCh \**gu<sup>2</sup>-ga<sup>2</sup>-* ‘pail’: Sura *guugaa*.

Reduplication.

CCh \**gu<sup>2</sup>-* ‘pot’: Gul *guā*.

ECh \**gu<sup>2</sup>-* ‘basket’: Kwn *gu*.

Cf. reduplication in Tob *ḡigū*.

### 968 \*gub- ‘fish’

Eg *gb.t* ‘kind of fish’ (OK).

ECh \**gub-* ‘fish’: Tob *gubū*.

### 969 \*gub- ‘clothes’

Sem \**gubb-* ‘jubba, kind of clothes’: Arab *gubb-at-*, Tgr *ḡabbāt*.

CCh \**gVb-* ‘man’s clothes’: Gava *ḡabəya*.

Suffix -*əya*.

### 970 \*gub- ‘hole, well’

Sem \**gubb-* ‘well’ (n.)<sup>1</sup>, ‘moat’<sup>2</sup>: Akk *gubbu*<sup>1</sup>, Hbr *ḡēb*<sup>2</sup>, Aram *gubbā*<sup>2</sup>, Arab *gubb-*<sup>1</sup>, Gz *ḡabb*<sup>2</sup>, Tgr *ḡabb*<sup>2</sup>.

ECh \**gub-* ‘hole’: Smr *gubu*.

### 971 \*gub- ‘burn’

Sem \**gVb-* ‘roast’: Akk *gubbubu*.

*D* stirpes in Akk.

LEC \**gub-* ‘burn’: Som *gub-*, Or *gub-*, Rnd *gub-*, Boni *kub-*.

Dhl *guß-* ‘burn’ (trans.).

### 972 \*gu<sup>2</sup>- ‘fingernail’

CCh \**nV-giṣ-* ‘fingernail’: Gude *ḡṣa*, Zime *ḡiṣē*.

Prefix \**nV-*. The above form may go back to \**niguṣ-*.

Omot \**guṣ-* ‘fingernail, claw’: Dime *guṣ*, Ari *ḡṣaa*, Karo *guṣo*.

Cf. ECh \**gus-* id.: Kbl *guse-maṇ*.

### 973 \*gud- ‘house’

Sem \**gudd-* ‘djedda, town’: Arab *gudd-at-*.

CCh \**gud-* ‘house’: Glv *guda*.

LEC \**god-* ‘hut’: Or *godoo*.

HEC \**god-* ‘place, cattle-pen’: Bmb *godoo*, Dar *goode*.

Wrz \**kot-* ‘house’: Hrs *koto*, Dob *koto*.

Tgy *g<sup>w</sup>ada*, Amh *g<sup>w</sup>ada* are borrowed from Cush.

#### 974 \**gud-* ‘find, seek’

Sem \**wVgVd-* ‘find, meet’: Arab *wgd*.

Prefix \**wV-*.

CCh \**gud-* ‘seek anxiously’: Mafa *gud-*.

#### 975 \**gud-* ‘soil’

Sem \**gad-* ‘soil, ground’: Arab *gadad-*.

Secondary formation based on the otherwise unattested root.

Innovative vocalism.

ECh \**gVd-* ‘fertile soil’: Sok *gede*.

Assimilation of vowels in Sok.

Dhl *gudde* ‘land’.

#### 976 \**gudin-* ‘axe, hoe’

ECh \**gidin-H-* < \**gudin-H-* ‘hoe’: Kera *gidij-*.

Assimilation of vowels.

LEC \**gudin-* ‘axe’: Som *gudin*.

Cf. HS \**gadum-* ‘cut; axe, hoe’.

#### 977 \**gu<sup>c</sup>al-* ‘divide’

Sem \**gV<sup>c</sup>VL-* ‘divide’: Arab *g<sup>c</sup>l*.

ECh \**gal-* < \**gVHal-* ‘part, side’: Kera *gal*.

Nominal derivative of the original HS verb.

Agaw \**guHal-* ‘divide’: Kwr *golee*, Dmb *golee*, Kem *gualəy*.

Contraction in Kwr and Dmb.

#### 978 \**gu<sup>c</sup>al-* ‘insect’

Sem \**gu<sup>c</sup>al-* ‘scarabeus’: Arab *gu<sup>c</sup>al-*.

WCh \**nV-gal-* ‘termite’: Bks *<sup>n</sup>gal*.

Prefix \**nV-*.

CCh \**nV-gVL-* ‘termite’: Nz *ngəle*.

Prefix \**nV-*.

Contraction of \**-uHa-* > \**-a-* in Chadic.

#### 979 \**gulul-* ‘vessel’

Sem \**gull-* ‘bowl’: Akk *gullu*, *gullatu*, Hbr *gullā*.

CCh \**gulVL-* ‘straw bottle’: Msg *gullai*.

Rift \**gudul-* ‘water jug’: Irq *gudulia*.

Dissimilation of liquids?

Etymologically identical with \**gulul-* ‘ball’?

#### 980 \**gulul-* ‘ball’

Sem \**gull-* ‘round object’: Arab *gull-at-*.

WCh \**gulul-* ‘ball’: Hs *gulūlu*.

Derived from \**gol-* ‘be round, go around’.

#### 981 \**gum-* ‘cut’

CCh \**gum-* ‘cut off’<sup>1</sup>, ‘carve’<sup>2</sup>: Mofu *ngəm*<sup>1</sup>, Gis *ngom*<sup>1</sup>, Mtk *gum*<sup>2</sup>, Hld *gum-na*<sup>2</sup>.

Prefix \**nV-* in Mofu.

Rift \**go<sup>ɔ</sup>im-* ‘carve’: Irq *go<sup>ɔ</sup>im*.

Secondary inlaut \**-ɔ-*. The original form could be \**gom-*.

#### 982 \**gun-* ‘occiput’

CCh \**gun-* ‘occiput, neck’: ZBt *guno*, Bud *nguni*, FG *gona*.

Prefix \**nV-* in Bud.

ECh \**gun-* ‘occiput’: Smr *gəgəne*, Lele *tu-gna*, Ndam *da-gən*, Tum *gun kumu*, Kera *kənə-g*, Kwn *ku-kīn*.

Partial reduplication in Smr and Kwn. Prefixes in Lele and Ndam.

Omot \**gon-* ‘nape’: Ome *gonno*.

## 983 \*gup-/gump- “knee”

ECh \*gupi- “knee”: Smr *gube*, Tum *gub*, Ndam *gub*, Dng *gipi*, Mig *gippi*, Br *gifi*, Jegu *gifo*, Mubi *gip*.

Bed *gumba* “knee”.

Omot \*gumb- “knee”: Sezo *gubbi*, Nao *gum-ta*.

It seems that ECh lost the nasal element of \*-mp- cluster. On the other hand, \*-mb- cannot be reconstructed in order to explain Cush because of the unvoiced in ECh. A very difficult case. Cf. also HEC \*gub- “thigh” (Bmb *gub-eedi*)?

## 984 \*gur- “house, place”

Berb \*gVrur- “enclosure”<sup>1</sup>, “wall”<sup>2</sup>, “place, yard”<sup>3</sup>: Nfs *a-grur*<sup>1 2</sup>, Ahg *a-gror*<sup>1</sup>, Ish *a-grur*<sup>2</sup>, Tzr *a-grur*<sup>3</sup>, Gua *ta-goror*<sup>3</sup>, Sus *a-grur*<sup>1 2</sup>, Kby *agrur*<sup>1</sup>.

Partial reduplication.

WCh \*gur- “place”: Hs *gure*.

CCh \*gur- “enclosure”: Mba *guru*.

## 985 \*gur- “pull”

Sem \*gur- “pull”: Hbr *grr*, Arab *grr* [-u-], Jib *gerr*, Hss *ger*.

CCh \*gur- “pull”: Mofu *-gur-*.

## 986 \*gur- “ash”

Sem \*gurār- “hot ash”: Akk *gurāru*.

Cf. Akk *kirāru* id. A secondary formation.

WCh \*gur- “ash”: Sura *kuur*, Ang *kur*.

ECh \*gur- “coal”: Ndm *gurē*.

Related to \*gir- “fire”.

## 987 \*gur- “hole”

Sem \*gūr- “cavity”: Hbr *gōr*, Arab *gūr-at-*.

ECh \*gur- “hole”: Smr *gurō*.

-ō goes back to \*-aw-.

## 988 \*guray- “hen”

Eg *gry* “poultry” (n).

The final -y may be a suffix, cf. ECh (Sbn).

CCh \*yVgur- “hen”: Mnj *yugur*, Msg *yugur*, *igur*.

Metathesis of \*gurVy-. Assimilation of vowels in Msg.

ECh \*gur(Vy)- “hen, rooster”: Sbn *garay*.

## 989 \*gut- “container”

Eg *gt* “box” (n).

CCh \*gula- “calabash”: Bnn *gwəṭə*, BM *nguta*.

Prefix \*nV-.

## 990 \*guy- “chin”

Eg *wgy.t* “lower jaw” (pyr).

w- is a vocalic sign.

CCh \*guyi- “chin, beard”: Lmn *goyo*, Zgh *gwiye*, Glv *g<sup>w</sup>iya*, Gava *g<sup>w</sup>uya*, Nak *g<sup>w</sup>iya*.

## 991 \*guž- “stomach”

WCh \*guž- “internal organ (of a bird)”: Hs *gužiyā*.

ECh \*giž-/guž- “belly”: Ndm *gūž*, Kera *giidə*.

Agaw \*gwiz-uk- “stomach”: Xmr *gizuu*, pl. *gizuk*, Xmt *gizuu*, Kwr *gwazgu*, Dmb *gozgw*, Kem *gwazguu*, Aun *gwezguii*.

Generalized pl. in \*-uk-?

SA \*guž- “belly”: Afar *gudee*.

LEC \*guž- “intestines”: Som *guudo*.

992 \*güba<sup>c</sup>- “mountain”

Sem \*gab<sup>c</sup>-/\*gib<sup>c</sup>- “hill, height”: Akk *gab<sup>u</sup>*, Ug *gb<sup>c</sup>*, Hbr *gib<sup>c</sup>ā*, Amh *guba*.

a-vocalism seems to be secondary.

CCh \*guḅa- < \*gubaH- “mountain”: Glv *roba*, Gava *ruḅa*, Msm *gəbəy*.

LEC \*gubb- “summit”: Or *gubba*.

HEC \*gubb- “highland”: Bmb *gubba*.

Dhl *guḅa* “plains”.

## 993 \*gül-/ \*gül-ib- ‘‘knee’’

ECh \*gVl- ‘‘knee’’: Sok *der-gel-*, *bo-golo*.

*der-* and *bo-* are prefixes.

CCh \*gVl- ‘‘thigh’’: Mofu *gal-aw*.

Msg *gurfa* ‘‘knee’’ may be connected with a different Chadric root for ‘‘knee’’, \*gVr-.

Agaw \*gwillib- ‘‘knee’’: Bil *girib*, Xmr *girb*, Xmt *garəb*, Kwr *gerb*,

Dmb *gulvis*, Kem *garbii*, Dmt *gereb*, Aun *gerbii*.

SA \*gulub- ‘‘knee’’: Saho *gulub*, Afar *gulub*.

LEC \*gilub- ‘‘knee’’: Som *žilib*, Or *žilba*, Rnd *žələb*, Bay *gilub*.

HEC \*gilub-/ \*gulub- ‘‘knee’’: Sid *guluppo*, Dar *gulubo*, Had *gurubbo*,

Kab *gulubi-ta*, Bmb *gilba*, Kmb *gulubi-ta*, Tmb *gulubi-ta*.

Wrz \*kilVp- ‘‘knee’’: Gaw *kilpayho*, Hrs *kilpayo*, Dob *kilpayo*.

Omot \*gul(l)Vb- ‘‘knee’’: Ome *gulb-ata*, Bwo *guubra*.

Metathesis in Bwo.

Dhl *gilli* ‘‘knee’’.

The dominating Cush form is derived from \*gül- with suffix \*-ib-.

## 994 \*gün- ‘‘bend’’

Sem \*hVgin- ‘‘become curved’’: Arab *hgn* [-i-].

Prefix \*hV-.

WCh \*nV-gun- ‘‘bend’’: Bol *ngün*, Krk *ngun*, Wrj *ngunai*, Kry *ngun*.

Prefix \*nV-.

Prefixes in both branches of HS. Related to \*ganaḥ- ‘‘bend’’?

995 \*güri<sup>2</sup>- ‘‘stomach’’

Sem \*giri<sup>2</sup>- ‘‘stomach (of a bird)’’: Arab *giri<sup>2</sup>-at-*, *giriyy- at-*.

ECh \*gur- ‘‘stomach’’: Lele *gür-mu*, Mig *gur-mūdu*.

Agaw \*gir(r)- ‘‘stomach’’<sup>1</sup>, ‘‘intestines’’<sup>2</sup>: Bil *gir*, *žir*<sup>1</sup>, Xmr *zillaa*<sup>1</sup>, Xmt *ziilaa*<sup>1</sup>, Kwr *žir*<sup>1</sup>, Kem *žər*<sup>2</sup>.

Palatalization of \*g- in most Agaw forms.

LEC \*gere<sup>2</sup>- ‘‘belly’’: Arb *gere<sup>2</sup>*.

Assimilation of vowels.

Rift \*gurV<sup>2</sup>- ‘‘belly’’: Irq *gura*, Alg *gura<sup>2</sup>a*, Bur *gura<sup>2</sup>a*.

Secondary \*-a- of the second syllable.

## 996 \*gVbVL- ‘‘edge’’

Sem \*gVbul- ‘‘edge’’: Phn *gbl*, Hbr *g<sup>e</sup>būl*, Aram *gbl*.

Eg *gb<sup>2</sup>* ‘‘side of a room’’ (westc.)

WCh \*gVlVb- ‘‘edge’’: Dera *galba*.

Metathesis.

## 997 \*gVsVy- ‘‘go, move’’

Sem \*gĩš- ‘‘go (home)’’: Akk *gāšu*.

Metathesis.

Eg *gsy* ‘‘run’’ (XVIII).

Derived from \*gas- ‘‘move’’.

## 998 \*gVwVb-/ \*gVyVb- ‘‘call, answer’’

Sem \*gūb- ‘‘answer’’: Aram *gawwēb*, Arab *gwb*, Hss *yewāb*.

ECh \*gyab- < \*gVyVb- ‘‘call’’: Nch *geba*.

Consonantal alternation \*-w- ~ \*-y-.

## 999 \*gVwun- ‘‘be black’’

Sem \*gūn- ‘‘be black’’: Arab *gwn* [-u-].

If not related to Aram *gawnā* ‘‘color’’ borrowed from Iranian.

WCh \*[wV]gun- ‘‘dirty’’: Ang *gun*.

An alternative reconstruction is \*wVgun-.

## 1000 \*gVzim- ‘‘cut’’

Sem \*gVzim- ‘‘cut’’: Hbr *gzm*, Arab *gzm* [-i-].

Cf. Arab *gdm* id.

Berb \*gVzVm- ‘‘cut’’: Izy *gezzem*, Kby *egzem*.

\*ğ

1001 \*ğa<sup>2</sup>-/ \*ğo<sup>2</sup>- ‘‘stone’’

Eg ğ.t ‘‘stone’’ (OK).

WCh \*ğay- < \*ğa<sup>2</sup>i- ‘‘rock, stone’’: Gera *giiwi*, Glm *gigai*, Grm *gii*,

Sha *wa-ḥay*, DB *hayi*.



Partial reduplication in Glm. Prefix in Sha.

CCh \**ɣwa*<sup>2</sup>- ‘‘mountain’’: Ngw *ɣwa*, Lmn *ɣwa*, Zgh *ɣwa*<sup>2</sup>*a*, Glv *ɣwa*.

Alternation \**a* ~ \**o*?

### 1002 \**ġabur*- ‘‘dust’’

Sem \**ġabar*- ‘‘dust’’: Arab *ġabar-at*-, *ġubār*-, *ġubr-at*-, Hss *ġebār*.

Secondary vocalism in *ġubār*-, *ġubr-at*-. \*-*u*- > \*-*a*- after a labial is regular.

WCh \**ġabVr*- ‘‘dust’’: Hs *habrā*.

CCh \**ɣurVb*- ‘‘sand’’: Mofu *ma-hurḃay*.

Metathesis. Secondary emphatization of -*b*- > -*ḃ*- influenced by the initial \**ɣ*.

Derived from \**bur*- ‘‘earth, sand’’?

### 1003 \**ġak*- ‘‘crow’’

Sem \**ġāk*- ‘‘raven’’: Arab *ġāq*-.

WCh \**ġag*- < \**ġak*- ‘‘crow’’: Paa *gāga*.

Assimilation.

CCh \**ɣak*- ‘‘crow’’: Dgh *ɣaga*, Gis *mu-ghak*, *ma-gaga*, Mofu *man-gahak*, Log *ɣake*, Bud *ngage*.

Mofu reflects \**ɣaHak*-, cf. ECh. Prefix \**ma(n)*- in Gis and Mofu.

ECh \**gak*- ‘‘crow’’: Mubi *gak*, Bid *gaaga*, Kwn *gāga*.

Bid may reflect \**gaHak*-.

Dhl <sup>2</sup>*aak*<sup>2</sup>*ak*<sup>2</sup>*o* ‘‘crow’’.

Partial reduplication.

A descriptive stem, possibly, of reduplicative nature (\**ġak*- < \**ġag*-, cf. WCh).

### 1004 \**ġal*- ‘‘kill’’

Sem \**ġāl*- ‘‘make smb. perish quickly’’: Arab *ġwl* [-*u*-].

Based on the original \**ġVl*-.

CCh \**ɣal*- ‘‘kill’’: Log *ɣəla*, Bud *hala*.

### 1005 \**ġaluč*-/\**ġiluč*- ‘‘be heavy, be thick’’

Sem \**ġalič*-/\**ġaluč*- ‘‘be fat, be bulky’’: Arab *ġlḩ* [-*i*-, -*u*-], Hss *ġelez*, Mhr *ġelayz*.

SA \**ilVs*- ‘‘heavy’’: Afar *ils*.

LEC \**iluč*-/\**uluč*- ‘‘heavy’’: Som *ulus*, Or *ulf-ata*, Kon *uls*, Arb *ilč-iyda*.

\**uluč*- from \**iluč*- as a result of the assimilation of vowels.

Alternation \**a* ~ \**i*. Cush forms reflect HS \**ġiluc*- with an irregular correspondence of \**c* to HS \**č* > \**ṭ*.

### 1006 \**ġar*- ‘‘army, raid’’

Sem \**ġār*- ‘‘army’’: Arab *ġār*-.

WCh \**ġar*- ‘‘raid’’: Hs *harā*.

### 1007 \**ġar*- ‘‘skin’’

Sem \**ġar*- ‘‘skin, hide, fur’’: Ug *gr*, Hbr *or*.

Cf. Hss *gereret* ‘‘bag, sack’’?

CCh \**ɣar*- ‘‘skin’’: Gis *gar-ak*.

Suffix -*ak* in Gis.

ECh \**gar*- ‘‘skin’’: Smr *gare*, Ndam *gari*.

### 1008 \**ġarub*- ‘‘darkness’’

Sem \**ġarb*- ‘‘sunset, evening’’: Akk *erbu*, Hbr *ereb*, Gz *arab*, Hss *ġarb*.

Cf. \**ġVrVb*- ‘‘be dark’’: Arab *grb*, Gz *rb*.

WCh \**rubah*- ‘‘darkness’’: Sura *rap*, Ang *rāp*, Say *rub-gir*, Dwot *rup-žur*.

Metathesis.

CCh \**rub*- < \**rubVH*- ‘‘darkness’’: Mtk *ruva*.

Metathesis.

Note that \**ġurab*- ‘‘raven, crow’’ and \**ġarub*- ‘‘darkness’’ may be etymologically connected. Cf. Slav \**vorǫbъ* ‘‘raven, crow’’ = \**vorǫbъ* ‘‘black’’.

1009 \*ġawa<sup>3</sup>- ‘‘deceive’’

Sem \*ġū<sup>3</sup>- ‘‘deceive, tempt’’: Arab *ġw*<sup>3</sup> [-a-].

CCh \**ɣaw*- ‘‘lie’’ (n.): Chb *ɣawi*.

Deverbative formation.

## 1010 \*ġawaġ- ‘‘locust’’

Sem \**ġawġ-a*<sup>2</sup>- ‘‘locust (beginning to fly)’’: Arab *ġawġā*<sup>2</sup>-.

WCh \**nV-ġwaġ*- < \**nV-ġVwaġ*- ‘‘locust’’: Ang *gwo*k, Ank *ngok*.

Prefix \**nV*-.

Reduplication?

## 1011 \*ġa3-/ \*ġu3- ‘‘keep, gather’’

Sem \**ġuz*- ‘‘keep, cling to’’: Arab *ġzz* [-u-].

CCh \**ɣa3*- ‘‘collect, gather (in big amounts)’’: Mafa *haz*-.

Alternation \**a* ~ \**u*.

## 1012 \*ġer- ‘‘town’’

Sem \**ġīr*- ‘‘town’’: Hbr *‘īr*.

ECh \**gyar*- ‘‘house’’<sup>1</sup>, ‘‘village’’<sup>2</sup>; Dng *ger*<sup>1</sup>, Mig *ger*<sup>1</sup>, Jegu *gēr*<sup>2</sup>,  
Mubi *gir*<sup>1</sup>, Bid *geeru*<sup>1</sup>, Jegu *geer*<sup>2</sup>.

Cf. partial reduplication in Mig *gēger* ‘‘village’’.

## 1013 \*ġič- ‘‘be bad’’

Sem \**ġat*-/ \**ġi*<sup>1</sup>- ‘‘be thin, be bad’’: Arab *ġtt* [-a-, -i-].

Traces of *a*-grade?

CCh \**ɣič*- ‘‘be insufficient’’: Mafa *hič*-.

## 1014 \*ġor- ‘‘punish’’

WCh \**ġwar*- ‘‘discipline (a person), break in (a horse)’’: Hs *hōrā*.

Rift \**ħwar*- ‘‘beat hard’’<sup>1</sup>, punish’’<sup>2</sup>: Irq *ħwar*-<sup>1</sup>, Asa *har*-<sup>2</sup>.

## 1015 \*ġor- ‘‘crow’’

WCh \**ġwar*- ‘‘crow’’: Sura *gōwōw*.

CCh \**ɣVr*- ‘‘crow’’; Glv (*ɣaya*-)*ħəra*.

ECh \**gVr*- ‘‘crow’’: Ndam *ʔagra*.

Agaw \**ħur*- ‘‘crow’’: Kem *ħorai*.

Rift \**ħwaʔar*- ‘‘crow’’: Irq *ħwaʔari*, Bur - *ħwarariya*, Asa *ħohoraʔi*.

Secondary inlaut laryngeal.

Descriptive root.

## 1016 \*ġuf- ‘‘grain, flour’’

Sem \**ġVpVɣ*- ‘‘clean, hull (grain)’’: Arab *ġfy*.

Denominative verb.

CCh \**ɣup*- ‘‘flour’’: FK *uɣupu*, FG *ɣupwu*, Glv *ʔaxupiya*, Zgh *kufe*,

Gava *ɣupiya*, Nak *ħaxpiya*, Mtk *gwufa*, Log *mu-ħbī*.

Partial reduplication in Nak.

## 1017 \*ġufir- ‘‘antelope’’

Sem \**ġupr*- ‘‘young gazelle’’<sup>1</sup>, ‘‘young of deer’’<sup>2</sup>: Hbr *‘ōper*<sup>1</sup>,  
Arab *ġufr*-<sup>2</sup>.

WCh \**fir*- < \**ġVfir*- ‘‘antelope’’: Ang *fīr*.

Any connection with MMs \**ʔafor*- ‘‘antelope’’ (Asa *ʔofor-ok*,  
Kwz *aful-atu*)?

## 1018 \*ġulum- ‘‘young man’’

Sem \**ġulām*- ‘‘young man, young slave’’: Hbr *‘elem*, Aram (Syr)  
*‘elaymō*, Arab *ġulām*-.

\**u* > \**a* in contact with a labial. Arab *ġlm* ‘‘be lascivious’’ may  
be a secondary derivative from the present noun.

ECh \**hulum*- < \**ġulum*- ‘‘man’’: Kera *hulum*.

Note the irregular development of the initial \**ġ*-.

Cf. HS \**ġol*- > CCh \**ɣwal*- ‘‘child’’: Log *ɣ’oli*, Bud *ūli*?

## 1019 \*ġum- ‘‘cover, shut’’

Sem \**ġum*- ‘‘cover’’: Arab *ġmm* [-u-].

WCh \**ġum*- ‘‘shut’’: Mnt *gwum*.

## 1020 \*ġurab- “raven, crow”

Sem \*ġurāb- “raven”<sup>1</sup>, “Egyptian vulture”<sup>2</sup>: Arab *ġurāb*-<sup>1</sup>, Hss *ye-ġerēb*<sup>1</sup>, Mhr *yeġerayb*<sup>1</sup>, Shh *eġereb*<sup>1</sup>, Soq *a<sup>c</sup>reb*<sup>2</sup>.

Different vocalism is represented in Akk *āribu*, Hbr *ōreb*.

ECh \**gurVb*- “crow”: Jegu *gurb-aak*.

HEC \**gurub*- “crow”: Bmb *gurruba*.

Assimilation of vowels.

Cf. CCh \**γVrVb*- “dove” (HGh *xəṛbe*)? The root is derived from \**gor*- “crow”.

## 1021 \*ġural- “genitals”

Sem \**ġurl*- “foreskin”: Akk *urulla*, Hbr *‘orlā*, Aram (Syr) *‘urlūtō*, Arab *ġurl-at*.

Assimilation of vowels.

ECh \**gural*- “testicles”: Mubi *gurli*, Brg *gulaali*, Jegu *gulle*, Dng *gulla*, Bid *gulal*, Mig *golile*.

Assimilation to \**gula*- in most languages.

Rift \**gula*- “testicles” (Kwz *gulala*, Asa *gulala*) was borrowed from ECh.

## 1022 \*ġuwuṭ- “dig”

Sem \**ġūt*- “dig”: Arab *ġwṭ* [-u-].

WCh \**ġu[w]uṭ*- “dig, scratch”: Ngz *guutu*.

CCh \**nV-yuṭ*- “dig”: Gude *ngud-*, Mwl *uṅḡḡḡḡḡ*, Gudu *guḏān*.

Prefix \**nV*-. Note that in Gudu the root is preserved without a prefix.

## 1023 \*ġVpar- “clothes”

Sem \**ġVpar*- “kind of clothes”: Akk *epartu*.

Cf. Akk *apāru*, *epēru* “cover the head”, Arab *ġfr* “cover”.

Eg *‘pr* “clothes” (gr).

A cultural *Wanderwort*?

## 1024 \*ġūr- “raid, plunder”

Sem \**ġVwVr*- “raid, attack” (v.): Arab *ġwr*, Hss *šew-ġōr*.

Eg *‘wɣy* “plunder”.

\*-r- > Eg -ɣ-

CCh \**γVr*- “kill”: Mofu *hər*.

Related to \**ġar*- “army, raid”.

## \*C

## 1025 \*‘ab- “be big”

Sem \**‘VbVy*- “be thick”<sup>1</sup>, “be big”<sup>2</sup>: Akk *ebū*<sup>1</sup>, Hbr *‘ābe*<sup>1</sup>, Aram (Syr) *‘bī*<sup>2</sup>, Arab *‘by*<sup>1</sup>, Gz *‘abiy*<sup>2</sup>.

Formation based on \**‘Vb*-.

HEC \**‘abb*- “be big”: Kmb *abba*.

## 1026 \*‘ab- “tree”

Eg *‘ɣb* “tree” (pyr).

-ɣ- stands for a vowel.

ECh \**‘ab*- “tree”: Brg *‘abi*.

## 1027 \*‘ab- “drink”

Sem \**‘Vb*- “gulp, swallow in one draught”: Arab *‘bb*.

SA \**‘ab*-/\**‘ub*- “drink”: Afar -*a<sup>c</sup>ab*-, -*a<sup>c</sup>ub*-, Saho -*ō<sup>c</sup>ob*-.

LEC \**‘abb*- “drink”: Som *‘abb*-.

Cf. CCh \**Hub-wak*- “drink”: Nak *xuboka*?

## 1028 \*‘abal- “be big, be thick”

Sem \**‘Vbal*-/\**‘Vbul*- “be thick”: Arab *‘bl* [-a-, -u-].

Secondary \**-u*-.

WCh \**baHal*- “big”<sup>1</sup>, “be abundant”<sup>2</sup>: Bks *ḫal*<sup>1</sup>, DB *ḫal*<sup>2</sup>.

Metathesis.

ECh \**bVHVl*- “big”: Smr *ḫallē*, Ndm *ḫə:l*.

Metathesis.

Cf. also partial reduplications in CCh *\*ba-bal-* ‘‘big’’ (Msg *bobolo*) and ECh *\*bwa-bVl-* ‘‘big’’ (Kera *boblo*).

### 1029 \*‘abod- ‘‘slave’’

Sem \*‘*abd-* ‘‘slave’’: Hbr ‘*ebed*, Aram (Syr) ‘*abdō*, Arab ‘*abd-*, SAR ‘*bd*.

\*‘*VbVd-* ‘‘work’’ (v.) seems to be a denominative.

WCh *\*hawad-* < *\*baHwad-* ‘‘slave’’: Zar *bad-am*, Say *bawəd-n*.

Zar *-a-* is a result of contraction. Metathesis.

CCh *\*bud-* < *\*buHVd-* ‘‘slave’’: Lmn *vəda*, Dgh *vəda*, Zgh *vuda*.  
Metathesis.

An alternative reconstruction is \*‘*baod-*.

### 1030 \*‘abül- ‘‘leaf’’

Sem \*‘*Vbil-* ‘‘fall (of leaves)’’: Arab ‘*bl* [-i-].

Denominative verb.

CCh *\*bVul-* ‘‘grass, leaf’’: Zgh *ħule*.

LEC *\*baHal-* ‘‘leaf’’: Or *baala*, Arb *baal*.

Metathesis and assimilation of vowels.

Cf. also WCh *\*bVl-* ‘‘flower’’ (Dera *bəlei*) and ECh *\*bil-* ‘‘flower, grass, leaf’’ (Kwn *bə:le*, Mubi *bil-bil-ič*, Mkk *-bile*).

### 1031 \*‘acem- ‘‘leg’’

Eg *sm* ‘‘leg (of falcon)’’ (pyr).

Metathesis.

WCh \*‘*acVm-* ‘‘leg’’: Kry *cuma-kə*, Diri *ašəma*, Paa *cim-un*, Siri *cuma*, Mbu *cəma*, Pol *asəm*, *asən*, Zem *asəm*, Kir *wasəm*.

CCh *\*cyam-* ‘‘leg’’: LPe *šem*, Zime *sam*, Msm *sem*, Bnn *siyema*.

First syllable lost.

Phonetic variant of \*‘*ačem-* ‘‘bone’’?

### 1032 \*‘acib- ‘‘pile up’’

WCh \*(*HV*)*cib-* ‘‘pile up’’: Hs *çiba*.

Agaw \*‘*acib-* ‘‘pile up’’: Bil *ašib-*.

Note \*‘- as one of two reflexes of HS \*‘- in Agaw.

SA \*‘*asab-* ‘‘add’’: Saho ‘*asab-*.

Assimilation of vowels.

### 1033 \*‘açar- ‘‘year’’

Sem \*‘*ašr-* ‘‘time, age’’: Arab ‘*ašr-*.

WCh \*‘*çar-* ‘‘year’’: Tng *sər*.

CCh \*‘*car-* ‘‘time’’: Glv *sar-ta*, Mnd *sar-te*.

\*‘*a-* may be a prefix.

### 1034 \*‘ačuč- ‘‘insect’’

Sem \*‘*att-* ‘‘moth’’: Akk *ašāšu*, Hbr ‘*āš*, Aram ‘*aššā*.

Assimilation of vowels.

WCh \*‘*učač-* ‘‘ant’’: DB ‘*ušaaš*.

CCh \*‘*čači-* ‘‘louse’’: Mnd *čača*, Glv *čača*, Zgh *čiči*, Glv *cica*.

Loss of the initial laryngeal.

ECh \*‘*ačuč-* ‘‘ant’’: Kera *ačuči*.

Metathesis of vowels in WCh and CCh.

### 1035 \*‘ačab- ‘‘container’’

Sem \*‘*ačab-* ‘‘vessel’’: Hbr ‘*ašab*, Arab ‘*ažab-*.

WCh \*‘*čab-* ‘‘bag’’: Ang *čep*.

LEC \*‘*čaHab-* ‘‘bowl’’: Or *čaabii*.

Metathesis.

### 1036 \*‘ačem- ‘‘bone’’

Sem \*‘*ačm-* ‘‘spine’’<sup>1</sup>, ‘‘bone’’<sup>2</sup>, ‘‘back’’<sup>3</sup>: Akk *ešem-sēru*<sup>1</sup>, Ug ‘*zm*<sup>2</sup>, Hbr ‘*ešem*<sup>2</sup>, Aram (Jud) ‘*ičmā*<sup>2</sup>, Arab ‘*ažm-*<sup>2</sup>, Gz ‘*āšm*<sup>2</sup>, Hss ‘*ažemet*<sup>3</sup>, Mhr ‘*āžemēt*<sup>3</sup>.

WCh \*‘*čyam-* ‘‘bone’’<sup>1</sup>, ‘‘shin-bone’’<sup>2</sup>: Brw *cem*<sup>1</sup>, Fyer *sem*<sup>2</sup>.

No traces of the anlaut laryngeal.

\*‘*a-* may be a prefix.

## 1037 \*ʕaĉ- “bird”

Eg ʕʕ “kind of bird” (MK).

-ʕ stands for a vowel.

WCh \*yaĉi- “bird”: Say yaši, Buli iš, Geji yaži.

\*y- < \*H-.

CCh \*ʕaš- “turtle dove”: Chb ʕaša.

## 1038 \*ʕaĉer- “clan, member of the clan”

Sem \*ʕašir- “clan”<sup>1</sup>, “friend”<sup>2</sup>, “family”<sup>3</sup>: Arab ʕašir-<sup>1 2 3</sup>, SAR ʕšr-t<sup>1</sup>.

WCh \*HVĉ(y)ar- “person of the same age”<sup>1</sup>, “friend”<sup>2</sup>: Hs ɕārā<sup>1</sup>, Sura šār<sup>2</sup>, Ang šēr<sup>2</sup>, Mnt ɕai-na<sup>2</sup>, Dera šer<sup>2</sup>, Tng ser<sup>2</sup>, Glm ɕor<sup>2</sup>.

Cf. Eg šr, šry “friend” (pyr) reflecting no laryngeal in the anlaut.

## 1039 \*ʕaĉ- “bite”

Sem \*ʕaš- “bite”: Arab ʕaš [-a-].

WCh \*ʕaĉwa- “bite”<sup>1</sup>, “eat”<sup>2</sup>: Hs gāṕā<sup>1</sup>, Sura at<sup>1</sup>, Ang at<sup>1</sup>, Krk haḏu-<sup>2</sup>, Dera aḏe<sup>2</sup>, Tng ʔeḏ-<sup>2</sup>, Ngm haḏ-<sup>2</sup>, Bele oḏu-<sup>2</sup>, Krk aḏu-<sup>2</sup>, Gera haḏ-<sup>2</sup>, Glm ary-<sup>2</sup>, Grm aḏ-<sup>2</sup>, Fyer ʔet-<sup>2</sup>, Klr wod<sup>1</sup>.

Cf. Eg wšĉ “eat, chew” (med)?

## 1040 \*ʕaĉed- “hand, arm”

Sem \*ʕašid-/ʕašud- “arm”: Arab ʕašid-, ʕašud-.

CCh \*šyaḏa- “hand, arm”: Log šaḏe, Gul ɕede, Kus sedē.

From \*(HV)ĉed-, with a shift of emphatization.

## 1041 \*ʕaĉib- “sharp weapon”

Sem \*ʕašb- “sabre”: Arab ʕašb-.

ECh \*cib- “knife”: Lele sibi, Kwn sibi.

Initial \*HV- is lost.

\*ʕa- may be a prefix.

## 1042 \*ʕad- “go”

Sem \*ʕadaw- “run”<sup>1</sup>, “cross over, pass by”<sup>2</sup>: Arab ʕdw [-u-]<sup>1</sup>, Gz ʕdw<sup>2</sup>.

Based on \*ʕad-.

ECh \*ʕad- “follow”<sup>1</sup>, “go out”<sup>2</sup>: Dng āḏe<sup>1</sup>, Mkk ʔuḏḏe<sup>2</sup>.

Emphatization caused by the anlaut laryngeal \*-ĉ > \*-ʔ-.

LEC \*ʕad- “go”: Som aad-.

HEC \*had- “go”: Sid haadi.

Note \*h- < \*ĉ-.

Omot \*ʕaḏ- “go”: Ome aad-, Ari ada.

Emphatic \*d may reflect an old \*ĉ > \*ʔ.

Rift \*ʕad- “go, tread”: Irq ada-ha, Asa adi.

Verb \*Vd- “pass” (Kby ʕeddi) may be borrowed from Arab.

## 1043 \*ʕadas- “bean, seed”

Sem \*ʕadaš- “lentil”: Hbr ʕadāšā, Arab ʕadas-.

CCh \*HVda[s]- “seed”: Bch ɕas-ito.

If not \*daḑ-, cf. Mwl dazo id.

## 1044 \*ʕadaw- “fish”

Eg ʕdw, ʕḏw “kind of fish” (XVIII).

ECh \*daw- “fish”: Tum doo, Kwn do.

From \*HVdaw-?

\*ʕa- may be a prefix.

## 1045 \*ʕadil- “be true, be just”

Sem \*Vdil- “be just”: Arab ʕdl [-i-].

CCh \*diyāl- < \*diHal- “truth”: Bch diyalo, Daba ma-delele.

Metathesis. Partial reduplication and prefix \*ma- in Daba.

An alternative reconstruction is \*diĉal-.

## 1046 \*ʕaf- “grass, plant”

Sem \*ʕap- “rush, reed”: Akk apu.

Eg ʕf.t “kind of plant” (med).

CCh \*ʕaf- “grass”: Mba ʕaf.

## 1047 \*‘af- ‘health’

Sem \*‘āpiy- ‘health’: Arab ‘āfiy-at-, Hss ‘āfyet, Mhr ‘āfyēt, Shh ‘āfyet.

ECh \*‘af- ‘health’: Mubi afi.

Both Sem and ECh may be deverbative formations going back to HS \*‘uf- ‘be healthy’.

## 1048 \*‘afur- ‘dust, sand’

Sem \*‘apar- ‘dust, earth’: Akk eperu, Ug ‘pr, Hbr ‘āpār, Aram (Syr) ‘aprō, Arab ‘afar-, ‘afr-, Har afār.

\*-u- > \*-a- after a labial.

CCh \*‘Hafur- ‘ground’: Boka fur-ta, Gaa fər-ta, Mafa vara.

In Mafa v- < \*H(V)f.

Derived from \*far- ‘clay, earth’.

## 1049 \*‘afaw-/\*‘afay- ‘leaf, plant’

Sem \*‘upVy- ‘twig, foliage’: Hbr ‘opī.

Secondary \*-u-.

Eg fzy.t ‘kind of plant’ (med).

-z- stands for \*-a-.

WCh \*‘af-‘afaw- ‘leaf’: Klr ‘afafaw.

Partial reduplication.

Derived from \*‘af- ‘grass, plant’. Consonantal alternation

\*-w- ~ \*-y-.

## 1050 \*‘afüç- ‘be bitter’

Sem \*‘apiš- ‘bitter’: Arab ‘afiš-.

CCh \*‘fuc- ‘salt’: Ngw fəca.

Hwn reflects a CCh word for ash.

\*‘a- may be a prefix.

## 1051 \*‘ag- ‘strike’

Eg ‘g ‘strike’ (MK).

-g- reflects HS \*-a-.

ECh \*‘ag- ‘drum’ (v.)<sup>1</sup>, ‘beat’<sup>2</sup>: Ndm age<sup>1</sup>, Mkk ‘igg-<sup>2</sup>.

## 1052 \*‘agom- ‘tree’

Sem \*‘agm- ‘palm tree’: Arab ‘agm-at-.

WCh \*‘agwam- ‘mahogany’<sup>1</sup>, ‘Balantes egypt.’<sup>2</sup>: Miya agam<sup>2</sup>, Jmb agwama<sup>1</sup>, Ngz aguma-k<sup>1</sup>.

LEC \*‘agam- ‘kind of bush’: Or agam-sa.

Assimilation of vowels.

Cf. CCh \*‘gwagwam- < \*‘agwam- ‘bread tree’ (Msg gogom) with assimilation ‘ - g > g - g.

## 1053 \*‘agor- ‘bird’

Sem \*‘agūr- ‘crane’: Hbr ‘āgūr.

ECh \*‘gwar- ‘heron’: Smr gwara.

No traces of the anlaut laryngeal.

## 1054 \*‘ah- ‘earth, field’

Eg ‘h.t ‘field’ (OK).

CCh \*‘axax- ‘earth’<sup>1</sup>, ‘clay’<sup>2</sup>: Gbn axaxa<sup>1</sup>, FKl axaxay<sup>1</sup>, Gis hahay<sup>2</sup>.

Assimilation of laryngeals.

## 1055 \*‘ak- ‘be hot; fire’

Sem \*‘ik-/‘uk- ‘be hot’: Arab ‘kk [-i-, -u-].

Secondary vocalism?

WCh \*‘akwa- ‘fire’: Diri akuwa, Miya aku, Cagu ākwe, Jmb akwa, Ngz aka.

CCh \*‘Vkk- ‘hot’: Log kku.

ECh \*‘ak(k)wa- ‘fire’: Mig okko, Jegu ‘ook. Bid ako, Brg ‘aku, Sok oko.

Nominal formation.

## 1056 \*‘ak- ‘know, see’

Eg ‘k ‘learn’ (a).

Agaw \*‘ak- ‘see, know’: Kwr ax-, Dmb ax-, Kem ax-, Aun -aq-, Dmt -ak-.

LEC \*‘Hak- ‘know’<sup>1</sup>, ‘see’<sup>2</sup>: Gel ak-<sup>1</sup>, Kon -ak-, -yak-<sup>2</sup>, Bus haake<sup>2</sup>, Gdl -ak-, -aki<sup>2</sup>.

Irregular laryngeal reflexes as well as unexpected non-emphatic \*-k-. Is this really a continuation of \*ʕak-?

### 1057 \*ʕakab- ‘hill, stone’

Sem \*ʕakab- ‘hill’: Arab ʕaqab-at-.

WCh \*kaḥ- < \*kab- ‘polishing stone’: DB kaḥu.

Shift of emphatization.

\*ʕa- may be a prefix. Semantically dubious.

### 1058 \*ʕakid- ‘bind, spin’

Sem \*ʕakid- ‘bind’<sup>1</sup>, ‘knot’<sup>2</sup>: Hbr ʕqd<sup>1</sup>, Arab ʕqd [-i-]<sup>2</sup>.

CCh \*kiyad- < \*kiHad- ‘plait’: Bnn kiyedu.

Metathesis.

ECh \*kVd- ‘untie’: Ndam kədə.

From \*kVHVd- as in CCH?

An alternative reconstruction is \*kiʕad-.

### 1059 \*ʕal- ‘leaf’

Sem \*ʕal- ‘leaf, foliage’: Hbr ʕāle, Aram ʕelw- (Syr).

WCh \*ʕal- ‘leaf’: Pero alaw, Jmb alu-hu.

### 1060 \*ʕal- ‘rise’

Sem \*ʕVVy- ‘rise, climb’: Hbr ʕly.

Based on biconsonantal \*ʕVl-.

Berb \*ʕal- ‘be suspended’: Ahg ali.

CCh \*ʕal- ‘jump’: Masa halla.

Irregular Masa h-.

ECh \*ʕal- ‘climb’: Kwn ale, Kera li.

Related to \*ʕal- ‘top’.

### 1061 \*ʕal- ‘top’

Sem \*ʕal- ‘top, height, upper part’: Hbr ʕāl, Arab ʕal-.

SA \*ʕal- ‘mountain’: Saho ʕal.

LEC \*ʕal- ‘mountain’: Som ʕal-, Rnd ḥal-.

Note Rnd ḥ-.

### 1062 \*ʕalak- ‘tie, untie’

Sem \*ʕVlak- ‘be attached’<sup>1</sup>, ‘hang, be suspended’: Arab ʕlq [-a-]<sup>1</sup>, Hss ʕayleq<sup>2</sup>.

WCh \*lak- ‘untie’: Dera lake.

\*ʕa- may be a prefix.

### 1063 \*ʕalal- ‘drink, chew’

Sem \*ʕVVL- ‘drink for the second time’: Arab ʕll.

LEC 2\*ʕalal- ‘chew’: Som ʕalaal-, Kns alal-, Gid alal-.

Reduplication?

### 1064 \*ʕam- ‘eat’

Eg ʕm ‘swallow’ (n).

Rift \*ʕam- ‘chew’: Kwz am-.

Cf. Irq ayim id.

Descriptive stem.

### 1065 \*ʕam- ‘relative, friend’

Sem \*ʕamm- ‘relative’<sup>1</sup>, ‘uncle’<sup>2</sup>, ‘ancestor’<sup>3</sup>: Hbr ʕam<sup>1</sup>, Arab ʕamm-<sup>2</sup>, Hss ʕōm<sup>3</sup>, Mhr ʕōm<sup>3</sup>, Shh ʕom<sup>3</sup>.

CCh \*ʕwam- < \*ʕamu- ‘guest’: Bch ʕomey, Nz wome.

Dhl ʕame ‘uncle’.

### 1066 \*ʕam- ‘people’

Sem \*ʕamm- ‘people’<sup>1</sup>, ‘crowd’<sup>2</sup>: Akk ummānu<sup>1</sup>, Hbr ʕam<sup>1</sup>, Arab ʕamm-<sup>2</sup>.

Derivative in Akk.

Rift \*ʕVm- ‘people, crowd’: Irq imi, Alg imi.

Assimilation of vowels.

Connected with \*ʕam- ‘relative, friend’?

## 1067 \*‘amVw- ‘‘plant’’

Sem \*‘amVw- ‘‘kind of plant’’: Akk *amû*.

Cf. Arab ‘am-at- id.

Eg ‘mw.t ‘‘field plant’’ (XVIII).

-j- stands for \*-a-.

## 1068 \*‘an- ‘‘be tired, be ill’’

Sem \*‘Vna’-/‘Vnay- ‘‘be tired’’: Arab ‘n’, ‘ny [-a-].

Based on \*‘an-.

WCh \*‘an- ‘‘ache’’ (v.): Bks *han*.

ECh \*‘ani- ‘‘illness’’: Mkk ‘eni.

Mkk -e- < \*-a- under the influence of -i.

Related to \*‘Vnaw-/‘Vnay- ‘‘work, make’’?

## 1069 \*‘an-/‘in- ‘‘exist’’

Sem \*‘in-/‘un- ‘‘appear’’: Arab ‘nn [-i-, -u-].

Agaw \*‘an-/‘in- ‘‘be’’: Bil *en-*, *in-*, Xmr *an-*, Kwr *en-*.

Bed ‘an- ‘‘be’’.

SA \*‘an-/‘in- ‘‘be’’: Saho -in(n)-, -an-.

HEC \*‘yon- ‘‘be’’: Had *yon-*, Kmb *yon-*.

Phonetically not quite clear. Probably, from \*‘i-on-?

## 1070 \*‘anaʒ- ‘‘goat, ram’’

Sem \*‘anz- ‘‘she-goat’’: Akk *enzu*, Ug ‘z, Hbr ‘ēz, Aram (Syr) ‘ezzā,  
Arab ‘anz-.

WCh \*‘aʒan- ‘‘ram’’: Bks ‘azan.

Metathesis.

An alternative reconstruction is \*‘aʒan-.

## 1071 \*‘anduk- ‘‘navel, nipple’’

WCh \*‘HVnduk- ‘‘heart’’: Fyer ‘*duk*.

CCh \*‘bu-‘induk- ‘‘heart, chest’’: Lame *vəinduku*, *vunduku*.

Prefix \*‘bu-. The root vowel \*-i- is not clear.

SA \*‘hondub- ‘‘navel’’: Saho *hondub*, Afar *hondub*.

Unexpected \*-b and irregular h-. A loanword?

HEC \*‘mudukk- < \*‘mu-‘Vdu(n)k-, \*‘handur- ‘‘navel’’: Sid *mudukko*,  
Bmb *handura*.

Prefix \*‘mu- in Sid. Bmb looks like a loanword (from SA?).

Wrz \*‘adunk- ‘‘nipple, breast’’: War *aadunku*, Gaw ‘adunko, Cam  
*adunku*.

\*d > ḏ is influenced by \*‘-.

Rift \*‘mudung- < \*‘mu-‘Vdung- ‘‘navel’’: Gor *murungu*, Alg *murungu*.

In Cush the prototype is reconstructed as \*‘adunk- which may  
be also an alternative HS reconstruction. At least, some of the  
Cush forms were borrowed and reborrowed. A very irregular  
and problematic root.

## 1072 \*‘anon- ‘‘breast, chest’’

Eg ‘nn.t ‘‘part of the body’’ (pyr).

The meaning is not definite.

WCh \*‘nwan- ‘‘breast’’: Hs *nōno*.

From \*‘HVnwan-.

HEC \*‘anon- ‘‘breast’’: Sid *ununa*, *unuuna*, Dar *unuuna*, Had *anoona*,  
Ala *onoona*, Bmb *ununa*, Kmb *anuuna*.

Various assimilations of vowels in individual languages.

## 1073 \*‘ar- ‘‘stone, rock’’

Eg ‘r ‘‘small stone’’ (n).

Cf. also ‘j.t ‘‘precious stone’’ (a).

ECh \*‘ar- ‘‘rock’’: Kbl *arra*.

## 1074 \*‘arek- ‘‘see, understand’’

Eg ‘rk ‘‘understand’’ (XVIII).

Agaw \*‘arik- ‘‘understand, know’’: Xmr *arek-*, Xmt *arek*, *aarq<sup>w</sup>*.

LEC \*‘are[k]- ‘‘see’’: Som *ark-*, *areg-*, Or *arga*, Boni *ark-*, Gel *argiye*.

Unexpected reflexes of \*k.

## 1075 \*‘ariw- ‘‘tree’’

Eg ‘rw ‘‘tree’’ (med).

WCh \*‘ariway- ‘‘tree’’: Bol *rewe*, Tng *riya*, Ngm *roya*, Siri *aruwai*,  
Kry *riwai*.



Derivative in *-ay-*.

CCh \**ariway-* ‘‘tamarind’’: Gava *riwe*, Zgh *arwe*, Nak *iriwey*.

Derivative in *-ay-*. Assimilation of vowels in Nak.

### 1076 \**aṭuw-* ‘‘give, pay’’

Sem \**VṭVw-* ‘‘give (a present)’’: Arab *ṭw*.

ECh \**atuw-* ‘‘pay’’: Ndm *atuwe*.

### 1077 \**aw-* ‘‘goat, bull’’

Eg *w.t* ‘‘sheep and goats’’ (OK).

CCh \**aw-* ‘‘she-goat’’: Gis *ṭaw*, Bld *ṭawa*.

Rift \**aw-* ‘‘bull’’: Irq *aw*, Alg *aw*, Bur *aw*.

### 1078 \**awag-* ‘‘roast’’

Eg *wg* ‘‘roast’’ (BD).

ECh \**waHag-* ‘‘roast, burn’’: Ndam *woga*, Kwn *wage*, Ndam *wuga*,

Dng *ogiye*, Tum *waag*.

Metathesis.

\**V-* may be a prefix. Cf. also Dhl *hag<sup>w</sup>-* ‘‘boil’’ < \**HagVw-*.

### 1079 \**awan-* ‘‘palm tree’’

Sem \**awān-* ‘‘big palm’’: Arab *awān-at-*.

CCh \**hawan-H-* ‘‘date palm’’: Gis *huway*, Mafa *hawan*.

Unexpected initial \**h-*. Probably, the original form contained a prefix: \**ha-awan-*? Secondary *-u-* in Gis.

### 1080 \**awar-* ‘‘give back, return’’

Sem \**ūr-* ‘‘pay debts’’: Arab *wr* [-*u-*].

WCh \**waHar-* ‘‘give back, lend’’: Tng *ware*, DB *weer*, Bol *ṭar*.

Metathesis.

An alternative reconstruction is \**wa<sup>c</sup>ar-*.

### 1081 \**awar-/ayar-* ‘‘donkey’’

Sem \**ayr-* ‘‘donkey’’<sup>1</sup>, ‘‘young donkey’’<sup>2</sup>: Ug *ṛ*<sup>1</sup>, Hbr *ayir*<sup>2</sup>,  
Aram *ēr*<sup>1</sup>, Arab *ayr*<sup>1</sup>.

Eg *ṣ* ‘‘donkey’’ (OK).

Sem loanword? In any case, the inlaut sonant is not graphically expressed. *-ṣ-* < \**-r-*.

Omot \**awar-* ‘‘horse’’: Kaf *awaroo*, Mao *wōore*.

Consonantal alternation \**-w-* ~ \**-y-*.

### 1082 \**awil-* ‘‘genitals’’

WCh \**yawil-* < \**awil-* ‘‘testicles’’<sup>1</sup>, ‘‘vulva’’<sup>2</sup>: Krk *ṭilaa*<sup>1</sup>, Dera  
*yiwulu*<sup>1</sup>, Say *wəla*<sup>1</sup>, Fyer *wul*<sup>2</sup>.

Secondary vocalism in Dera.

Bed *ṭawil* ‘‘vagina’’.

Agaw \**awil-* ‘‘vagina’’: Bil *awil-too*.

### 1083 \**awur-* ‘‘hole’’

Sem \**awr-* ‘‘cleft’’: Arab *awr-at-*.

CCh \**wur-* ‘‘hole’’: HNk *wuře*.

\**HV-* lost.

\**a-* may be a prefix. Cf. WCh \**wur-* ‘‘dig (a hole)’’: Tng *wure*.

### 1084 \**ayVn-* ‘‘eye’’

Sem \**ayn-* ‘‘eye’’: Akk *īnu*, Ug *ṇ*, Hbr *ayin*, Aram (Syr) *aynō*,  
Arab *ayn-*, Gz *ayn*.

Eg *ṇ*, *ṣṇ* ‘‘eye’’ (a).

Borrowing from Sem?

Omot \**an-* ‘‘eye’’: Gim *an*.

Regular development from \**ayn-*?

### 1085 \**až-* ‘‘fish’’

Eg *ḏ*, *ḏw* ‘‘kind of fish’’ (BD).

ECh \**ač-* < \**až-* ‘‘sardine’’: Kera *ačō*.

Irregular unvoicing of the affricate.

Agaw \*ʕaʒ- ‘fish’: Bil ʕaʒaa, Xmr ʕazaa, Kwr azaa, Kem azaa, asaa,  
Aun asi, Dmt asii.

SA \*ʕaʒ- ‘fish’: Saho ʕazaa.

Note SA \*-ʒ- < HS \*-ʒ-.

#### 1086 \*ʕaʒ- ‘sun’

Eg ʕd ‘sun’ (gr).

CCh \*ʕaʒ- ‘sun’: Bud āʒi.

LEC \*ʕaʒ- ‘sun’: Or aduu.

Note LEC \*-ʒ- < HS \*-ʒ-.

Dhl ʕdo ‘sun’.

#### 1087 \*ʕaʒ-/ʕiʒ- ‘river’

Eg ʕd ‘waters’ (BD).

WCh \*ʕaʒ- ‘rivulet’: Klr ʕaʒi.

CCh \*ʕiʒ- ‘river’: Lame iʒe.

Alternation \*a ~ \*i.

#### 1088 \*ʕeb- ‘bird’

Eg ʕbw ‘kind of bird’ (MK).

Suffix -w.

WCh \*Hyabi- ‘hen’<sup>1</sup>, ‘chicken’<sup>2</sup>: Bol yawi<sup>1</sup>, Dera yāwe<sup>1</sup>, Tng  
yabe<sup>1</sup>, Pero yabe<sup>1</sup>, Ngm yabi<sup>1</sup>, Krf yibbi<sup>2</sup>, Gera yibi<sup>2</sup>, Glm  
yūwu<sup>2</sup>, Grm ibbi<sup>2</sup>.

#### 1089 \*ʕel- ‘see’

Berb \*ʕVL- ‘see’: Izy aʕlu.

Unexpectedly preserved HS \*ʕ-.

WCh \*yal- ‘see’: Zar yel, Dwot yeliy, Wnd yele.

From \*Hyal-.

ECh \*Hyal- ‘look’: Brg heeli.

Brg h- < \*ʕ- is not regular. The form may continue a prefixal  
pattern \*HV-ʕyal-.

LEC \*ʕil- ‘look!’ (imper.): Or ilaa.

Dhl ʕeley- ‘know’.

#### 1090 \*ʕelal- ‘look’

ECh \*ʕyalVL-/ʕwalVL- ‘look’: Mig ʕello, Mkk woll-.

Agaw \*ʕalal- ‘look’: Bil ʕālāl.

Assimilation of vowels.

SA \*ʕilal- ‘wait’<sup>1</sup>, ‘look’<sup>2</sup>: Saho ilaal-<sup>1</sup>, Afar ilal-<sup>2</sup>.

LEC \*ʕilal- ‘watch’<sup>1</sup>, ‘look’<sup>2</sup>: Som ilaali-<sup>1</sup>, Or ilaala-<sup>2</sup>.

Partial reduplication of \*ʕel- ‘see’. It is quite possible that  
some of the Cush forms result from cross-borrowings.

#### 1091 \*ʕen- ‘vessel’

Berb \*yVn- < \*HVyVn- ‘plate’: Ghd ta-yyin-t.

Loss of \*H-.

Eg ʕn ‘vessel’ (OK).

CCh \*ʕani- ‘pot’: Hwn ʕina, Daba yen.

#### 1092 \*ʕen-ʕen- ‘monkey’

Eg ʕnʕn ‘baboon’ (pyr).

WCh \*ʕamyān- ‘monkey’: Fyer yamēn, Sha amen, Klr rimen.

Probably, goes back to \*ʕan-ʕan- with dissimilation of nasals.

Reduplication. A descriptive stem?

#### 1093 \*ʕeray- ‘river’

Eg ʕry ‘waters’ (gr).

CCh \*ʕaray- ‘river’: Mba re, Msg erē.

#### 1094 \*ʕib-/ʕub- ‘breast, bosom’

Berb \*ʕab- ‘breast’: Ghat abbui.

Secondary \*a before a labial?

CCh \*ʕub- ‘breast’: Dgh uḥa, Mnd ube, Glv uba, Gdf uḥa.

LEC \*ʕib- ‘nipple’: Som ʕib.

Alternation \*i ~ \*u. Descriptive stem?

1095 \*ᶜ<sub>i</sub>-ᶜ<sub>IR</sub>- “bird”

Sem \*ᶜ<sub>i</sub>ᶜ<sub>IR</sub>- “bird”: Akk ʾiṣṣuru, Ug ᶜ<sub>i</sub>r.

Secondary \*-u-? Cf. \*ᶜ<sub>ep</sub>ur-.

Rift \*ᶜ<sub>i</sub>raᶜ- “bird”: Irq tsir<sup>ᶜ</sup>i, Alg ciraᶜa, Bur ciraᶜa, Asa širaᶜa.

Metathesis.

Derived from \*ᶜ<sub>i</sub>r- “bird”.

1096 \*ᶜ<sub>i</sub>ᶜ<sub>V</sub>d- “harvest” (v.)

Sem \*ᶜ<sub>i</sub>ᶜ<sub>V</sub>d- “harvest” (v.): Akk eṣēdu, Gz ᶜ<sub>i</sub>d.

ECh \*ᶜ<sub>i</sub>HVd- “harvest” (v.): Dng siḍe.

Metathesis.

An alternative reconstruction is \*ᶜ<sub>i</sub>ᶜ<sub>V</sub>d-.

1097 \*ᶜ<sub>i</sub>ᶜ- “do, make”

Sem \*ᶜ<sub>i</sub>ᶜ<sub>V</sub>y- “do, make”: Ug ᶜ<sub>i</sub>ᶜ<sub>y</sub>, Hbr ᶜ<sub>i</sub>y, SAR ᶜ<sub>i</sub>y.

ECh \*ᶜ<sub>i</sub>ᶜ- “do, work”: Mkk ʾise.

Agaw \*ᶜ<sub>i</sub>ᶜ- “do, make”: Bil es-, iṣ-, Xmr ieṣ-, Kwr iṣ-, Dmb es-.

SA \*ᶜ<sub>i</sub>s- “do, make”: Saho is-, iṣ-, Afar is-.

HEC \*ᶜ<sub>i</sub>s- “do”: Bmb iṣs-.

Rift \*ᶜ<sub>i</sub>s-im- “do, act”: Alg ᶜ<sub>i</sub>sim-, Bur ᶜ<sub>i</sub>sim-.

Irregular \*-s-. Rift may be borrowed from one of Cush branches.

1098 \*ᶜ<sub>i</sub>dar-/\*yadar- “flock, herd”

Sem \*ᶜ<sub>i</sub>dar- “flock, herd”: Hbr ᶜ<sub>i</sub>der.

Eg idr “flock, herd” (OK).

Borrowed from Sem?

SA \*wadar- “cattle”: Afar wadar.

An ancient alternation \*y- ~ \*w- in the anlaut or an irregular development of \*y- > \*w- in SA?

All correspondences in the anlaut are irregular. Cf. also WCh

\*nV-dur- “ram”: Sha ᶜ<sub>n</sub>dur, DB ᶜ<sub>n</sub>duur, Bks ᶜ<sub>n</sub>aᶜ<sub>n</sub>dur.

1099 \*ᶜ<sub>ig</sub>- “fat, grease”

Eg ᶜ<sub>g</sub> “fat, grease” (OK).

Progressive palatalization of \*g.

CCh \*ᶜ<sub>ig</sub>- “fat”: Bud ma-ige.

Prefix ma-.

ECh \*ᶜ<sub>yag</sub>-ay- “fat, grease”: Mkk ʾegey.

From \*ᶜ<sub>ig</sub>-ay-.

1100 \*ᶜ<sub>ig</sub>al- “cow, calf”

Sem \*ᶜ<sub>ig</sub>l- “calf”<sup>1</sup>, “young of animals”<sup>2</sup>: Ug ᶜ<sub>gl</sub><sup>1</sup>, Hbr ᶜ<sub>ēgel</sub><sup>1</sup>,  
Aram (Syr) ᶜ<sub>egl</sub>-<sup>1</sup>, Arab ᶜ<sub>igl</sub>-<sup>1</sup>, Gz ᶜ<sub>agwəl</sub><sup>2</sup>, Tgr ᶜ<sub>agal</sub><sup>1</sup>.

CCh \*ᶜ<sub>gyal</sub>- “cow”: Bura gye.

Probably, from \*ᶜ<sub>gi</sub>al-.

Agaw \*ᶜ<sub>gall</sub>- “calf”: Bil gār, Kwr gār, Kem gār, Aun gara.

Omot \*ᶜ<sub>gal</sub>- “calf”: Ome gallua.

\*ᶜ<sub>i</sub>- may be a prefix unattested in Cush. Cf. HEC \*ᶜ<sub>gal</sub>-  
“camel” (Bmb gaale)?

1101 \*ᶜ<sub>il</sub>- “eye”

CCh \*ᶜ<sub>il</sub>- “eye”: Bud yel, yil, Gul el, Lmn ili.

Agaw \*ᶜ<sub>il</sub>- “eye”: Bil ᶜ<sub>il</sub>, ᶜ<sub>el</sub>, Xmr el, iel, Xmt el, Kwr el, yel, Dmb  
il, yil, Kem yil, Aun el, əll, ill.

LEC \*ᶜ<sub>il</sub>- “eye”: Som il, Or ila, Bay il, ili, Arb ille, Gel iil, Kon il-da,  
Bus il-ᶜ<sub>ā</sub>, Gdl il-ta.

HEC \*ᶜ<sub>ill</sub>- “eye”: Sid illee, Dar ille, Had illi, Ala ille, Bmb ille, Kmb  
ille.

Dhl ᶜ<sub>ila</sub> “eye”.

Mgg ila “eyes”.

Rift \*ᶜ<sub>il</sub>- “eye”: Irq ila, Alg ila, Bur ila, Asa, ᶜ<sub>ilat</sub>, Kwz ilito.

1102 \*ᶜ<sub>ilay</sub>- “rise”

Sem \*ᶜ<sub>ilaw</sub>-/\*ᶜ<sub>ilay</sub>- “be high”<sup>1</sup>, “rise”<sup>2</sup>, “cross”<sup>3</sup>: Akk elū<sup>1</sup>,  
Ug ᶜ<sub>lw</sub>, ᶜ<sub>ly</sub><sup>1</sup>, Hbr ᶜ<sub>lw</sub>, ᶜ<sub>ly</sub><sup>1</sup>, Aram ᶜ<sub>lw</sub>, ᶜ<sub>ly</sub><sup>1</sup>, Arab ᶜ<sub>ly</sub> [-a-]<sup>1 2</sup>, SAR  
ᶜ<sub>ly</sub><sup>3</sup>, Gz ᶜ<sub>lw</sub><sup>2</sup>.

Eg t<sup>ᶜ</sup>r “ascend” (1).

Metathesis.

WCh \*ᶜ<sub>yi</sub>al-/\*ᶜ<sub>ilay</sub>- “stand up”: Sura yaᶜ<sub>al</sub>, Ang yal, Tng ᶜ<sub>il</sub>, Geji  
hilya.

Metathesis.

Derived from \**al-* ‘‘rise’’.

### 1103 \**im-* ‘‘know, see’’

Eg *‘m* ‘‘know’’ (n), Copt \**imi* id.: Fym *imi*, Boh *emi*, Shd *eime*.

WCh \**im-* ‘‘think’’: Tng *yim-*, Pero *yim*.

CCh \**um-* ‘‘teach’’: LPe *wum*.

ECh \**um-* ‘‘see’’: Mubi *um*.

Secondary \**u* in CCh and ECh.

### 1104 \**iw-/iy-* ‘‘cry’’

Sem \**iy-* ‘‘cry’’: Arab *wy*, Jib *wy*.

Based on \**Vw-*.

LEC \**iy-* ‘‘cry’’: Som *iy-*, Bay *iy-*, Or *iy-*.

Consonantal alternation \**-w-* ~ \**-y-*.

### 1105 \**iʒ-* ‘‘man, child’’

Berb \**iʒ-* ‘‘men’’ (pl.): Zng *iʒ*.

Eg *dd* ‘‘young one’’ (n).

The cluster *dd* stands for an affricate \**ʒ*.

### 1106 \**og-* ‘‘dig, cut’’

Eg *d* ‘‘hoe’’ (v.) (pyr).

Palatalization of \**-g-* after a middle vowel.

ECh \**yuwag-* ‘‘hoe’’ (v.) <sup>1</sup>, ‘‘plough’’ (v.) <sup>2</sup>: Smr *yīgə* <sup>2</sup>, Tum *yəg* <sup>1</sup>,

Ndm *yə:gə* <sup>1</sup>, Lele *yagi* <sup>1</sup>, Kbl *yuwege* <sup>2</sup>.

ECh \**yuwag-* may go back to \**ywag-* < \**Hwag-*.

### 1107 \**og-* ‘‘shout, call’’

Sem \**Vg-Vg-* ‘‘shout’’: Arab *gʕg*.

Reduplication.

ECh \**wag-/wak-* ‘‘call’’: Smr *wōgo*, Sbn *waga*, Tum *wəg*, Kwn *oge*.

Irregular consonantism. Two different roots?

### 1108 \**okab-* ‘‘vulture’’

Sem \**ukāb-* ‘‘vulture’’: Arab *uqāb-*, Hss *aqāb*, Mhr *āqāb*, Shh *eqeb*.

CCh \**kwab-* < \**kwab-* ‘‘kite’’: Boka *koḥi*.

Shift of emphatization. The original source was \**Hu-ḵab-*.

Cf. ECh \**kwamb-* ‘‘eagle’’: Kera *kombe*.

### 1109 \**ol-* ‘‘be ill’’

Sem \**Vl-* ‘‘be ill’’: Arab *ll*.

CCh \**wal-* < \**Hwal-* ‘‘ache’’ (v.): Bud *wel*.

Cf. WCh \**la-* ‘‘ache’’ (v. and n.): Sura *laa*, Ang *le*.

### 1110 \**ol-* ‘‘snake, leech’’

CCh \**wal-* ‘‘snake’’: Msg *wala*.

ECh \**yala-* ‘‘snake’’: Brg *eli*, Jegu *illo*, Dng *aalo*, Bid *aalo*.

From \**wala-*?

LEC \**ola-ol-* ‘‘leech’’: Som *olaaol*.

Reduplication.

Omot \**ul-* ‘‘leech’’: Ome *ulo*.

### 1111 \**or-* ‘‘grain, corn’’

Eg *wɔɔ* ‘‘bread’’ (NK).

Vocalic *-w-*.

ECh \**war-* ‘‘corn’’: Mubi *wār*.

Mubi may also reflect \**waHVr-*.

### 1112 \**or-* ‘‘goat’’

Eg *r* ‘‘she-goat’’ (med).

WCh \**waru-* ‘‘he-goat’’: Mnt *ur*, Grk *ur*, Klr *war*.

ECh \**war-* ‘‘goats’’ (pl.): Lele *ōrē*.

### 1113 \**oreb-* ‘‘mix’’

Sem \**VrVb-* ‘‘mix’’: Hbr *rb*.

WCh \**ryab-* ‘‘mix’’: Fyer *rep*.

\*-b- > -p in the auslaut.

ECh \*HwarVb- ‘‘mix’’: Kera *horbe*.

Irregular *h-*, cf. ECh s.v. \**el-* ‘‘see’’ and \**oruk-* ‘‘rub’’.

\*o and \*e are generally incompatible within one root.

#### 1114 \**oruk-* ‘‘rub’’

Sem \**Vruk-* ‘‘rub’’: Arab *rk* [-u-].

ECh \*HwarVk- ‘‘rub’’: Kera *horke*.

Irregular *h-*.

#### 1115 \**otis-* ‘‘sneeze’’

Sem \**Vtiš-* ‘‘sneeze’’: Hbr *ṭš*, Arab *ṭs* [-i-, -u-], Gz *ṭs*, Jib *ṭəṣ*.

WCh \**aṭus-/waṭus-* ‘‘sneeze’’: Hs *atušāwa*, Ngz *waatəši*.

Unclear \*-u-.

CCh \**waṭis-* ‘‘sneeze’’: Dgh *wdisa*, Log *ḏisa*, Bud *wattisi*.

ECh \*Hwaṭis- ‘‘sneeze’’: Mig *haddiso*, Mubi *attaša*, Brg *waḏḏase*, Mkk *waddiso*.

Assimilation of vowels in Mubi and Brg.

LEC \**haṭis-* ‘‘sneezing’’: Or *haṭṭissoo*.

Omot \**haṭis-* ‘‘sneeze’’: Mch *hāṭṭissi(ye)*.

Cush forms go back to \**haṭis-*. Dhl *ḥaadiḥ-* id. is a loanword from LEC or Omot.

#### 1116 \**ub-* ‘‘dirt’’

Sem \**Vb-* ‘‘dung’’: Gz *əbā*, Tgr *iba*, Amh *əbāt*.

Eg *ḥw* ‘‘dirt’’ (sarc).

-w reflects a rounded vowel of the root.

CCh \**ubi-* ‘‘faeces’’: Mrg *ubi*, Klb *ibi*, Hld *ubī*, Kap *uwyē*.

#### 1117 \**ubub-* ‘‘fish’’

Eg *wbbw* ‘‘kind of fish’’ (reg).

In both cases, *w* is a vocalic sign.

WCh \**Vbub-* ‘‘fish’’: Ang *bup*.

Reduplication in Sura *pupwap* id. Fyer *pupwap* id. may be borrowed from Sura.

#### 1118 \**učan-* ‘‘burn’’

Sem \**Vtun-* ‘‘smoke (of fire)’’ (v.): Arab *ṭn* [-u-].

WCh \**čan-* ‘‘burn’’: Sura *čan*, Chip *šan*, Mpn *čān*.

No traces of the anlaut laryngeal.

A denominative verb in Sem?

#### 1119 \**ud-* ‘‘count’’

Sem \**ud-* ‘‘count’’: Arab *dd* [-u-], Hss *ʔadōd*, Mhr *ʔed*, Shh *ʕed*.

ECh \**Vd-* ‘‘count’’: Brg *ʔeddi*.

Brg -e- is secondary.

#### 1120 \**uf-* ‘‘heal, cure’’

Sem \**VpVw-* ‘‘heal, cure’’: Arab *fw*.

Based on \**Vp-*.

CCh \**uf-* ‘‘heal, care’’: Gava *ʔufa*, Nak *wufa*.

#### 1121 \**ufan-* ‘‘vessel’’

Sem \**upun-* ‘‘vessel’’: Akk *uppunu*.

Secondary \*u after a labial.

Eg *fn* ‘‘vessel’’ (gr).

WCh \**fVn-* ‘‘calabash’’: Ngz *funa*, *fəna*.

Ngz -u- < -ə-.

CCh \**fan-* ‘‘pot, calabash’’: Mba *fanay*.

Suffix \*-ay-.

#### 1122 \**um-ʕam-* ‘‘animal’’

Sem \**umām-* ‘‘animals’’: Akk *umāmu*.

From \**um-ʕam-*?

Eg *ʕm.w* ‘‘animal’’ (med).

Reduplication.

#### 1123 \**upel-* ‘‘hill, stone’’

Sem \**up(V)l-* ‘‘bulge, hill’’: Hbr *ʕopel*.

Cf. Akk *pīlu* ‘‘limestone’’?

CCh \**pyal*- ‘‘hill’’<sup>1</sup>, ‘‘stone’’<sup>2</sup>: Bura *pyela*<sup>1</sup>, Mofu *pəlay*<sup>2</sup>.  
Suffix -*ay* in Mofu.

\**u*- may be a prefix.

#### 1124 \*‘upVl- ‘‘insect’’

Sem \**upl*- ‘‘louse’’: Akk *uplu*.

Eg *ḥnn.t* ‘‘worm’’ (med).

Cluster -*nn* seems to reflect \*-*l*-.

#### 1125 \*‘urag- ‘‘be lame’’

Sem \*‘*Vrag*- ‘‘be lame’’: Arab *ʿrg* [-*a*].

Assimilation of vowels

WCh \*‘*urVg*- ‘‘lame person’’: Hs *gurgu*.

Deverbative formation with different vocalism.

#### 1126 \*‘üç- ‘‘tree’’

Sem \*‘*iṣ*- ‘‘tree’’: Akk *iṣu*, *iṣṣu*, Ug *ṣ*, Hbr *ṣēṣ*, Gz *ṣed*.

Cf. Arab *ʿiq-at*- ‘‘kind of acacia’’.

ECh \*‘*uṣ*- ‘‘fig tree’’: Sok *ussē*.

#### 1127 \*‘Vbar-/‘‘Vbir- ‘‘run, walk’’

Sem \*‘*Vbur*- ‘‘cross over’’: Akk *ebēru*, Hbr *ʿbr*, Arab *ʿbr* [-*u*-], SAr *ʿbr*.

\*-*u*- < \*-*a*- after a labial.

CCh \*‘*bar*- ‘‘run’’: FJ *varu*.

ECh \*‘*bir*- ‘‘go’’: Dng *birē*.

Dhl *ḥariy*- ‘‘go out, depart’’.

*ḥ*- < \**b*- after a laryngeal?

\*‘*V*- may be a prefix.

#### 1128 \*‘Vbo’- ‘‘light, shine’’

Eg *ḥḥ* ‘‘light’’ (gr).

WCh \*‘*ḥway*- < \*‘*bwaH*- ‘‘sun, day’’: Bks *ḥwe*, DB *ḥwe*.

CCh \*‘*ḥiy*- < \*‘*biH*- ‘‘shine’’: Dgh *ḥiya*.

Secondary -*i*- before \**y*?

\*‘*V*- may be a prefix.

#### 1129 \*‘Vf- ‘‘give’’

Sem \*‘*VpVw*- ‘‘give’’: Arab *ʿfw*.

Based on \*‘*Vp*-.

WCh \*‘*fa*- ‘‘give’’: Fyer *fa*, Bks *fa*.

CCh \*‘*fa*-/\*‘*HVfa*- ‘‘give’’: Gul *fā-re*, Log *va*, Mafa *va*, Bud *we*.

#### 1130 \*‘Vga3- ‘‘be weak’’

Sem \*‘*Vgaz*-/\*‘*Vgiz*- ‘‘be unable, be weak’’<sup>1</sup>, ‘‘be lazy’’<sup>2</sup>: Arab *ʿgz* [-*a*-, -*i*-]<sup>1</sup>, Hss *ʾāgōz*<sup>2</sup>, Mhr *ʾāgōz*<sup>1</sup>, Shh *ʿagoz*<sup>2</sup>.

WCh \*‘*ga3i*- ‘‘be tired’’: Hs *gaži*.

No traces of the original laryngeal.

#### 1131 \*‘Vḥa’ay- ‘‘maid’’

Eg *ḥṣy.t* ‘‘maid’’ (MK).

WCh \*‘*hayay*- < \*‘*ḥa’ay*- ‘‘maid’’: Cagu *hayai*, Mbu *yaya*, Jmb *yaya*.

\*‘*V*- may be a prefix. Note an unusual morphonological structure of this word. Is it an old compound?

#### 1132 \*‘Vkaw-/‘‘Vkay- ‘‘tie, bind’’

Sem \*‘*VkVw*- ‘‘make a knot (on the horse tail)’’: Arab *ʿkw* [-*u*-].

ECh \*‘*kay*- ‘‘weave’’: Kwn *ke*, Kera *kε*.

\*‘*V*- may be a prefix. Consonantal alternation \*-*w*- ~ \*-*y*-.

#### 1133 \*‘VKüs- ‘‘turn’’

Sem \*‘*Vkiš*- ‘‘turn upside down’’: Arab *ʿks* [-*i*-].

ECh \*‘*kus*- ‘‘turn’’: Kbl *kusu*.

\*‘*V*- may be a prefix.

1134 \*‘V<sub>KAL</sub>-/\*‘V<sub>KIL</sub>- “teach, be clever”

Sem \*‘V<sub>KIL</sub>- “be clever”: Arab *ʕl* [-i-].

ECh \*HV<sub>KAL</sub>- “teach”: Smr *gəl*, Tum *kəl*, Kbl *gələ*, Kwn *gal*.  
*g-* < \**k* in the originally intervocalic position?

The root may be connected with or derived from \*‘V<sub>Kĕ</sub>- “be right, be true”. \*‘V- may be a prefix.

1135 \*‘V<sub>Kĕ</sub>- “be right, be true”

Eg *ʕj* “right, true” (MK).

CCh \*k<sub>ya</sub>- “correct”: Boka *keʕkeʕ*, Gaa *keʕkeʕ*.

Reduplication.

\*‘V- may be a prefix. The correspondence is valid only if Eg -*j* continues HS \**-j*. Otherwise, if -*j*- reflects HS \**-l*-, Eg *ʕj* should be placed together with cognates grouped under \*‘V<sub>KAL</sub>-/\*‘V<sub>KIL</sub>- “teach, be clever”.

1136 \*‘V<sub>KÜP</sub>- “weave, sew”

Sem \*‘V<sub>KİP</sub>- “twist”: Arab *ʕf* [-i-].

WCh \*k<sub>up</sub>- “weave”: Zar *kup*.

CCh \*k<sub>ap</sub>- “sew”: Lame *kap*-.

Secondary vocalism?

ECh \*k<sub>up</sub>- “sew”: Tum *kup*.

\*‘V- may be a prefix.

1137 \*‘V<sub>LAL</sub>- “do, build”

Sem \*‘V<sub>LVL</sub>- “do, act (severely)”: Hbr *ʕl*.

WCh \*l<sub>al</sub>- “build”: Tng *lal*.

Reduplication of \*‘*al*-/\*‘*il*- preserved in CCh \**ʔil*- “build” (Dgh *ʔila*) and ECh \**ʔal*- “make” (Smr *ʔal*).

1138 \*‘V<sub>LİÇ</sub>- “mix”

Sem \*‘V<sub>LİT</sub>- “mix”: Arab *ʕt* [-i-].

ECh \*l<sub>iç</sub>- “mix”: Kwn *lise*, Ngm *lise*.

\*‘V- may be a prefix.

1139 \*‘V<sub>N</sub>- “turn”

Sem \*‘V<sub>N</sub>- “displace”: Akk *enû*, Arab *ʕn*.

Eg *ʕn* “turn” (MK).

1140 \*‘V<sub>Naw</sub>-/\*‘V<sub>Nay</sub>- “work, make”

Sem \*‘V<sub>nVw</sub>- “produce (of land)”: Arab *ʕnw* [-u-].

WCh \**nVɣ*- “work”: Fyer *nyi*.

CCh \**naH*- < \**nay*- “do, make”: Tera *nna*, Bud *na*.

ECh \**nay*- “work”: Lele *ne*.

\*‘V- may be a prefix. May be derived from \*‘*an*- “be tired, be ill”, cf., from the semantic point of view, cf. the history of Fr *travail*.

1141 \*‘V<sub>nVžaw</sub>- “day, sunshine”

Eg *ʕndw* “sunshine” (pyr).

CCh \**nVžaH*- < \**nVžaw*- “day”: Mba *nžā*.

ECh \**nVžaH*- < \**nVžaw*- “day”: Tum *nžā*, Ndm *žā*, Kbl *žē*.

\*‘V- may be a prefix.

1142 \*‘V<sub>ru</sub>- “near”

Eg *ʕrw* “closeness” (MK).

WCh \**ru-ru*- “near, close”: Krk *ruru*.

Reduplication.

\*‘V- may be a prefix.

1143 \*‘V<sub>tuk</sub>- “go”

Sem \*‘V<sub>tĕ</sub>- “cross”: Akk *etēqu*.

WCh \**tuk*- “go away”: Hs *tuka*.

No traces of \*HV-.

\*‘V- may be a prefix.

1144 \*‘V<sub>tun</sub>- “push”

Sem \*‘V<sub>tun</sub>- “push”: Arab *ʕtn* [-u-].

WCh *\*tVHun-* ‘push’: Mpn *tūn*.

Metathesis.

An alternative reconstruction is *\*tV<sup>h</sup>un-*.

#### 1145 *\*Vṭi<sup>2</sup>-* ‘be dark’

Sem *\*VṭV<sup>2</sup>-* ‘be dark’: Akk *etū*.

LEC *\*ṭi<sup>2</sup>-* ‘become evening’: Or *ḏi<sup>2</sup>a*.

*\*V-* may be a prefix.

#### 1146 *\*Vṣimb-* ‘be sweet’

Sem *\*Vṣub-* ‘be sweet’: Arab *ṣub* [-*u*].

*\*u* < *\*i* before a labial. *\*b* seems to be a regular Sem reflex of HS cluster *\*-mb-*.

ECh *\*Vṣimb-* ‘honey, bee’: Mig *ṣimbe*.

Deverbative noun. Note the cluster *\*-mb-*.

## \*h

#### 1147 *\*ha<sup>2</sup>-/\*hay-* ‘take’

Eg *h<sup>2</sup>y* ‘capture’ (MK).

-*y*- stands for HS *\*-a-*.

WCh *\*ha<sup>2</sup>-* ‘catch’: Bks *ha<sup>2</sup>*.

ECh *\*hay-* ‘take’: Kera *he*.

Consonantal alternation *\*-ṣ- ~ \*-y-*.

#### 1148 *\*ha<sup>2</sup>-/\*haw-/\*hay-* ‘be, exist’

Sem *\*hūy-* ‘be, become’: Akk *ewū*, Amor *hwy*, Hbr *hwy*, Aram *hwy*.

Based on *\*hVw-*.

Berb *\*hV<sup>2</sup>-* ‘be, stay’: Ahg *iḥā*, Ayr *iha*.

CCh *\*hay-* ‘live’: Bud *aiyu*.

ECh *\*hay-* ‘be’: Mig *ay*.

Bed *haay-* ‘live’.

SA *\*hay-* ‘live’: Saho *hay*, Afar *hay*.

LEC *\*a-hay-* ‘be’: Som *ahay*.

Consonantal alternation *\*-ṣ- ~ \*-w- ~ \*-y-*.

#### 1149 *\*ha<sup>2</sup>ad-* ‘be weak’

Eg *ḥd* ‘weak’ (med).

Metathesis.

ECh *\*ha<sup>2</sup>ad-/\*hawad-* ‘weak’ <sup>1</sup>, ‘sick’ <sup>2</sup>: Tum *hād* <sup>1</sup>, Mubi *huwade* <sup>2</sup>.

An alternative reconstruction is *\*ahad-*.

#### 1150 *\*ha<sup>2</sup>em-/\*ha<sup>2</sup>om-* ‘tent, room’

WCh *\*ahwam-* ‘room’: Bks *ahom-*.

Metathesis.

Rift *\*hēm-* < *\*ha<sup>2</sup>em-* ‘tent’: Irq *heema*.

Assimilation of vowels.

An alternative reconstruction is *\*ahem-/\*ahom-*.

#### 1151 *\*hab-* ‘cut, split’

Sem *\*hub-* ‘cut’: Arab *hbb* [-*u*].

Secondary *\*-u-?*

Dhl *haß-* ‘split firewood’.

#### 1152 *\*habiṭ-* ‘fall’

Sem *\*hVbiṭ-/\*hVbuṭ-* ‘fall’: Arab *hbṭ* [-*i-*, -*u-*].

WCh *\*habiṭ-* ‘fall’: Hs *gabta*, Bol *biḏ-*, Krk *biḏ-*, Krf *bito*, Gera *bad*, Glm *bəz-*.

#### 1153 *\*had-* ‘take’

Sem *\*hīd-* ‘rob, take by force’ <sup>1</sup>, ‘be taken away’ <sup>2</sup>: Gz *hyd* <sup>1</sup>, Amh *hedä* <sup>2</sup>.

Secondary formation based on biconsonantal *\*hVd-*.

Eg *hd* ‘grasp, seize’ (MK).

WCh *\*had-* ‘take’ <sup>1</sup>, ‘carry’ <sup>2</sup>: Tng *adi* <sup>1 2</sup>, Fyer *at* <sup>1</sup>.



## 1154 \*had- “thorn”

Eg *hd.t* “thorn” (med).

CCh \*had- “thorn”: Gis *had-aw*.

Related to \*had- “cut”.

## 1155 \*had- “cut”

ECh \*hVd- “cut with a sickle”: Kera *hedē*.

Secondary emphatization of \*-d-.

Agaw \*ʔad- “divide”: Xmr *ad-ey*.

LEC \*had- “cut, shave”: Or *haada*.

HEC \*had- “shave”: Bmb *haad-*, *haad-*.

## 1156 \*ham- “water”

Sem \*hVmVw-/hVmVy- “pour”: Arab *hmw*, *hmy* [-i-, -u-].

Denominative verb based on \*hVm-.

WCh \*ham- “water”: Sura *am*, Ang *am*, Mnt *ham*, Ank *ham*, Grk *yam*, Bol ʔamma, Krk *amo*, Ngm *ham*, Maha *amma*, Bele *amma*, Krf *amma*, Gera *hama*, Glm *ama*, Grm *amma*, Fyer *ham*, Bks *ham*, Sha *ham*, Klr ʔam, Ngz *am*, Bade ʔam-.

ECh \*ham- “water”<sup>1</sup>, “rain”<sup>2</sup>: Dng *ammi*<sup>1</sup>, Jegu ʔam<sup>1</sup>, Mubi ʔaame<sup>2</sup>, Brg *aame*<sup>1</sup>.

## 1157 \*ham- “eat”

Sem \*nVham- “be insatiable”: Arab *nhm* [-a-].

Prefix \*nV-.

WCh \*hVm- “eat”: Paa ʔmma.

CCh \*ham- “eat”<sup>1</sup>, “chew”<sup>2</sup>: Bud *ham*<sup>1</sup>, Daba *həmu*<sup>1</sup>, Mus *ham*<sup>2</sup>.

ECh \*ham- “eat”: Kera *hamē*, Smr ʔəm-.

Dhl *ham*- “toss a portion of food in the mouth”.

Descriptive stem.

## 1158 \*ham-/him- “go, walk”

WCh \*yim- < \*Him- “return”: Krk *yim*.

ECh \*him- “go in”<sup>1</sup>, “go out”<sup>2</sup>: Tum *him*<sup>1</sup>, Mig ʔo:mo<sup>2</sup>.

HEC \*ham- “go, walk”: Sid *ham*-.

Omot \*ham- “go, walk”: Ome *ham*-, *haam*-, Yam *ham*-, Kaf *ham*-, *hamm*-, Mch *hammi*, Anf *ham*-, Bwo *haam*-, *aam*-, Gim *hamu*, Shk *ham*, *am*.

Rift \*hiʔim- “walk”: Irq *-hiʔim-it*-.

Secondary intervocalic laryngeal.

Alternation \*a ~ \*i.

## 1159 \*har- “back”

Sem \*harVw- “back”: Akk *erūtu*, *arūtu*.

WCh \*har- “back”: Cagu *āri*.

ECh \*har- “back”: Mubi *har*, Brg ʔara.

## 1160 \*haram- “river”

Eg *hnm.t* “spring, source” (med), Copt \*halme id.: Lyc *halme*.

According to Copt data, Eg -n- < \*-l-.

WCh \*haram- “river”: Klr *haram*.

Irregular correspondence of *liquida*.

## 1161 \*haraw-/haray- “wild boar”

Berb \*rVy- “wild boar”: Rif *a-ruy*.

From \*HVrVy- or \*HVrVwVy-?

Bed *harawya* “wild boar”.

Agaw \*ʔarw- “wild animal”: Bil *arwee*.

Consonantal alternation \*-w- ~ \*-y-.

## 1162 \*haw- “want”

Sem \*hVw- “wish” (n.)<sup>1</sup>, “want”<sup>2</sup>: Ug *hwł*<sup>1</sup>, Arab *hwy*<sup>2</sup>.

Represented as trilateral \*hVwVy- in Arab.

LEC \*haw- “wish” (n.)<sup>1</sup>, “want”<sup>2</sup>: Som *hawo*<sup>1</sup>, Or *haw*-<sup>2</sup>.

## 1163 \*haw-/hay- “fall”

Sem \*hVw-/hVy- “fall (upon)”: Arab *hwy* [-i-], Jib *hē*, Hss *hewō*.

Berb \*hVy- “fall (upon)”: Ahg *ihī*.

Eg *hɔy* ‘descend, fall, return’ (OK), Copt *\*hey* id.: Boh *hey*, Shd *hey*.

Vocalic -ɔ-.

WCh *\*hay*- ‘fall’: DB *hay*.

CCh *\*hay*- ‘descend’: Bud *hai*.

Rift *\*hu*<sup>2</sup>- < *\*hVw*- ‘fall’: Irq *hu*-, Alg *hu*-, Bur *hu*-.

Consonantal alternation *\*-w-* ~ *\*-y-*. If Eg *hɔy* ‘return’ is a separate word (only homonymic with Eg *hɔy* ‘descend, fall’), it should be compared with CCh *\*hway*- ‘return’ (Mba *hoy*), both Eg and CCh being reflexes of HS *\*hoy*- ‘return’.

#### 1164 *\*hawag-/hayag*- ‘lift’

Sem *\*hīg*- ‘be lifted’: Arab *hyg* [-i-].

ECh *\*hawag*- ‘climb’<sup>1</sup>, ‘lift’<sup>2</sup>: Smr *hagə*<sup>1</sup>, Tum *ag*<sup>1</sup>, Ndam *ɔga*<sup>1</sup>, Tob *hoge*<sup>2</sup>.

Consonantal alternation *\*-w-* ~ *\*-y-*.

#### 1165 *\*haway*- ‘blow’

Sem *\*hūy*- ‘blow’: Arab *hwy* [-i-].

CCh *\*haway*- ‘wind’: Bch *hawey*, Bata *haue*.

Deverbative noun.

#### 1166 *\*hay*- ‘building, town’

Eg *thy* ‘building’ (sait).

Orthographic representation of *\*hVy*-.

WCh *\*hay*- ‘town’: Bade *he*.

CCh *\*ha*<sup>2</sup>-/*\*hay*- ‘town, place’<sup>1</sup>, ‘compound’<sup>2</sup>: Tera *he*<sup>1</sup>, Gude *xa*<sup>1</sup>, Gudu *hā-čū*<sup>1</sup>, Bch *ha*<sup>1</sup>, Gis *hay*<sup>2</sup>.

Rift *\*ay*- ‘neighborhood’<sup>1</sup>, ‘dwelling’<sup>2</sup>: Irq *aya*<sup>1</sup>, Bur *aya*<sup>1</sup>, Asa *ayo*<sup>2</sup>, Kwz *ayo*<sup>2</sup>.

Irregular *\*ɔ*-.

#### 1167 *\*hay*- ‘cereal’

Eg *thy* ‘cereal’ (OK).

Orthographic representation of *\*hVy*-.

WCh *\*hay*- ‘corn’<sup>1</sup>, ‘kind of millet’<sup>2</sup>: Ang *he*<sup>1</sup>, Fyer *hay*<sup>2</sup>, Bks *hay*<sup>2</sup>.

Cf. CCh *\*xay*- ‘corn, guinea corn’ (Zgh *xīya*, Glv *xīya*, Gudu *xəi*, HNk *xa*, Kap *xa*, FK *xa*, Gdr *hay*) with a different laryngeal *\*h*-.

#### 1168 *\*hay*- ‘give birth’

Eg *hɔy* ‘be born’ (MK).

Vocalic -ɔ-.

CCh *\*hay*-/*\*hiy*- ‘give birth’: Klb *aya*, Mrg *iya*, HNk *yε*, HGh *iɔya*, FKl *ya*, Kap *ya*, Tera *hya*.

ECh *\*hVy*- ‘birth’: Mkk *ɔeɔyo*.

#### 1169 *\*hay*- ‘speak’

Eg *thy* ‘shout’ (pyr).

Orthographic representation of *\*hVy*-.

Bed *hay*- ‘say’.

LEC *\*hay*- ‘say’: Som *hay*-.

HEC *\*hay*-/*\*hiy*- ‘say’: Dar *hiyy*-, Bmb *hay-en*-.

Omot *\*hi*<sup>2</sup>- < *\*hVy*- ‘say’: Ome *hii*-.

Cf. also Dhl *haaw*- ‘name’ (v.).

#### 1170 *\*hazin*- ‘heart, intestine’

WCh *\*hanz*- < *\*hazin*- ‘guts’: Hs *hanžī*, Bol *azin*, Krk *azi*, Ngm *hazi*, Krf *ažžo*, Gera *haza*, Glm *aši*<sup>n</sup>, Sha *ʔaži*.

Cf. the development of the root structure in HS *\*čakin*- ‘knife’ and *\*čakin*- ‘net’.

Agaw *\*ɔVzin*- ‘heart’: Xmt *əəzen*.

#### 1171 *\*her*- ‘feline’

Sem *\*hirr*- ‘cat’: Arab *hirr*-.

CCh *\*a-hyar*- ‘leopard’: Msg *aharau*, *aɣerau*.

Prefix *\*a*-.

## 1172 \*her- “sheep, goat”

Berb \**hVr*- “ram”<sup>1</sup>, “sheep”<sup>2</sup>, “sheep and goats”<sup>3</sup>: Ayr *e-hərə*<sup>1</sup>,  
 Ahg *e-hərə*<sup>3</sup>, Twl *e-hərə*<sup>1</sup>, Sml *a- hru*<sup>1</sup>, Gua *hara*<sup>2</sup>.  
 Dhl *heeri* “goat, sheep”.

## 1173 \*heraw-/heray- “day”

Eg *hrw* “day” (pyr), Copt \**hrew*: Akh *hreu*.  
 CCh \**hyaraw*- “day”: Bud *yīrow*.  
 Bud -ow- < \*-aw-.  
 ECh \**hyariy*- “noon”: Dng *eriyo*.  
 Secondary \*-i- before \*y.  
 Consonantal alternation \*-w- ~ \*-y-.

## 1174 \*hey- “man”

Eg *hɔy* “husband, nobleman” (pyr), Copt \**hay* id.: Boh *hai*, Shd *hai*.  
 -ɔ- stands for a vowel.  
 Bed *hiyo* “man, husband”.  
 SA \**hey*- “man”: Saho *heyoo*, Afar *heyoo*.  
 Rift \**he*- “man”: Irq *hes*, Gor *hee*.

The root may be related to HS \**hay*- “give birth”.

## 1175 \*hiʕir- “excrement”

Eg *hɕyr.t* “excrement”.  
 Vocalic -y-.  
 ECh \**hiʕir*- “faeces”: Mkk *ʕiri* (pl.).  
 Cf. Rift \**hor*- “dung”: Bur *hori*.

## 1176 \*hilal- “moon”

Sem \**hilāl*- “new moon”: Ug *hll*, Arab *hilāl*-, Gz *helāl*.  
 Berb \**HalVl*- “moon”: Ahg *t-alli-t*.  
 Assimilation of vowels.

## 1177 \*himal- “tear” (n.)

Sem \**hVmVl*- “shed tears”: Arab *hml* [-i-, -u-].  
 Denominative verb with a new vocalic pattern.  
 CCh \**himal*- “tear” (n.): Bud *himālo*.  
 Cf. metathetic HEC \**Hil(V)m*- “tear” (Bmb *ilma*)?

## 1178 \*himis- “go”

Sem \**hVmš*- “walk day and night”: Arab *hms* [-i-].  
 CCh \**yimVs*- < \**Himis*- “enter”: Tera *ayimsi*, Boka *yimsi*.  
 Derived from \**ham*-/\**him*- “go, walk”.

## 1179 \*hin- “head”

Eg *hn* “head” (gr).  
 CCh \**hin*- “head”: Tera *yīn*, Gudu *yīn*, FJ *yīn*, Mwu *həne-gi*, Msm *yano*, Gbn *in-da*, Gaa *in-da*, Bch *nne*.  
 y- < \*h- in individual languages.

## 1180 \*hinVn-/\*ḥinVn- “child”

Eg *ṇhn* “child” (pyr).  
 Metathesis.  
 WCh \**hinVn*- “child”: Cagu *ḥinən*.  
 Irregular correspondence of laryngeals.

## 1181 \*hiw- “enclosure”

Eg *thw* “enclosure” (n), Copt \**ohi* id.: Fym *ahi*, Akh *ohe*, Boh *ohi*,  
 Shd *ohe*.  
 ECh \**hiw*- “enclosure”: Kera *hiw*.

Eg and Copt may indicate a different prototype \**ʔhiw*- (with a prefix?), also possible for ECh.

## 1182 \*hiʕ-/huʕ- “child”

CCh \**huʕ*- “child”: Lmn *uuza*, Zgh *uza*, Gis *za*.  
 HEC \**hiʕ*- “brother”: Kmb *hizo*, Tmb *izo*.

Alternation \*i ~ \*u.

### 1183 \*hob- “give, send”

Sem \*wVhVb- “give”: Aram yhb, Arab whb, SAr whb, Gz whb.

Prefix \*wV-.

Eg h3b “send”.

The function of -j- is not clear.

WCh \*hwab- “lend, borrow”: Sura hwəp.

Cf. Berb \*hub- “drag, pull along” (Ahg hub-ət, Ayr hub-ət)?

### 1184 \*hoh- “burn; heat”

Eg hh “heat” (med).

WCh \*hwah- “burn”: Sha hwoh.

Possible reduplication of \*haʔ-/\*haw- “fry”, cf. in CCh: Msm haou, LPe hao.

### 1185 \*hor- “rest” (n.)

Eg hr.t “rest, peace” (OK).

ECh \*hwar- “rest”: Tum hōr, Sbn wara.

### 1186 \*hos- “grind”

Sem \*huš- “break into small fragments”: Arab hss [-u-].

WCh \*Hyas-/\*Hwos- “grind”: Sura ʔɛ:s, Chip ʔɛs, Ank es, Bol ʔoss,

Krf ʔyasu, Gera yaso, Grm es-.

### 1187 \*hot- “fire”

Eg hwt “fire” (sarc).

Vocalic -w-.

WCh \*Hwatu- “fire”: Hs wutā, Tng wəti, Geji wutu, wuti, Brw wut, wutu, Brm wut, Say wut, Dwot ʔutu, Kir wut, Tala wudi.

CCh \*hwat- “fire”: Gbn wəte, Boka xwəte, Gaa wəta, Tera wəti.

### 1188 \*hoʔ- “fence, enclosure”

CCh \*hwaʔ- < \*hwaʔ- “compound”: Gudu hwod-očü, Nza hwaʔe, Bch wədiy.

HEC \*huʔ- “fence, enclosure”: Sid huʔa.

### 1189 \*hoʔaʔ- “go”

Sem \*hVʔaʔ- “go ahead in awe”: Arab hʔ [-a-].

WCh \*hwaʔa- “come”<sup>1</sup>, “enter”<sup>2</sup>, “go”<sup>3</sup>: Tng wato<sup>1</sup>, Pero wat<sup>1</sup>, Zem wutə<sup>1</sup>, Say wət<sup>2</sup>, Kir wad<sup>2</sup>, DB hal<sup>3</sup>.

Connected with Rift \*hVʔVt- “march, go” (Irq hiʔiit-, Alg haʔut-) and Dhl huʔ- “follow”?

### 1190 \*hoʔar- “fortified site”

Berb \*huʔ[ʔ]ar- “fortified site”: Gua a-xodar, a-jodar.

Is Gua d a reflex of Berb \*ʔ?

HEC \*hoʔor- < \*hoʔar- “yard”: Had ootoro.

Assimilation of vowels.

Derived from \*hoʔ- “fence, enclosure”.

### 1191 \*ho3- “sleep”

Sem \*hVʔ- “sleep”<sup>1</sup>, “be delirious”<sup>2</sup>: Hbr hzy<sup>1</sup>, Arab hdy [-i-]<sup>2</sup>.

ECh \*hwaʔ- “sleep”: Mig ʔōdyo, Bid ʔōdy, Brg ōdyi, Dng wedye, Ndam ʔəʒa.

Cf. Dhl haɖuura “sleep”?

### 1192 \*hubag-/\*hubig- “strike”

Sem \*hVbag- “strike”: Arab hbg [-a-].

WCh \*hubag- “beat”: Hs buga, Ang bak.

ECh \*mV-big- “slap”: Tum mbig.

Prefix \*mV-.

Bed bag- “slap”.

LEC \*bog- “slap”: Som bog.

Secondary labialization of the vowel.

## 1193 \*hud- ‘break’

Sem \*hud- ‘break’: Arab *hdd* [-u-].

Eg *hd* ‘break’ (MK).

CCh \*hVd- ‘break’: Msg *hada*.

WCh \*hya[d]- ‘strike’ (Ank *het*) also may belong to this HS root. Berb \*hVd- ‘destroy’ (Kby *hudd*) may be borrowed from Arab.

## 1194 \*hu-dam- ‘utter’

CCh \*hu-dVm- ‘swear’: Gis *hudom*, *hudum*.

Gis -o- < \*-a- before a labial.

LEC \*dam- < \*HV-dam- ‘communicate’: Or *daam*.

\*hu- is a prefix. The word is derived from \*dVm- ‘utter’.

## 1195 \*hulim- ‘child, man’

ECh \*hulum- ‘man, person’: Kera *hulum*.

Assimilation of vowels.

Rift \*holim- ‘child’: Alg *holimo*, Bur *xwaylimo*.

Unexpected -ay- in Bur.

## 1196 \*hulüb- ‘soak’

Sem \*hVlib- ‘soak, be wet’: Arab *hīb* [-i-].

WCh \*luḥ- < \*luHub- ‘sogginess’: Hs *luḥuluḥū*.

Reduplication.

CCh \*luḥ- < \*luHub- ‘wet’ (v.): Hld *lūḥu-ri*, Klb *ālub-tū*, Chb *lup-ti*, WM *lāb-dī*, Wmd *lub-ta*, FGl *luḥwi-ti*, Kap *luḥi-ke*, Gava *luḥ-*, Daba *lub*.

ECh \*lub- ‘soak’: Kera *lubi*.

The alternative reconstruction reflected by all Chadic branches is \*luhub-.

## 1197 \*humac- ‘grass, straw’

Sem \*humṣ- ‘tough grass’: Akk *umṣatu*.

CCh \*humac- ‘straw’: Mofu *humas*.

## 1198 \*hunay- ‘(be) small’

Sem \*hunay- ‘a little’: Arab *hunayy-at-*.

ECh \*hVnay- ‘small’: Smr *hnye*.

## 1199 \*hur- ‘pierce’

ECh \*hVr- ‘pierce’: Tum *hər*.

LEC \*hur- ‘pierce’: Or *hura*.

## 1200 \*hur- ‘be pregnant’

Sem \*hVrVy- ‘be pregnant’: Akk *arū*, Ug *hry*, Hbr *hry*.

Based on biconsonantal \*hVr-.

ECh \*hur- ‘be pregnant’: Ndam *ḥera*, Tum *urər*.

Reduplication in Tum.

## 1201 hut- ‘dig’

Eg *htht* ‘dig’ (BD).

CCh \*hwa-hut- ‘dig’: Mofu *hwuhut*.

Different types of reduplication.

## 1202 \*hüw- ‘snake’

Eg *hyw* ‘snake’ (pyr).

Vocalic -y-.

CCh \*hu[w]- ‘snake’: Zime *huu*.

## 1203 \*hVban- ‘gazelle’

Eg *hbn* ‘gazelle’ (MK).

WCh \*ban- ‘gazelle’: Dwot *bani*.

The anlaut laryngeal is lost.

\*hV- may be a prefix.

## 1204 \*hVbat-/hVbit- ‘throw down’

Sem \*hVbit- ‘throw down, beat, destroy’: Akk *abātu*, Arab *hbt* [-i-].

WCh \*HVbat- ‘‘push, throw down’’: Ang *bat*, Sura *bet*.

Cf. LEC \*HVbot-: Or *aboota* ‘‘give a blow’’.

### 1205 \*hVben- ‘‘vessel’’

Eg *hbn.t* ‘‘big mug’’ (OK).

WCh \*HVbyan- ‘‘gourd, gourd bottle’’: Sura *been*, Mpn *been*.

Voiced anlaut in Sura reflects the lost laryngeal.

ECh \*byanu- ‘‘pumpkin’’: Kbl *tə-bəni*, Gbr *ti-bini*, Kwn *bone*.

### 1206 \*hVdag- ‘‘go’’

Sem \*hVdig- ‘‘go trembling’’: Arab *hdg* [-i-].

The source of the vowel in the second syllable is not clear. The meaning is questionable.

WCh \*dag- < \*HVdag- ‘‘go away’’<sup>1</sup>, ‘‘follow’’<sup>2</sup>: Hs *ḍaga*<sup>1</sup>, Ngz *ḍəgu*<sup>2</sup>.

Derived from \*dag-/dig- ‘‘go’’. Cf. also ECh \*HVdug- ‘‘enter’’ (Ndm *ḍuge*) with a metathesis of vowels.

### 1207 \*hVlak- ‘‘go, drive’’

Sem \*hVlVk- ‘‘go’’: Akk *alāku*, Hbr *hlk*.

CCh \*lakwa- ‘‘enter’’<sup>1</sup>, ‘‘drive’’<sup>2</sup>: Bura *lukwa*<sup>1</sup>, Chb *lukwa*<sup>1</sup>, Glv *lag<sup>w</sup>a*<sup>2</sup>, Gvo *lak<sup>w</sup>ə-la*<sup>2</sup>.

\*hV- may be a prefix.

## \*h

### 1208 \*ha²- ‘‘head’’

Eg *hṣ* ‘‘occiput’’ (pyr).

WCh \*ha(²)- ‘‘head’’: Geji *ga*, Buli *ga*, Wrj *ga-may*, Kry *ga-m*, Diri *a-ma*, Paa *ha-ma*.

Forms in -m- may go back to possessives.

### 1209 \*ha²-/haw- ‘‘vessel’’

Eg *hw.t* ‘‘vessel’’ (OK).

CCh \*xa- < \*xa²- ‘‘pot’’: Mrg *xa*, Hld *xa*.

Consonantal alternation \*-²- ~ \*-w-.

### 1210 \*hab- ‘‘cereal’’

Sem \*habb- ‘‘grain, corn’’: Arab *habb*-.

CCh \*ma-xab- ‘‘sorghum’’: Mba *mahaḥ*.

Prefix \*ma-. Note the emphatization of \*-b-.

### 1211 \*habu²- ‘‘fish’’

Sem \*habu²- ‘‘fish’’: Akk *abūtu*.

Dialectal development of a vowel after \*h- in Akk.

Eg *hbṣ* ‘‘fish’’ (OK).

### 1212 \*haça²-/haçay- ‘‘count’’

Sem \*haşy- ‘‘number’’: Arab *haşy*-.

Deverbative noun.

ECh \*ʔasay- ‘‘count’’: Smr ʔāsē, Sbn ʔāsā.

Consonantal alternation \*-²- ~ \*-y-.

### 1213 \*haçir- ‘‘press, squeeze’’

Sem \*hVşir- ‘‘press, squeeze’’: Arab *ḥşr* [-i-, -u-].

ECh \*ʔasir- ‘‘press, squeeze’’: Kbl *sər*, Dng *assire*.

### 1214 \*haçar- ‘‘fence, enclosure’’

Sem \*haşar- ‘‘enclosure’’<sup>1</sup>, ‘‘camp’’<sup>2</sup>, ‘‘yard’’<sup>3</sup>, ‘‘area’’<sup>4</sup>: Akk *ḥašāru*<sup>1</sup>, Phn *ḥşr*<sup>3</sup>, Hbr *ḥāšer*<sup>2,3</sup>, Aram (Syr) *ḥəšārā*<sup>3</sup>, Arab *ḥaḍar*-<sup>4</sup>, SAR *ḥşwr*<sup>4</sup>, Gz *ḥaşur*<sup>1</sup>.

Irregular ḥ- in Akk.

WCh \*ḥVr- ‘‘fence’’: DB *siri*.

Assimilation of vowels. Cf. DB *saar* ‘‘fence’’ (v.).

CCh \*hažar- ‘‘fence’’: Mofu *žazar*, Mafa *gəžar*.

Partial reduplication in Mofu.

Bed *eseer* ‘‘enclosure’’.

Assimilation of vowels. *-ee-* seems to reflect *\*-aHa-*.

Any connection with LEC *\*ʔaraʒ-* ‘‘dwelling’’ (Or *areddaa*)?

### 1215 \*ḥadur- ‘‘go down’’

Sem *\*ḥVdir-/ḥVdur-* ‘‘descend’’: Arab *ḥdr* [-i-, -u-].

WCh *\*dwar- < \*daHur-* ‘‘descend’’: DB *dor*, Bks *dōr*, Klr *doro*.  
Metathesis.

### 1216 \*ḥaf- ‘‘bank’’

Sem *\*ḥāpp-* ‘‘bank’’: Hbr *ḥōp*, Arab *ḥāff-at-*.

WCh *\*ḥa-ḥaf-* ‘‘bank’’: Hs *gaggāfā*.

Partial reduplication.

### 1217 \*ḥafal-/ḥafil- ‘‘be full’’

Sem *\*ḥVpil-* ‘‘rise (of water)’’: Arab *ḥfl* [-i-].

WCh *\*fal- < \*HVfal-* ‘‘full (of vessel)’’: Hs *fal*.

*\*ḥa-* may be a prefix.

### 1218 \*ḥaḤ- ‘‘child’’

Eg *ḥḤ* ‘‘child, boy’’ (pyr).

Cf. *Ḥy* ‘‘child’’ (l). *-ḥ* is a vocalic sign.

CCh *\*ḥwaḤ-/ḥway-* ‘‘boy, son’’: Boka *ḥweya*, Gbn *wa*, Gaa *wa*,  
Tera *wi*.

Cf. *\*ḥway-* ‘‘give birth’’: Log *ṛwe*, Chb *ya*, Klb *aya*, Tera *hya*,  
HNk *ye*, FKl *ya*, HGh *iḥya*.

Rift *\*haḤ-/ḥaw-* ‘‘children’’: Alg *haḥay*, Bur *yaḥay*, Asa *hawa*, Kwz  
*yawa*.

### 1219 \*ḥaḤ-/ḥuḤ- ‘‘move upwards’’

Eg *ḥḤ* ‘‘stand up’’ (pyr).

*Ḥ-* may be a prefix.

WCh *\*ḥaḤ-* ‘‘raise’’: Bks *haḤ*.

CCh *\*ḥu-* ‘‘lift’’: Klb *hū*, Mrg *ḥu*.

ECh *\*ʔu-* ‘‘lift’’: Smr *ʔu*.

Alternation *\*a ~ \*u*.

### 1220 \*ḥak- ‘‘stone’’

Eg *ḥḥ* ‘‘stone’’ (n).

*\*k > ṭ*, presumably, before *\*o*, cf. CCh *\*ḥakwa-*.

WCh *\*ḥVk-* ‘‘stone’’: Sura *ṛək*, Ang *yūk*, *ṛk*.

CCh *\*ḥakwa-* ‘‘stone’’: FG *hakwu*.

### 1221 \*ḥakam-/ḥakum- ‘‘rope’’

Sem *\*ḥakam-* ‘‘martingale’’: Arab *ḥakam-at-*.

Rift *\*ḥagum-* ‘‘trap’’<sup>1</sup>, ‘‘rope’’<sup>2</sup>: Alg *hagumo*<sup>1</sup>, Bur *ḥaguums*<sup>2</sup>.

Unexpected *\*-g-*.

Irregular correspondence of vowels in the second syllable.

### 1222 \*ḥakVI- ‘‘earth, field’’

Sem *\*ḥakl-* ‘‘field’’: Akk *eqlu*, Aram (Syr) *ḥaqlā*, Arab *ḥaql-*, Gz *ḥaql*.

ECh *\*kVI-* ‘‘earth’’: Tum *kələ*.

Loss of the anlaut laryngeal.

### 1223 \*ḥakür- ‘‘be angry’’

Sem *\*ḥVkir-* ‘‘despise’’: Arab *ḥqr* [-i-], Gz *ḥqr*.

WCh *\*Ḥakur-* ‘‘be angry’’: Paa *akwar*, Siri *aḥur*, Jmb *ḥwar*.

### 1224 \*ḥakVw- ‘‘hip, thigh’’

Sem *\*ḥakw-* ‘‘loins, hip’’: Hbr *ḥeq*, Arab *ḥaqw-*, Gz *ḥaqwe*.

LEC *\*ḥVwVg-* ‘‘hip, thigh’’: Som *hoog*.

Note HS *\*-ḥ- > LEC \*-g-*. Metathesis.

Omot *\*ḥakVw-* ‘‘hip’’: Kaf *hakkoo*.

Note HS *\*ḥ > Omot \*k*. Cluster *\*-aw- > -oo-* in Kaf.

### 1225 \*ḥal- ‘‘be sweet’’

Sem *\*ḥVlaw-/ḥVlaw-* ‘‘be sweet’’: Arab *ḥlw* [-a-].

Based on biconsonantal \*ḥal-.

WCh \*ḥal- ‘‘sweet juice sucked from the abdomen of a hornet’’: Hs *galla*.

Deverbative noun.

CCh \*ḥal- ‘‘sweet’’: Bud *alli*.

Rift \*ḥal- ‘‘sweet’’: Kwz *hal-am-*.

### 1226 \*ḥal- ‘‘wash’’

Sem \*ḥVl- ‘‘clean (adj.)’’<sup>1</sup>, ‘‘wash, clean’’<sup>2</sup>: Akk *ellu*<sup>1</sup>, Aram (Syr) *ḥll*<sup>2</sup>.

LEC \*ḥal- ‘‘wash’’: Som *ḥal-*.

### 1227 \*ḥal- ‘‘spleen, liver’’

ECh \*ḥVl- ‘‘spleen’’: Mkk *ḥell-eso*.

Secondary root vowel influenced by -e- of the suffix.

LEC \*ḥal- ‘‘liver’’: Rnd *ḥal-esi*.

### 1228 \*ḥal-/\*ḥil- ‘‘go’’

Eg *ḥn* ‘‘go’’ (n).

Cf. also *ḥry* ‘‘move away’’ (pyr)? Note -n < \*-l-.

CCh \*ḥal-/\*ḥil- ‘‘go’’: Mba *hili*, Msg *ḥala*.

SA \*ḥal- ‘‘enter’’: Saho *hal*, Afar *hal*.

LEC \*ḥil- ‘‘enter’’: Arb *hil-*.

Alternation \*a ~ \*i.

### 1229 \*ḥalak- ‘‘be smooth’’

Sem \*ḥalak- ‘‘smooth’’: Hbr *ḥālāq*.

WCh \*ḥalak- ‘‘smooth’’: Tng *halak-halak*.

Reduplication.

### 1230 \*ḥalib- ‘‘milk’’

Sem \*ḥalib- ‘‘milk’’<sup>1</sup>, ‘‘fresh milk’’<sup>2</sup>: Akk *ḥilpu*<sup>1</sup>, Hbr *ḥālāb*<sup>1</sup>, Ug *ḥlb*<sup>1</sup>, Aram (Syr) *ḥalēbā*<sup>1</sup>, Arab *ḥalīb*-<sup>1</sup>, *ḥalab*-<sup>2</sup>, Gz *ḥalīb*<sup>1</sup>.

Irregular ḥ in Akk.

Rift \*ḥilib- ‘‘milk’’: Irq *ilwa*, Ala *iliba*, Bur *iliba*, Asa *liba*.

Assimilation of vowels. Unexpected \*ḡ-, see Rift s.v. \*ḥanVĈ- ‘‘tooth’’.

### 1231 \*ḥam- ‘‘salt’’

Eg *ḥmṣ.t* ‘‘salt’’ (med).

Vocalic -ṣ.

WCh \*ḥam- ‘‘salt’’: Fyer *ḡama*.

CCh \*ḥwam- < \*ḥam- ‘‘salt’’: Msg *ḥom*.

Secondary vowel before a labial.

### 1232 \*ḥam-/\*ḥim- ‘‘be black’’

Sem \*ḥam- ‘‘become black’’: Arab *ḥmm* [-a-].

HEC \*ḥem- ‘‘be black’’: Had *heem-*.

Dhl *ḥimm-ate* ‘‘black’’.

Alternation \*a ~ \*i.

### 1233 \*ḥan- ‘‘tumor’’

Eg *ḥnhn.t* ‘‘tumor’’ (med).

Reduplication.

ECh \*ḡan- ‘‘tumor’’: Tum *ān*.

### 1234 \*ḥankar- ‘‘throat’’

Sem \*ḥangar- ‘‘larynx’’: Arab *ḥangar-at-*.

Is the development of HS \*-nk- into \*-ng- regular?

Bed *hankar* ‘‘throat’’.

SA \*ḡankar- ‘‘throat’’: Saho *anḳar*, Afar *enḳaraa*.

Afar e- and emphatic \*ḳ may be traces of the lost \*ḥ.

Dhl *ḥank'ara* ‘‘hard palate’’.

As well as SA, Dhl reflects emphatic \*-ḳ-.

### 1235 \*ḥanVĈ- ‘‘tooth’’

Eg *nhḏ* ‘‘tooth, fang’’ (OK).

Metathesis.

Rift \*ḡanĈ- ‘‘tooth’’: Irq *anĈ-amo*, Bur *aaĈ-imo*.



Unexpected \**h*- > \*<sup>ɔ</sup>-.

Related to Dhl *hunĉ*- ‘‘chew’’.

### 1236 \**hap*- ‘‘plant, grass’’

Eg *hp* ‘‘kind of plant’’ (gr).

CCh \**hap*- ‘‘grass’’: Bud *hāpu*.

### 1237 \**hap*- ‘‘close, cover’’

Eg *hɔp* ‘‘cover’’ (MK).

Vocalic -ɔ-.

WCh \**Hap*- ‘‘close’’: Tng *ope*.

Tng *o* is a regular reflex of \**a*.

ECh \*<sup>ɔ</sup>*Vp*- ‘‘close, cover’’: Mkk <sup>ɔ</sup>*ipp*-.

### 1238 \**hapat*- ‘‘arm, wing’’

Eg *hpt* ‘‘arm, wing’’ (MK).

WCh \**hapVt*- ‘‘arm, wing’’: Ngz *gaptā*, Bade *gapt-on*.

CCh \**pVt*- ‘‘wing’’: Bud *fefeto*, Daba *pste*.

Partial reduplication in Bud. Assimilation of vowels.

ECh \**pat*- ‘‘arm’’: Sok *patu*, Jegu *poto*.

Secondary -*o*- in Jegu.

### 1239 \**hapur*- ‘‘pit’’

Sem \**hapr*- ‘‘big well’’<sup>1</sup>, ‘‘hole, cavity’’<sup>2</sup>: Arab *hafr*-<sup>1</sup>, Jib *hfər-et*<sup>2</sup>.

WCh \**pur*- ‘‘tomb’’: Tng *pure*, Pero *pure*.

Loss of the anlaut laryngeal.

### 1240 \**hapüd*- ‘‘go’’

Sem \**hVpid*- ‘‘hurry, take pains’’: Arab *hfd* [-i-].

WCh \**pVd*- < \**pVHVd*- ‘‘go’’: Dera *pod-owu*, Ngm *pod-owu*.

Metathesis.

CCh \**paHud*- ‘‘go’’<sup>1</sup>, ‘‘return’’<sup>2</sup>: Gaa *puḍi*<sup>1</sup>, Gbn *pədi*<sup>1</sup>, Daba *pāḍ*<sup>2</sup>.

Metathesis.

An alternative reconstruction is \**paḥüd*-. Cf. \**hupet*- ‘‘go’’.

### 1241 \**har*- ‘‘sky’’

Eg *hr.t* ‘‘sky’’ (pyr).

WCh \**har*- ‘‘sky’’: Hs *gārī*, Sha <sup>ɔ</sup>*are* id.

Irregular <sup>ɔ</sup>- in Sha.

Cf. LEC \**haror*- ‘‘cloudy weather’’ (Or *haroor-essa*).

### 1242 \**har*- ‘‘arm’’

CCh \**har*- ‘‘arm’’: Tera *har*, Gaa *heřa*, Hwn *hara*, Gis *har*.

Cf. also Log *ɣ’ar-zeni* ‘‘wrist’’.

Bed *har-ka* ‘‘arm’’.

SA \**har*- ‘‘arm’’: Saho *haraa*.

LEC \**har-k*- ‘‘arm, hand’’: Or *harkka*, Kns *harga*.

Wrz \**har-k*- ‘‘hand’’: War *harko*, Gaw *harko*.

### 1243 \**har*- ‘‘intestines’’

Sem \**hVrr*- ‘‘gut’’: Akk *erru*.

CCh \**har(wa)*- ‘‘intestines’’: Gis *hor*, HNk *xəři*, Kap *xaři*, FG *xař*,

Bura *xyel*, Klb *hali*, Mrg *yalı*, Hil *xalı*.

-*l*- in Bura and other languages is regular.

Cf. Eg *hrr* ‘‘part of the body’’ (NK)?

### 1244 \**has*- ‘‘roast’’

Sem \**hVš-hVš*- ‘‘roast’’: Arab *hshs*.

Reduplication.

WCh \**has*- ‘‘roast, bake’’: Hs *gasa*.

### 1245 \**has*- ‘‘seek, look for’’

CCh \**has*- ‘‘look for, search’’: Mafa *has*.

HEC \**has*- ‘‘seek, look for’’: Sid *haas*-, Dar *has*-, Had *hass*-, Ala *has*-,

Kmb *has*-.

## 1246 \*ḥasar- ‘‘hand, arm’’

Eg *ḥsr* ‘‘arm’’ (gr).

WCh \**saHar*- ‘‘hand, arm’’: Sura *sar*, Ang *sār*, Chip *saar*, Mnt *sai*, Ank *sar*, Bol *sara*, Krk *sara*, Ngm *sara*, Maha *sara*, Krf *šara*, Gera *šara*, Glm *šara*, Grm *sarap*.

Metathesis.

## 1247 \*ḥasek- ‘‘cereal’’

Sem \**ḥasīk*- ‘‘barley’’: Arab *ḥasīk-at*.

CCh \**syak*- ‘‘millet’’: Gaa *šek-ita*, Gbn *sek-ete*, Boka *šek-ta’a*.

Loss of the anlaut laryngeal.

\**ḥa*- may be a prefix.

## 1248 \*ḥaš-/ḥuš- ‘‘cut’’

Sem \**ḥuś*- ‘‘cut’’: Arab *ḥšš* [-u-].

Rift \**ḥaš*- ‘‘carve wood’’: Irq *ḥaš*-.

Dhl *ḥaš*- ‘‘butcher meat’’.

## 1249 \*ḥat-/ḥut- ‘‘rub off, sweep’’

Sem \**ḥut*- ‘‘rub off’’: Arab *ḥtt* [-u-].

LEC \**ḥat*- ‘‘sweep’’<sup>1</sup>, ‘‘rub’’<sup>2</sup>; Som *ḥaad*-<sup>1</sup>, Or *ḥaad*-<sup>2</sup>.

\*-*t*- < \*-*t*- under the influence of \**ḥ*-.

## 1250 \*ḥaw-/ḥaway- ‘‘return, go’’

Eg *ḥwy* ‘‘go’’ (MK).

CCh \**ḥway*- < \**ḥaway*- ‘‘return’’: HGh *ḥwe*, Mba *hoy*.

Dhl *ha*- ‘‘come, arrive’’.

Irregular -*ḥ*-.

Rift \**ḥaw*- ‘‘come’’: Irq *ḥaw*-, Alg *ḥaw*-, Bur *ḥaw*-.

Irregular \**ḥ*-.

No traces of \*-*ay*- in Cush forms.

## 1251 \*ḥaw-/ḥay- ‘‘stomach’’

Sem \**ḥawīy*- ‘‘intestines’’: Arab *ḥawīy-at*.

WCh \**ḥaw*-/\**ḥay*- ‘‘belly’’: Bol *awo*, Ngm *hawo*, Gera *hawī*, Krf *awo*, Glm *awa*, Fyer *hye*, Bks *hihye*.

Partial reduplication in Bks.

CCh \**ḥwa*-/\**ḥay*- ‘‘stomach’’: Wmd *ḥay*, Chb *ḥay*, HF *ḥwi*, Kap *ḥwu*, Masa *haya*.

\**ḥwa*- goes back to \**ḥaw*-.

ECh \**ḥy*- ‘‘breast’’: Jegu *ḥoyo*.

Secondary vocalism.

Consonantal alternation \*-*w*- ~ \*-*y*-.

## 1252 \*ḥaw-/ḥay- ‘‘food’’

Eg *ḥw* ‘‘food’’ (pyr).

ECh \**ḥay*- ‘‘food’’: Smr *haye*, Ndam *a:y*.

Rift \**ḥay*- ‘‘food’’: Asa *hay-uk*.

Irregular laryngeal.

Consonantal alternation \*-*w*- ~ \*-*y*-. Cf. verbal derivative in ECh \**ḥay*- ‘‘eat’’ (Lele *ai*).

## 1253 \*ḥaw-/ḥay- ‘‘man’’

WCh \**ḥaw*- ‘‘chief’’: Gera *hawī*.

CCh \**ḥuy*- < \**ḥawVy*- ‘‘husband’’: Log *ḥūy*.

Dhl *ḥaayo*, pl. *ḥaa’i* ‘‘man, husband’’.

-*ḥ*- in pl. is not clear.

Rift \**ḥaw*- ‘‘man, husband’’: Irq *ḥaw-ata*, Alg *ḥaw-ata*, Bur *ḥawata*.

Consonantal alternation \*-*w*- ~ \*-*y*-. Cf. also Rift \**ḥiy*- ‘‘brother’’ (Irq *ḥiya*).

## 1254 \*ḥawar-/ḥayar- ‘‘breed, multiply’’

Sem \**ḥayar*- ‘‘having many cattle and a big family’’: Arab *ḥay-ar*, *ḥiyar*-.

LEC \**ḥor*- < \**ḥawar*- ‘‘multiply (domestic animals)’’: Gid *hor*.

Cf. Or *horii* ‘‘cattle’’, Kns *hor-eeta* ‘‘wealth, livestock’’.

Consonantal alternation \*-*w*- ~ \*-*y*-.

## 1255 \*hawil- “year”

Sem \*hawil- “year”: Arab *hawil*-.

WCh \*hawil- “year”: Fyr *wel*, Sha *wul*, Klr *ʔawul*, DB *wil*.

ECh \*ʔaliy- < \*hayil- “year”: Smr *ʔaliya*, Kwn *oleye*, Tum *əlay*,  
Ndam *lowa*, Gbr *ille*, Mig *ʔila*.

Metathesis and change \*-w- > \*-y- before a front vowel.

## 1256 \*hayaw- “family, people”

Eg *why* “family” (MK).

Metathesis.

SA \*hayaw- “people”: Saho *heaw*.

Rift \*hay- “kinsfolk, clan”: Irq *hay*.

The original biconsonantal root?

Derived from \*haw-/hay- “man”.

## 1257 \*hayaw- “animal”

Sem \*hay(aw)- “animal”: Ug *hwt*, Hbr *hayyā*, Aram (Syr) *hayūtō*,  
Arab *hayaw-ān*-.

CCh \*xiw- < \*χVɣVw- “animal”: Mnd *xiwa*.

Contraction in Mnd.

ECh \*ʔayVw- “animal”: Jegu *ʔaiwo*, Bid *ʔawyo*.

Metathesis in Bid.

## 1258 \*hažar- “beast of prey”

Sem \*hažar- “swamp lynx”: Akk *azaru*.

Irregular Akk *a* of the first syllable.

Eg *hadr* “hyaena” (OK).

1259 \*he<sup>3</sup>- “seek, find”

Eg *hʔ* “seek” (pyr).

WCh \*hya<sup>3</sup>- “find”: Paa *hya*.

ECh \*yaw- “find”: Smr *ʔyo*.

Reflects \*hew-, a morphonological variant of the original root.

## 1260 \*hed- “fly” (v.)

Eg *hdy* “fly” (v.) (n).

Infinitive in -y.

WCh \*hyad- “fly” (v.): Gwn *gede*.

1261 \*hedV<sup>3</sup>- “bird”

Sem \*hid<sup>3</sup>- “kite”: Arab *hid<sup>3</sup>-at*-.

ECh \*hyad-hyad- “ostrich”: Kera *hedhedī*.

Irregular \*h-. Reduplication. Emphatic *d* < \**d* under the influence of the laryngeal.

## 1262 \*henin- “penis, testicles”

Eg *hnn* “penis” (pyr).

LEC \*henin- “testicles”: Som *heeniin*.

1263 \*henV<sup>c</sup>- “fill”

Eg *hn<sup>c</sup>* “fill” (gr).

WCh \*hyan-H- “fill”: Wrj *yan*, Paa *hyangu*.

CCh \*χyan- “fill”: Lame *yen*, Misme *hen*.

ECh \*wan- < \*inwa- “fill”: Smr *ʔon*, Ndam *ʔana*, Tum *an*, Kbl  
*wəna*, Mig *ʔunaw*, Brg *ʔuni*, Bid *ween*, Mkk *ʔuune*.

## 1264 \*her- “star”

Eg *hry.w* “stars” (pyr).

Vocalic -y.

ECh \*hyar- “star”: Tum *heru*.

Irregular \*h-. Tum *h*- may also go back to \*s-.

LEC \*hir- “light of sun or moon”: Arb *hiiro*.

## 1265 \*her- “be dry”

Sem \*hVr- “be dried up”: Gz *hrr*.

ECh \*yar- “dry” (v.): Tum *yə:r*.

1266 \*h<sub>1</sub>erač-/h<sub>1</sub>eruč- “sow”

Sem \*h<sub>1</sub>Vruč- “sow, till”: Akk *erēšu*, Ug *hrt*, Hbr *hṣ*, Arab *hrt* [-u-], Gz *hrs*.

WCh \*rač- “sow”: DB *ras*.

Loss of the anlaut laryngeal or contraction of \*ryaHač-.

ECh \*ryaHV<sub>s</sub>- “sow”: Dng *rēse*.

Metathesis.

An alternative reconstruction is \*rehač-.

## 1267 \*hibVr- “harvest”

Sem \*hibūr- “harvest”: Akk *ebūru*.

Derived from \*h<sub>1</sub>VbVr- “gather”.

WCh \*h<sub>1</sub>irVb- “harvest, reap”: Hs *gīrbā*.

Metathesis.

1268 \*h<sub>1</sub>ical- “lizard”

Sem \*h<sub>1</sub>isl- “small lizard”: Arab *hisl*.

CCh \*cal- “lizard”: Hwn *ta-sala*, Gis *me-selesele*.

Various prefixes in individual languages. Assimilation of vowels in Gis.

Any connection with Berb \*<sub>2</sub>asVl- “snake, viper” (Ayr *aššēl*, Ahg *āššēl*, Twl *aššōl*) or Berb \*hažVr- “lizard” (Izy *hažžēl*)?

## 1269 \*hidab- “bend”

Sem \*h<sub>1</sub>Vdab- “be curved”: Arab *hdb* [-a-].

Cf. also Hss *hedeb* “hunch-backed”, Mhr *hedēb* id., Shh *hideb* id.

CCh \*diHVb- “bend”: Daba *dīb*.

Metathesis.

An alternative reconstruction is \*dihab-.

## 1270 \*hig- “plant”

Sem \*hig- “thorny plant”: Akk *egu*, *igu*.

LEC \*hig- “kind of aloe”: Som *hig*-.

## 1271 \*hin- “grow”

Berb \*h<sub>1</sub>Vn- “be inflated”: Kby *ehnnenni*.

Eg *hn* “grow” (gr).

ECh \*hin- “increase”: Lele *hin*.

Irregular \*h-.

## 1272 \*hint- “cereal”

Sem \*hint- “barley, grain”: Akk *uṭṭutu*, Ug *hṭt*, Hbr *hittā*, Aram *hint-ət*, Arab *hint-at*, Soq *hinteh*.

HEC \*hint-/hant- “grass”: Had *hiṭe*, Kmb *hiṭe*, Bmb *hanṭe*.

\*-nṭ- > -ṭ- in Had and Kmb.

Cf. \*h<sub>1</sub>und- “cereal”.

## 1273 \*hir- “snake”

Eg *hrr.t* “kind of snake, worm” (reg).

ECh \*hir- “snake”: Tum *hirə*.

Irregular ECh \*h-.

1274 \*hirba<sup>3</sup>- “chameleon”

Sem \*hirbā<sup>3</sup>- “chameleon”: Arab *hirbā<sup>3</sup>*.

ECh \*hir(V)b- “chameleon”: Mubi *hirbe*.

Irregular ECh \*h-. Sem loanword?

Derived from \*hir- “snake”. An ancient composite?

## 1275 \*his- “faeces”

Eg *hs* “faeces” (pyr).

WCh \*hisa- “faeces”: Sura *ḡes*, Chip *ees*, Ank *ḡes*, Geji *išī*, Say *nyis*, Buli *ḡiš*.

ECh \*ḡis- “faeces”: Smr *ḡiš-ny*, Ndam *ḡisi-n*, Jegu *ḡis*, Sok *iššī*.

## 1276 \*hogil- “go, cross”

Sem \*h<sub>1</sub>Vgil-/h<sub>1</sub>Vgul- “skip along”: Arab *hgl* [-i-, -u-].

ECh \*<sub>2</sub>wagil- “cross” <sup>1</sup>, “jump” <sup>2</sup>: Mobu *ogole* <sup>1</sup>, Mkk *ḡigila* <sup>2</sup>.

1277 \*ho<sup>c</sup>- “medicine, poison”

Eg *wh<sup>c</sup>.t* “poison” (n).

Vocalic *w-*.

CCh \**χwaH-* > \**χway-* “medicine”: HNk *wiye*, FKl *wey*, Kap *ɾwe*,  
Fgl *ɾwo<sup>3</sup>yi*.

Cf. Asa *ho<sup>c</sup>-* “cure” (v.).

## 1278 \*hok- “scratch”

Sem \**huk-* “scratch, rub, scrape”: Akk *ekēku*, MHbr *hkk*, Aram  
(Syr) *hkk*, Arab *hkk* [-*u-*], Gz *hkk*, Hss *hek*.

SA \**hakuk-* “scratch”: Saho *hakuk*, Afar *hakuk*.

Partial reduplication.

LEC \**hek-/hok-* “scratch”: Som *hoq-*, Or *hooq-*, Rnd *ox-*, Gid *heq-*,  
Arb *heeq-*.

Any connection with \**hak-* “stone” (“stone” as a scraping  
tool)?

## 1279 \*hol- “jump”

Sem \**hul-* “jump (on horse back)”: Arab *hul* [-*u-*].

ECh \**wal-* “jump”: Tum *wal*.

## 1280 \*honbal- “bean”

Sem \**hunbul-* “haricot”: Arab *hunbul-*.

Assimilation of vowels.

WCh \**mVbwaHal-* “beans”: Sura *mbwaalaa*.

Metathesis. Assimilation of \**-nb-* > \**-mb-*.

\**hon-* may be a prefix. Cf. CCh \**bul-* < \**HVbul-* “corn,  
grain”: Mnd *hula*, Gvo *hula*.

## 1281 \*hos- “cold” (n.)

Eg *hsy* “cold” (NK).

Vocalic *-y* reflecting one of HS front vowels.

CCh \**χVs-* “cold”: Gaa *həs*, Gbn *χəs*.

ECh \**was-* “wind”: Mig *ussu*, Jegu *os*, Sok *oso*.

## 1282 \*hoy- “break, strike”

Eg *hwy* “strike” (pyr).

Vocalic *-w-*.

WCh \**hway-* “break”: Fyer *hoyo*.

## 1283 \*hul- “bird”

Eg *hn* “kind of bird” (pyr).

Note Eg *-n* < HS \**-l-*.

CCh \**χuli-* “dove”: HNk *χwuli*, HGh *χwuli*, Kap *χwuli*.

Cf. Dhl *hille* “owl”.

## 1284 \*hul- “untie”

Sem \**hul-* “untie”: Arab *hll* [-*u-*].

WCh \**hal-* < \**hula-* “loosen”: Bol *all-*.

CCh \**ul-* “untie”: Lame *ulee-*, LPe *olai*.

Irregular \**ul-* < \**h-*.

ECh \**wul-* < \**ul-* “loosen”: Ndam *wule*.

## 1285 \*hum- “be hot”

Sem \**hum-* “be hot” <sup>1</sup>, “warm” <sup>2</sup>: Akk *emēmu* <sup>1</sup>, Hbr *hām* <sup>2</sup>, Aram  
(Syr) *ham* <sup>1</sup>, Arab *hmm* [-*u-*] <sup>1</sup>.

Eg *hm* “be inflamed” (XVIII).

Secondary modification of the laryngeal?

Rift \**ham-* “heat (v.)”: Irq *ham-esa*.

Cf. Irq *hame* “sweat”.

## 1286 \*hum- “drive, move”

Eg *hmy* “move away” (pyr).

*-y* is a suffix.

CCh \**χum-* “drive”: FG *əχam-ti*, Gudu *umsa*, Bch *omo*.

## 1287 \*hun- “son, child”

Eg *hwn* “boy” (pyr).

WCh \**wun-* < \**hun-* “son”: Dwot *wun*, Buli *uni*, Bade *wun*.

Related to \**henin-* “penis, testicles”?

## 1288 \*ḥunaḥ- ‘‘be afraid’’

Eg *ḥnḥ* ‘‘fright’’ (l).

Deverbative noun.

CCh \**ḥunaḥ*- ‘‘be afraid’’: Msg *ḥunay*.

Partial reduplication?

## 1289 \*ḥupet- ‘‘go’’

Eg *ḥpt* ‘‘go’’ (XVIII).WCh \**Hupyat*-/ \**puHyat*- ‘‘go out’’: Ank *pet*, Sura *put*, Ang *put*, Mpn *pūt*, Bol *pete*.CCh \**put*- ‘‘enter’’: Gudu *pət*, Bch *puṛo*, Mwl *uputo*, Mus *put*.Cf. Mofu *pat*, *pet* ‘‘go out’’. From \**puHVt*-, cf. WCh.Cf. also Akk *ḥabātu* ‘‘wander’’.

## 1290 \*ḥusam- ‘‘weapon’’

Sem \**ḥušām*- ‘‘sabre’’: Arab *ḥusām*-.Related to Arab *ḥsm* [-i-] ‘‘cut’’.ECh \**sVm*- ‘‘axe’’: Smr *suma*, Sok *som*.

Loss of the anlaut laryngeal.

\**ḥu*- may be a prefix.

## 1291 \*ḥusem- ‘‘mouse’’

Sem \**[ḥ]ušum*- ‘‘reed-mouse’’: Akk *ušummu*.

Assimilation of vowels.

CCh \**ḥuṣyam*- ‘‘rat’’: Log *uḥsemī*.Initial Log *u*- reflects the vowel of the first syllable.

## 1292 \*ḥVbüs- ‘‘bind, sew’’

Sem \**ḥVbiš*- ‘‘bind’’<sup>1</sup>, ‘‘envelop’’<sup>2</sup>: Hbr *ḥbš*<sup>1</sup>, Arab *ḥbs* [-i-]<sup>2</sup>.ECh \**bVHus*- ‘‘sew’’: Smr *buse*.

Metathesis.

## 1293 \*ḥVčuk- ‘‘knife’’

Eg *ḥsk.t* ‘‘knife’’ (BD).WCh \**čuk*- ‘‘knife’’: Ang *čuk*, Mpn *čuka*.

Loss of the anlaut laryngeal.

\**ḥV*- may be a prefix.

## 1294 \*ḥVdog- ‘‘arrow’’

Sem \**ḥVdig*- ‘‘shoot (of an arrow)’’: Arab *ḥdg* [-i-].

Denominative verb with a modified vocalism.

WCh \**dVg*- ‘‘arrow’’: Ngz *daga*.HEC \**dog*- ‘‘arrow’’: Sid *doga*.\**ḥV*- may be a prefix.

## 1295 \*ḥVkay- ‘‘call’’

Sem \**ḥVkVy*- ‘‘tell, inform’’: Arab *ḥky* [-i-, -u-].ECh \**Vwak*-/ \**Vyak*- ‘‘call’’: Sbn *ʿwag-a*, Tum *wəg*, Ndam *wuga*,Kwn *e:ke*, Mkk *wiike*.

Metathesis.

## 1296 \*ḥVmač- ‘‘be sour’’

Sem \**ḥVmaš*- ‘‘be sour’’: Akk *emēšu*, Hbr *ḥmš*, Arab *ḥmd* [-a-, -u-],Hss *ḥāmez*.

Secondary \*-u- after a labial.

Eg *ḥmd* ‘‘vinegar’’ (n).Derived from \**ḥam*- ‘‘salt’’. For this type of semantic evolution cf. OEng *sūr*, Eng *sour* ~ Lith *sūrus* ‘‘salt’’ (adj.).

## 1297 \*ḥVmus- ‘‘roast’’

Sem \**ḥVmuš*- ‘‘roast’’: Arab *ḥms* [-u-].CCh \**mVs*- ‘‘roast’’: Daba *məsa*.Loss of \**HV*-.\**ḥV*- may be a prefix. On the other hand, cf. HS \**ḥam*- ‘‘be hot’’.

## 1298 \*hVmVr- “be red”

Sem \*hVmVr- “be red”: Akk *emēru*, Arab *hmr*.

Eg *lmṣw* “red color” (NK).

Irregular laryngeal. Sem loanword?

## 1299 \*hVrabib- “cold, wind”

Eg *hnb̄b* “wind” (gr).

Note -n- < HS \*-r-.

WCh \*raḫib- < \*HVrabib- “coldness”: Wrj *raḫibya*.

Emphatic -ḫ- < \*-b- under the influence of \*h-.

## 1300 \*hVsaw-/hVsay- “drink”

Sem \*hVšVw- “drink”: Arab *ḥsw* [-u-].

WCh \*swaH-/say-/saH- “drink”: Hs *šā*, Sura *šwā*, Ang *šwē*, Chip *šuu*, Ank *sua*, Grk *ta*, Bol *s*, *sa*, Krk *s*, *sa*, Pero *že*, Ngm *sowoo*, Bele *hee*, Krf *see*, Gera *še*, Glm *še-*, Grm *šee-*, Wrj *sa*, Kry *sa*, Diri *čā*, Miya *sa*, Paa *sa*, Cagu *šā*, Siri *sa*, Mbu *sa*, *si*, Jmb *sa*, *si*, Fyer *šo*, DB *šoh* Ngz *sau*.

\*swaH- goes back to \*sVwaH- (metathesis of the original HS \*hVsaw-) or to \*saw-. The original initial cluster \*hV- may be reflected in secondary laterals of Geji *šawi*, Pol *šiyu*.

CCh \*sa-/si- “drink”: Gbn *ši*, Hwn *sa*, Kl̄b *še*, Mrg *s̄*, FK̄i *sa*, Mofu -s-, Bld *si*, Muk *sa*, Daba *sa*, Gudu *sa*, FJ *se*, FMb *si*, Mwu *usa*, Log *se*, Bud *hi*, Msg *sa*, Gid *sa*.

The original form of the root \*saw-/say- was modified in CCh.

ECh \*saw-/say- “drink”: Smr *ša*, Tum *he*, Kbl *suwə*, Kera *se*, Dng *sēē*, Brg *saya*, Sok *sa*.

\*hV- may be a prefix. Consonantal alternation \*-w- ~ \*-y-.

## 1301 \*hVsub- “count”

Sem \*hVšub- “count, think”: Hbr *ḥšb*, Aram (Syr) *ḥšb*, Arab *ḥsb* [-u-], Gz *ḥsb*, Hss *hesōb*.

ECh \*ṽVsb- “count”: Sbn *ṽasba*.

## 1302 \*hVtVr- “pay”

Sem \*hVtVr- “pay”: Akk *eṭēru*.

Eg *ḫtr* “pay” (n).

## 1303 \*hVw- “rain” (v.)

Eg *ḫwy* “rain, flow” (MK).

ECh \*ṽVw- “rain” (v.): Sbn *ṽwā*.

Note ECh \*ṽ-.

## 1304 \*hVz- “vessel”

Eg *ḫz.t* “bottle” (OK).

CCh \*ḫVz- “pot”: Tera *həža*.

## 1305 \*hVzim- “sharp object, cut”

Sem \*hVdim- “cut”: Arab *ḥdm* [-i-].

CCh \*žam- < \*žyam- “spear”: Msm *džam*.

Semantic connection is dubious.

\*h

## 1306 \*ḥa- “be young”

Eg *ḥ* “young” (med).

CCh \*ḡa-ḡa- “new”<sup>1</sup>, “young”<sup>2</sup>: Mba *haha*<sup>1</sup>, Msg *ḥaḥai*<sup>2</sup>.

Reduplication.

Note the rare structure of the root \*CV-, cf. also \*ḥa- “speak”.

## 1307 \*ḥa- “speak”

CCh \*ḡa- “speak”: Chb *ḡa*.

Dhl -ḡa “answer” (v.).

Unexpected reflex of \*ḥ-.

## 1308 \*Ḥaʔ-/Ḥaw- “altar, throne”

Sem \*Ḥaʔ- “throne canopy”: Akk ḥaʔu.

Eg ḥʔw.t “altar” (pyr).

-ʔ stands for a vowel.

Consonantal alternation \*ʔ- ~ \*-w-.

## 1309 \*Ḥaʔ-/Ḥaw- “grind, beat”

CCh \*ḡaʔ- “grind”: Gis ḥeʔe, Log ḡa.

Assimilation of vowels in Gis.

LEC \*ḥaw- “beat”: Som ḥaawi.

Rift \*ḥaʔ- “grind corn”: Kwz ḥaʔ-it-.

Consonantal alternation \*ʔ- ~ \*-w-.

## 1310 \*Ḥaʔ-/Ḥuʔ- “fire”

CCh \*ḡuʔ- “fire”: Mba hū, HNk ḡwi, Kap ḡwi, FG ḡo, FKl uḡu.

Rift \*ḥaʔ- “fire”: Kwz ḥaʔo.

Alternation \*a ~ \*u. Cf. Eg ḥʔ “roast” (n) if only it is not related to HS \*ḡar-/ḡawar- “burn”.

## 1311 \*Ḥab- “charcoal”

CCh \*ḡVbu-n- “charcoal”: Lam uḡvii-ni, Zgh uvu-re, Glv ʔḡvu-ra, Nak oḡvə-ra.

Rhotacism in individual CCh languages is regular.

Rift \*ḥab- “charcoal”: Irq ḥawo, Alg ḥabi, Bur ḥabo.

Note \*-b- > Irq -w-.

## 1312 \*Ḥab- “water flow”

Sem \*ḥVb- “scoop, draw water”: Akk ḥabū.

Denominative verb.

WCh \*ḥyab- < \*ḥabya- “stream”: Hs ḡēbe.

CCh \*ḡab(ya)- “water”: Bch ḡabyiy.

Emphatization of -ḥ- under the influence of the laryngeal.

## 1313 \*Ḥab-/Ḥabiʔ- “vessel”

Sem \*ḥābiʔ-/ḥābiy- “jug, bowl”: Arab ḥābiʔ-at-, ḥābiy-at-, Gz ḥəbay.

Berb \*ḥVb- “big wooden plate”: Izy iḥebbi.

Eg ḥbb “vessel” (MK).

Partial reduplication.

WCh \*ḥabi(?) - “pot”<sup>1</sup>, “gourd”<sup>2</sup>: Bol ḡewi<sup>1</sup>, Krk ḡaabi<sup>1</sup>, Ngm ḡabi<sup>1</sup>, Krf ḡibi<sup>1</sup>, Ngz ḡabiya<sup>2</sup>.

LEC \*ḥabub- “large gourd”: Or ḥabubbii.

Partial reduplication.

Eg and LEC may reflect HS \*ḥabub-.

## 1314 \*Ḥabal- “weakness”

Sem \*ḥabal- “lawlessness, oppression”<sup>1</sup>, “ache, pain, sickness”<sup>2</sup>:

Akk ḥabālu<sup>1</sup>, Hbr ḥēbel<sup>2</sup>, Arab ḥabal-, ḥabāl-<sup>2</sup>.

CCh \*ḥVl- “weakness”: Mofu bəle.

The initial syllable is lost.

ECh \*ḡVbal- “weaken”: Sbn ḥəbal.

Denominative verb.

## 1315 \*Ḥabal- “tie, plait”

Sem \*ḥVbul- “tie (with a rope)”: Akk ḥabālu, Arab ḥbl [-u-].

Irregular Akk ḥ- ~ Arab ḥ-.

WCh \*baHal- “tie”: Hs ḥalla, Sura ḥal, Geji ḥāliwi.

Metathesis. Emphatic ḥ- reflects the inlaut laryngeal.

CCh \*baHal- “plait”: Bch bālə.

Metathesis. Bch long -ā- results from a contraction of \*-aHa-.

An alternative reconstruction is \*baḥal-.

## 1316 \*Ḥabay- “dance” (v.)

Eg ḥby “dance” (v.).

Bed hawaay- “dance”.

From \*ḥabay-. Note the development of intervocalic \*-b-.

## 1317 \*Ḥabur- “wine”

Sem \*ḥabur- “kind of wine”: Akk ḥabburu.



Secondary \*-u-?

Eg *hbj* ‘stage in beer fermentation’ (med).

Irregular *h-*. -ʒ reflects \*-r-.

A cultural loanword?

### 1318 \*haç- ‘axe’

Sem \**hašš-* ‘axe’: Akk *hašš-innu*.

HEC \**haç-* ‘chopping tool’: Bmb *haacce*.

Bmb -c- < \*-ç-?

Connected with \**hoç-* ‘break’.

### 1319 \*haç- ‘leaf, plant’

Sem \**hūš-* ‘leaf’: Aram *hūš-*, Arab *hūš-*, Soq *hēš-*.

Contraction of \**hVwVš-*.

Eg *hd.t* ‘kind of plant’ (n).

Irregular reflex of \**h*.

Agaw \**xaç-* ‘leaf’: Xmr *hašaa*, *hača*, Kwr *ašaa*, Aun *yači*.

### 1320 \*hač- ‘become dark’

Sem \**hašVw-* ‘become dark’: Akk *hašû*.

WCh \**hač-* ‘night’: Geji *gasi*, Buli *ngasi*, Tule *gašə*.

Prefix \**nV-* in Buli.

LEC \**as-* ‘evening’: Som *asə*.

Irregular *č-*.

HEC \**hašš-* ‘come (of evening)’: Dar *hašš-*, Sid *hašš-*.

### 1321 \*hača- ‘be silent’

Sem \**hVša-* ‘be humble’<sup>1</sup>, ‘be calm’<sup>2</sup>: Arab *hšc* [-a-]<sup>1</sup>, Gz *hšc*<sup>2</sup>.

SA \**asa-* ‘keep silence’: Saho *asaa-*.

Unexpected reflex of \**h*.

Rift \**hač-* ‘be silent’: Irq *hač-*.

### 1322 \*had- ‘cheek’

Sem \**hadd-* ‘cheek’: Arab *hadd-*, Jib *had*, Hss *hadd*.

ECh \**rad-* ‘cheek’: Jegu *gede*, Brg *gad-ago*.

Emphatization in Brg caused by HS \**h-*.

### 1323 \*hadar- ‘darkness’

Sem \**hadar-* ‘be dark’<sup>1</sup>, ‘darkness’<sup>2</sup>: Akk *hadāru*<sup>1</sup>, Arab *hadar-*<sup>2</sup>.

Cf. Hss *hedōr* ‘put up a sunshade’, Mhr *hedōr* id., Shh *hodor* id.

WCh \**dar-* ‘night’: Hs *darē*.

Loss of the anlaut laryngeal.

\**ha-* may be a prefix. Cf. also CCh \**adur-* ‘evening’ (Msg *adura*).

### 1324 \*hadir-/hadur- ‘sleep, be benumbed’

Sem \**hVdVr-* ‘remain and keep to a place, be benumbed’: Arab *hadr*.

SA \**hVdir-* ‘sleep’: Afar *-ihdir-*.

LEC \**hudur-* ‘sleep’: Som *hurd-*, Rnd *udur-*, Bay *hudur-*.

Assimilation of vowels. Metathesis in Som. Note the reflex of

HS \**h-*.

Dhl *haddura* ‘sleep’.

### 1325 \*haduč- ‘fly’ (n.)

Sem \**haduš-* ‘fly’: Arab *haduš-*.

WCh \**HVdič-* < \**HVduči-* ‘fly’: Sura *diši*.

### 1326 \*ha‘ay- ‘house’

Eg *hcy.t* ‘house’ (gr).

CCh \**yaʔ-/ʔay-* < \**yaʔay-* ‘house’<sup>1</sup>, ‘compound’<sup>2</sup>: Zgh *yaya*<sup>1</sup>,

Log *yaʔa*<sup>1</sup>, Mnd *xa*<sup>2</sup>, FKl *ɣə*<sup>2</sup>, FGl *ɣyi*<sup>2</sup>, HK *ye*<sup>2</sup>.

### 1327 \*halak- ‘clothes’

WCh \**hal(V)k-* ‘leather covering loin’: Hs *galko*.

Irregular \*-k-.

Bed *halak* ‘‘cloth, kerchief’’.

Irregular \*-k-.

SA \**halag*- ‘‘rag, clothes’’: Saho *halaga*, Afar *halago*.

Note HS \**k* > SA \**g*.

Any connection with Sem \**hulāk*-/ \**hālūk*- ‘‘old or torn clothes’’ (Akk *hulāqu*, Hbr *hālūq*, Aram *halūqā*, Arab *hālūq*, Soq *halag*)? The Sem word may be derived from Sem \**hVlV*- ‘‘be torn’’. In any case the correspondence of velars is irregular.

### 1328 \**halak*-/ \**haluk*- ‘‘give birth, create’’

Sem \**hVluk*- ‘‘create’’: Arab *hlq* [-u-].

WCh \**laHaḱ*- ‘‘give birth’’: Sura *laak*.

Metathesis and contaction.

An alternative reconstruction is \**lahak*-/ \**lahuk*-.

### 1329 \**halat*-/ \**haliṭ*- ‘‘mix’’

Sem \**hVliṭ*- ‘‘mix’’: Arab *hlṭ* [-i-], Hss *helōt*, Mhr *helōt*, Shh *holot*.

WCh \**lawat*- < \**laHaṭ*- ‘‘mix’’: Bks *lawat*.

Metathesis.

CCh \**layat*- ‘‘mix’’: Mofu *lahad*.

Metathesis.

An alternative reconstruction is \**lahat*-/ \**lahiṭ*-.

### 1330 \**ham*- ‘‘male relative’’

Sem \**ham*- ‘‘father-in-law’’: Akk *emu*, Hbr *hām*, Aram (Syr) *h<sup>e</sup>-mō*, Arab *ham(w)*-.

CCh \**γam*- ‘‘chief’’: Bata *home*, Bch *hōme*, *hamey*.

Dhl *hame* ‘‘uncle’’.

### 1331 \**hama*<sup>2</sup>- ‘‘rebellion’’

Sem \**hamā*<sup>2</sup>- ‘‘rebellion’’: Akk *hammā<sup>2</sup>u*.

Eg *iḥm.w* ‘‘enemies’’ (XVIII).

Metathesis.

An alternative reconstruction is \**aham*- . A cultural *Wanderwort*?

### 1332 \**ha(n)ôob*- ‘‘tree, wood’’

Sem \**hašab*- ‘‘timber’’: Arab *hašab*-.

Delabialized vowel of the second syllable.

WCh \**êaHwab*- ‘‘tree’’: Bol *šōwi*, Dera *šoḥi*.

LEC \**hançab*- ‘‘kind of tree’’: Or *hançabi*.

Inlaut -ç- may be a result of secondary emphatization caused by the laryngeal. -nç- may go back to a HS prenasalized cluster.

### 1333 \**hansab*- ‘‘vessel’’

Sem \**hanzab*- ‘‘kind of pot’’: Akk *hanzabu*.

Is Sem \*-nz- a regular reflex of the HS cluster \*-ns-?

Eg *hnbys* ‘‘vessel’’ (MK).

Metathesis. Note *h*- < \**h*-. The vowel of the second syllable is marked with -y-.

An alternative reconstruction is \**hanbas*- . An ancient cultural word.

### 1334 \**har*- ‘‘excrements’’

Sem \**har*<sup>2</sup>-/ \**hary*- ‘‘excrements’’: Hbr *harā<sup>2</sup>īm*, Aram (Syr) *herāy*-, Arab *hary*-.

SA \**har*- ‘‘excrements’’: Saho *haraa*, Afar *haraa*.

LEC \**har*- ‘‘excrements’’: Som *haar*.

HEC \**har*- ‘‘mud’’: Had *hara*, Kmb *haro*.

Related to \**har*- ‘‘defecate’’.

### 1335 \**har*- ‘‘river’’

Sem \**harr*- ‘‘watercourse’’: Akk *harru*.

LEC \**har*- ‘‘lake’’ <sup>1</sup>, ‘‘river’’ <sup>2</sup>; Som *haro* <sup>1</sup>, Arb *haru* <sup>2</sup>, Or *haroo* <sup>1</sup>.

### 1336 \**har*- ‘‘defecate’’

Eg *whj* ‘‘defecate’’ (OK).

Initial *w*- reflects a prefix.

LEC \**har*- ‘defecate’: Som *haar*-.

### 1337 \**has*- ‘grass’

WCh \**hasu*- ‘grass’: Zar *gwas*.

ECh \**was*- ‘grass’: Bid *ʔawso*.

Secondary \*-*wa*-?

LEC \**haš*- ‘leaf’: Kns *haša*.

### 1338 \**hasay*- ‘grass’

Sem \**hašVy*- ‘thymian’: Akk *hašū*.

Eg *hʔsy.t* ‘medicinal herb’ (med).

-*ʔ*- is a vocalic sign.

WCh \**hasay*- ‘grass’: Hs *gāsayā*.

Derived from \**has*- ‘grass’.

### 1339 \**has*-/\**hus*- ‘rub, pound’

Sem \**hVš*- ‘crush, pound’: Akk *hašū*.

CCh \**γus*- ‘crush, rub’: Mafa *hus*-.

Bed -*hasi*- ‘rub’.

SA \**hes*- ‘rub, pound’: Saho *hesi*-.

*e* < \**a* after a laryngeal?

HEC \**has*- ‘rub’: Bmb *haas-iy*-.

Alternation \**a* ~ \**u*.

### 1340 \**hatVm*- ‘face, nose’

Sem \**hatm*-/\**haṭm*- ‘nose, beak’: Hbr *hoṭem*, Arab *ḥatm*-.

Secondary emphatic in Hbr.

Eg *hnt* ‘face’ (pyr).

Metathesis and regressive assimilation of \*-*mt*- > -*nt*-.

### 1341 \**haṭ*- ‘dig’

ECh \**γat*- ‘dig’: Brg *gatt*-.

LEC \**haḍ*- ‘dig’: Or *haaḍa*.

HEC \**haḍ*- ‘dig’: Kmb *haaḍ*-.

### 1342 \**hawVy*- ‘evening’

Eg *hʔwy* ‘evening’ (pyr).

Vocalic -*ʔ*-.

CCh \**γawVy*- ‘yesterday’: Mnd *ʔawəya*.

A regular reflex of \**γ*- in Mnd, cf. s.v. \**hay*- ‘voice’.

### 1343 \**hay*- ‘voice’

CCh \**γay*- ‘voice’: Gava *γaya*, Mnd *ʔiye*.

Secondary -*i*- in Mnd before -*γ*-.

Dhl *hwayu* ‘voice, sound, noise’.

Sources of Dhl -*wa*- are unknown.

Related to \**ha*- ‘speak’.

### 1344 \**hazod*- ‘rot, be rotten’

Eg *hzd* ‘rot’ (n.) (l).

ECh \**ʒaHwad*- ‘rotten’: Dng *zōḍe*, Bid *zooḍ*.

Metathesis. Note emphatic -*ḍ*- reflecting the lost laryngeal.

An alternative reconstruction is \**ʒaḥod*-.

### 1345 \**hef*- ‘be light’

Sem \**hip*- ‘be light’: Arab *ḥff* [-*i*-], Hss *ḥef*, Mhr *ḥef*, Shh *ḥef*.

WCh \**fifya*- ‘light’ (adj.): Fyer *fifyo*.

From reduplicated \**HVfif*-?

ECh \**γyaf*- ‘light’ (adj.): Sok *effi*.

LEC \**ha[f]*- ‘thin, light’: Or *happii*.

Secondary Or -*p*- may go back to \*-*f*- in contact with a laryngeal. The vocalism is irregular.

### 1346 \**hek*- ‘wait’

Sem \**hVkVy*- ‘wait’: Hbr *ḥky*.

Based on biconsonantal \**hVk*-.

WCh \**hyak*- ‘wait’: DB *gyok*, Fyer *kwek*.

1347 \*h<sub>1</sub>il- ‘‘pierce’’

Sem \*h<sub>1</sub>VlVy- ‘‘cut’’: Arab hly [-i-].

Based on biconsonantal \*h<sub>1</sub>Vl-.

ECh \*γil- ‘‘pierce’’: Sok gile.

Alternation \*i ~ \*u.

1348 \*h<sub>1</sub>ilVp- ‘‘field’’

Sem \*h<sub>1</sub>ilVp- ‘‘meadow’’: Akk h<sub>1</sub>ilēpu.

Eg hnp.t ‘‘field’’ (XVIII).

Note -n- < HS \*-l-.

1349 \*h<sub>1</sub>iš- ‘‘peel’’

Sem \*nVh<sub>1</sub>as- ‘‘peel off (bark)’’: Arab nhš [-a-].

Prefix \*nV- with modified vocalism.

Dhl hitl- ‘‘scrape scales off fish’’.

Rift \*h<sub>1</sub>iš- ‘‘peel’’: Irq h<sub>1</sub>iš-it-.

1350 \*h<sub>1</sub>iyal- ‘‘be clever’’

Sem \*h<sub>1</sub>il- ‘‘imagine’’<sup>1</sup>, ‘‘think’’<sup>2</sup>: Arab hyl [-a-]<sup>1</sup>, Gz hly<sup>2</sup>.

LEC \*hil- ‘‘clever’’: Or hilluu, Boni hilluu.

Contraction of \*h<sub>1</sub>iyVl-.

1351 \*h<sub>1</sub>oç- ‘‘break’’

Sem \*h<sub>1</sub>Vç- ‘‘break off’’: Akk hašāšu.

CCh \*γwac- ‘‘break’’: Mafa hwac-.

1352 \*h<sub>1</sub>ol- ‘‘cut’’

Sem \*h<sub>1</sub>ul- ‘‘pierce’’: Hbr hll, Arab hll [-u-].

ECh \*γwal- ‘‘cut (animal) into pieces’’: Kera hole.

1353 \*h<sub>1</sub>om- ‘‘be sick, be ill’’

Sem \*h<sub>1</sub>VmVy- ‘‘be paralysed’’: Akk hamû.

Based on biconsonantal \*h<sub>1</sub>Vm-.

Eg hm ‘‘illness (of stomach)’’ (med).

ECh \*γwam- ‘‘be sick, be ill’’: Lele homya, Kbl hum-qa.

1354 \*h<sub>1</sub>on- ‘‘sack’’

Eg hn ‘‘sack’’ (XXII).

ECh \*γwan-H- ‘‘sack’’: Kera hoŋ.

Secondary \*-H- in the auslaut.

1355 \*h<sub>1</sub>on- ‘‘do, make’’

Eg hn ‘‘do, make’’ (n).

CCh \*γwan- ‘‘do, make’’: Log γən, Bud wan.

1356 \*h<sub>1</sub>or- ‘‘dry up’’

Sem \*nVh<sub>1</sub>Vr- ‘‘dry’’ (adj.): Akk nahru.

Prefix \*nV-.

CCh \*γwar- ‘‘dry up’’: Tera γwari, Hwn xwar, Boka xweri, FG γwoli, HF γwelo, FJ xweru, FMch xuri, Nza hore, Mafa gwar.

1357 \*h<sub>1</sub>or- ‘‘snore’’

Sem \*h<sub>1</sub>ir-/\*h<sub>1</sub>ur- ‘‘snore’’: Arab hrr [-i-, -u-].

WCh \*ha-hwar- ‘‘snore’’: Fyer gogor, Bks hagar, Sha ʾahagar, DB hagar.

Partial reduplication. Assimilation of vowels in individual languages.

CCh \*γur- ‘‘snore’’ (n.): Mafa ghur-ghur.

Reduplication.

1358 \*h<sub>1</sub>oras- ‘‘mountain’’

Sem \*hurš- ‘‘rock, mountain’’: Akk huršu, Hbr hōreš.

Eg h<sub>1</sub>s.t ‘‘mountainous region, desert’’ (pyr).

-j- < \*-r-.

WCh \*rwaHas- ‘‘mountain’’: Tala ro:si.

Metathesis.

1359 \**horug-* “move”

- Sem \**hVrug-* “go out, drive out”: Hbr *hrg*, Arab *hrg* [-u-], Hss *herōg*.  
 WCh \**Hwarug-* “drive away”<sup>1</sup>, “enter”<sup>2</sup>, “migrate”<sup>3</sup>: Hs  
*rūga*<sup>1</sup>, Jim *orogo*<sup>2</sup>, Buli *wərgu*<sup>2</sup>, Tala *rəga*<sup>2</sup>, Ngz *rəgu*<sup>3</sup>.  
 CCh \**rug-* “run”: Gude *rug-*.  
 The initial laryngeal is lost.

1360 \**horVç-* “receptacle”

- Sem \**hirs-* “basket”<sup>1</sup>, “water-jar”<sup>2</sup>: Arab *hirs-*<sup>1</sup>, Hss *harš*,  
*herōš*<sup>2</sup>.  
 Irregular vocalism.  
 CCh \**γwarVç-* “small pot”: HF *γwarčē*.  
 LEC \**horoç-* “pot”: Or *horoçoo*.  
 Assimilation of vowels.

1361 \**hotam-* “bird”

- Sem \**hutm-* “bird”: Akk *hutmu*.  
 ECh \**γatVm-* < \**γwatam-* “vulture”: Kera *atəme*.  
 Assimilation of vowels.

1362 \**hoṭ-* “go”

- Sem \**hVṭVw-* “march, go”: Arab *ḥṭw* [-u-].  
 Based on biconsonantal \**hVṭ-*.  
 CCh \**γwaṭ-* “return”: Masa *hōta*.

1363 \**hub-* “hole, pit”

- Sem \**habb-* “pit”: Akk *habbu*.  
 With secondary \*-a- before a labial.  
 Berb \**hVb-* “hole”: Izy *aḥbu*.  
 CCh \**γub-* “hole”: Lmn *oghuhu*.  
 Emphatization of -ḥ- under the influence of the laryngeal.

1364 \**hubu3-* “cereal”

- Sem \**hubz-* “bread”: Arab *hubz-*, Gz *ḥəbəst*, Hss *ḥabz*, Mhr *ḥabz*,  
 Shh *ḥobz*.

- CCh \**buz-* “millet”: Daba *vuži*.  
 Loss of the initial laryngeal.  
 ECh \**bus-* “seed”: Mkk *buzu*.  
 Loss of the initial laryngeal.  
 \**hu-* may be a prefix.

1365 \**hubV<sup>3</sup>-* “hoe, till” (v.)

- Sem \**habV<sup>3</sup>-* “hoe”: Akk *habūtu*.  
 \*-a- < \*-u- before the labial.  
 Eg *ḥbṣ* “dig, till” (pyr).  
 Denominative formation.  
 WCh \**hubV<sup>3</sup>-* “hoe, hoe-handle”: Krf *gufe*, Gera *guḥa*, Glm *giḥa*,  
 Bks *hub-eg*.  
 -ḥ- reflects the lost auslaut \*-ṽ-.

1366 \**hubVs-* “vessel”

- Sem \**hubš-* “clay vessel”: Akk *hubšašd*.  
 The root is preserved only in a form of a derivative.  
 Eg *ḥbs* “vessel for myrrha” (gr).  
 Cf. \**ḥansab-* “vessel”.

1367 \**hucig-* “stone”

- Sem \**husīg-* “stone”: Akk *husīgu*.  
 Eg *ḥsg* “stone” (XVIII).  
 Irregular ḥ- < \*ḥ-.

1368 \**hud-* “cut”

- Sem \**hud-* “cut”<sup>1</sup>, “dig, till”<sup>2</sup>: Akk *ḥadādu*<sup>1</sup>, Arab *ḥdd* [-u-]<sup>2</sup>.  
 CCh \**γud-* “cut”: Glv *γud-*, Nak *wiṛḍa*.  
 Prefix \**wi-* in Nak.  
 Cf. ECh \**γad-* < \**γwada-* “split”: Tum *gād*, Ndm *gəda*.

1369 \**hu<sup>c</sup>-* “put”

- Eg *ḥṣ<sup>c</sup>* “put, lay” (MK).

Traces of the *a*-grade?

CCh \**xy-* < \**yuʔi-* ‘‘put, throw’’: HNk *xye*, Log *hi*.

Irregular development of the initial laryngeal under the influence of the inlaut laryngeal.

### 1370 \**hun-* ‘‘voice, speech’’

Eg *hn* ‘‘speech’’ (MK).

WCh \**hun-* ‘‘sound or murmur of voices’’: Hs *gūnī*.

CCh \**yun-* ‘‘voice’’: HGh *xuna*.

### 1371 \**hun-* ‘‘tomb, grave’’

Eg *hnw* ‘‘tomb, burial place’’ (XVIII).

Vocalic *-w*.

ECh \**gun-* ‘‘grave’’: Tum *mu-gən*, Ndm *mu-gun*, Dng *ma-gine*, Kbl *čato-gun*.

Prefix \**ma-* in most forms. Connected with \**gwan-* ‘‘bury’’: Jegu *gon-t-*.

### 1372 \**hund-* ‘‘cereal’’

Eg *hnd* ‘‘kind of cereals’’.

WCh \**hund-* ‘‘Pennisetum typhoidaeum’’: Hs *gundu*.

Note emphatic *-d-* influenced by the anlaut laryngeal.

### 1373 \**hund-* ‘‘go’’

Eg *hnd* ‘‘go’’ (gr).

WCh \**wund-* < \**Hund-* ‘‘enter’’: Zar *wundī*.

The reconstruction of \**h-* follows from the emphatic reflecting a lost anlaut laryngeal. On the other hand, \**h* normally yields to Zar *g-*.

### 1374 \**hun3-/hun3-ir-* ‘‘pig’’

Sem \**hunzir-* ‘‘pig’’: Akk *huzīru*, Ug *hnzr*, Hbr *hʔzīr*, Aram (Syr) *hʔzira*, Arab *hinzīr-*.

Note the development of HS cluster \**-n3-* preserved only in Ug and Arab.

WCh \**hun3-* ‘‘wild boar’’: Hs *gunzū*.

CCh \**vinzir-* ‘‘pig’’: Ktk *hinzir*.

Assimilation of vowels. Sem loan-word?

ECh \**yunzir-* ‘‘pig’’<sup>1</sup>, ‘‘porcupine’’<sup>2</sup>; Dng *kinzir*<sup>1</sup>, Kbl *kunzu*<sup>2</sup>.

The reflex of HS \**h* in Dng is irregular. Assimilation of vowels in Dng.

Note LEC \**gol(V)3-* ‘‘boar’’ (Or *gol3aa*), HEC \**gol(V)3-* ‘‘boar’’ (Sid *golja*), Omot \**gudin-* ‘‘boar’’ (Ome *gudunča*, Kaf *gudino*), a *Wanderwort* of considerable resemblance to \**hun3(ir)-*. \**-n3-* seems to be a HS cluster. \**hun3-ir-* is a HS derivative. The original root is preserved only in the archaic WCh \**hun3-*.

### 1375 \**hur-* ‘‘dig’’

Sem \**hVr-* ‘‘dig’’: Akk *heru*, Ug *hr*, Gz *hrw*.

WCh \**hur-* ‘‘enlarge (hole, well)’’<sup>1</sup>, ‘‘dig’’<sup>2</sup>; Hs *gūre*<sup>1</sup>, Bol *gur*<sup>2</sup>.

LEC \**hur-* ‘‘make hole’’: Or *hura*.

### 1376 \**hur-* ‘‘hole, pit’’

Sem \**hurr-* ‘‘hole’’<sup>1</sup>, ‘‘grave’’<sup>2</sup>; Akk *hurru*<sup>1</sup>, Ug *hr*<sup>2</sup>, Hbr *hōr*<sup>1</sup>, Arab *hurr-*<sup>1</sup>, Hss *hurrayt*<sup>1</sup>.

Eg *hr* ‘‘tomb’’ (n).

WCh \**hir-* ‘‘pit, hole’’: Wrj *gir-na*, Kry *gir*, Miya *agir*, Paa *ngir*, Siri *γari*, Jmb *yira*, Brm *čir*, Say *gir*, Buli *yir*, Pol *gir*.

From \**huri-*?

LEC \**hur-* ‘‘hole’’: Or *huraa*.

Derived from \**hur-* ‘‘dig’’.

### 1377 \**huray-* ‘‘palm tree’’

Sem \**harVy-* ‘‘palm sprout’’: Akk *harū*.

Assimilation of vowels.

CCh \**yuray-* ‘‘Deleb palm’’: Msg *hurai*, *horai*.

Rift \**huray-* ‘‘Borassus palm’’: Irq *huray*.

### 1378 \**huru-* ‘‘steal’’

Eg *hur* ‘‘steal’’ (n).

Irregular laryngeal in late Eg. Vocalic *-w-*.

CCh \**γur*- ‘steal’: Chb *χul*-, Bura *χula*, HBaza *γuli*, HNK *γuli*-, FGI *γuli*, HGH *χuri*, FKİ *γuři*, Gude *χuř-n*, FJ *χuř*, Mwu *uhuro*, Lame *huřa*.

The second syllable is lost in CCH.

### 1379 \**hurVb*- ‘bend’

Eg *ħɔb* ‘crooked’ (med).

CCh \**γurVb*- ‘bend (down)’: Mafa *hurv*-.

### 1380 \**huṭ*- ‘dig, scratch’

Sem \**huṭ*- ‘dig’<sup>1</sup>, ‘make signs on the ground’<sup>2</sup>: Akk *ħaṭātu*<sup>1</sup> [-*u*-], Hss *ħṭāṭ*<sup>2</sup>, Mhr *ħeṭ*<sup>2</sup>, Shh *ħeṭ*<sup>2</sup>.

Dhl *hud*- ‘dig’.

Connected with \**haṭ*- ‘dig’.

### 1381 \**hüdad*- ‘stream, river’

Sem \**hidVd*- ‘narrow river-bed’: Jib *ħided*.

Based on \**had(d)*- ‘rivulet’ (Arab *ħadd*-)?

WCh \**hudad*- ‘stream, flow’: Hs *gudāda*.

### 1382 \**hVbuč*- ‘be angry’

Sem \**hVbuč*- ‘be angry, be malicious’: Arab *ħbṭ* [-*u*-].

WCh \**HVbuči*- ‘angry, bad’: Sura *biš*, Ang *bis*.

Voiced *b*- in Sura and Ang point out to a preceding syllable.

### 1383 \**hVĉun*- ‘be hard’

Sem \**hVšun*- ‘be hard’: Arab *ħšn* [-*u*-].

Assimilation of vowels in \**ħašan*-.

CCh \**šVn-H*- ‘hardness’: Masa *šeṇe*.

Metathesis of the laryngeal. Note the development of \**-n-H*- into *-ŋ*-.

### 1384 \**hVĉar*- ‘be green’

Sem \**hVšar*- ‘be green’: Arab *ħḍr* [-*a*-].

WCh \**ĉVr*- ‘green, unripe’: Ngz *šər-ət*.

Complete loss of the anlaut laryngeal.

\**hV*- may be a prefix. Any connection with \**hVĉeb*- ‘be green’?

### 1385 \**hVĉeb*- ‘be green’

Sem \**hVšib*- ‘be green’<sup>1</sup>, ‘paint’ (v.)<sup>2</sup>: Akk *ħašābu*<sup>1</sup>, Arab *ħḍb* [-*i*-]<sup>2</sup>.

CCh \*(*HV*)*žyab*- ‘green’: Log *žebā*.

Auslaut *-ā* in Log may reflect metathesis of the laryngeal and further lengthening of the vowel.

### 1386 \**hVf*- ‘break’

Sem \**hVpVy*- ‘break’: Akk *ħepū*.

Based on biconsonantal \**hVp*-.

Eg *ħfħf* ‘break (a statue)’ (sait).

Reduplication.

### 1387 \**hVI*- ‘close, lock’

Sem \**hVI*- ‘lock’ (v.): Akk *ħalālu*.

Eg *ħn* ‘close’ (XXII).

Irregular *ħ*- resulting from \**h*- in late Eg.

### 1388 \**hVIVy*- ‘shine’

Sem \**hVIVy*- ‘be light’: Akk *ħelū*.

Eg *ħy* ‘shine’ (XVIII).

Irregular *ħ*-.

### 1389 \**hVn*- ‘preserve, keep’

Sem \**ħan*- ‘storage place’: Jib *ħan*.

Deverbative?

CCh \**γVn*- ‘preserve, keep, store’: Mafa *ħən*.

### 1390 \**hVpaĉ*- ‘calf’ (anat.)

Eg *ħpš* ‘calf’ (pyr).

WCh \**pVhaĉ*- ‘‘calf’’: Mnt *pəyas*.  
Metathesis.

An alternative reconstruction is \**pVhaĉ*-.

### 1391 \*ḤVsiċ- ‘‘cut, pierce’’

Sem \**ḥVsiċ*- ‘‘pierce’’: Arab *ḥsq* [-i-].

ECh \**sik*- ‘‘cut’’: Brg *sikki*.

Rift \**siċ*- ‘‘cut’’: Irq *siq*-.

Loss of the anlaut laryngeal in ECh and Rift.

### 1392 \*ḤVtik- ‘‘cut, divide’’

Sem \**ḥVtik*- ‘‘cut off’’: Akk *ḥatāku*, Hbr *ḥtk*.

WCh \**tik*- ‘‘divide’’: Bol *tikk*-.

Cf. \**tik*- ‘‘half’’ (Bol *tika*, Dera *tik*, Tng *tik-t*).

CCh \**tik*- ‘‘divide’’: FM *tik*, Mrg *tikiya*.

The anlaut laryngeal is lost.

\**ḥV*- may be a prefix.

### 1393 \*ḤVtVm- ‘‘close’’

Sem \**ḥVtVm*- ‘‘stop up’’: Akk *ḥatāmu*.

Eg *ḥtm* ‘‘close’’ (pyr).

Cf. a metathesized deverbative in CCh \**tVγum*- ‘‘dam’’: Log *tχum*.

### 1394 \*ḤVwar-/\*ḤVyar- ‘‘be good’’

Sem \**ḥir*- ‘‘be favorable’’: Arab *ḥyr* [-i-].

CCh \**χwar*- < \**γVwar*- ‘‘good’’: Gava *χwara*.

Irregular laryngeal.

Consonantal alternation \*-w- ~ \*-y-.

### 1395 \*ḤVwiṭ-/ḤVyit- ‘‘sew, tie’’

Sem \**ḥūt*-/\**ḥit*- ‘‘sew’’: Aram *ḥwt*, Arab *ḥyt* [-i-], Hss *ḥeyōt*, Mhr *ḥetō*, Shh *ḥate*.

WCh \**ḥVwiṭ*- ‘‘untie’’: Bks *hwet*.

SA \**ḥid*- ‘‘attach camels in Indian file’’: Afar *ḥid*-.

Contraction.

LEC \**hiṭ*- ‘‘tie’’: Som *ḥed*-, *ḥid*-, Or *hid*-, Rnd *ḥid*-, Kon *hid*-, Gid *ḥid*-, Arb *hid*-.

HEC \**hiṭ*- ‘‘tie’’: Bmb *ḥid*-.

Rift \**ḥed*- ‘‘tie’’: Alg *ḥeed*-.

Irregular \*-d-.

Dhl *hud*- ‘‘sew’’.

Contraction. Irregular -d-.

Consonantal alternation \*-w- ~ \*-y-. Irregular auslaut stops in Rift and Dhl may be indications of their being loanwords from other Cush branches.

### 1396 \*ḤVwVċ-/ḤVyVċ- ‘‘go’’

Sem \**ḥūċ*- ‘‘go’’: Akk *ḥūqu*.

HEC \**hiċ*- < \**ḥVyVċ*- ‘‘approach’’: Bmb *hiik*-.

Contraction.

Consonantal alternation \*-w- ~ \*-y-.

### 1397 \*ḤVyVt- ‘‘see, watch’’

Sem \**ḥit*- ‘‘observe’’: Akk *ḥātu*.

Eg *ḥty* ‘‘see’’ (BD).

Metathesis. -t- < \*-t- is regular.

An alternative reconstruction is \**ḥVtVy*-.

\*k

### 1398 \*kaʔ- ‘‘game’’

Eg *ṭj.w* ‘‘game’’ (sait).

Note the palatalization of \*k-.

WCh \**kaʔaw*- ‘‘game’’: Ngz *kāwa*.

Suffix \*-aw-.



1399 \*ka<sup>2</sup>/\*kaw- ‘‘bull’’

Eg *kʷ* ‘‘bull’’ (pyr), Copt \**ko* id.: OCopt *ko*.

CCh \**kaw*- ‘‘bull’’: Glv *kawa*, Gava *kawa*, Mnd *kawa*.

Consonantal alternation \*-ʷ- ~ \*-w-.

1400 \*ka<sup>2</sup>- ‘‘say, shout’’

Eg *kʷ* ‘‘say’’ (NK).

CCh \**ka*<sup>2</sup>- ‘‘say, call’’: Log *ka*, Bud *ka žu*, HNK *ka*-, HF *ka*-, Tera *ga*.

ECh \**ka*<sup>2</sup>/\**kaw*- ‘‘say’’: Tum *kā*, Dng *kāwe*, Mubi *kā*.

Dhl *kaa*<sup>c</sup>- ‘‘shout’’.

-<sup>c</sup>- reflecting \*-ʷ-?

Rift \**kaw*- ‘‘tell’’: Bur *kaw*-.

1401 \*ka<sup>3</sup>oc- ‘‘vessel’’

Sem \**ka*<sup>3</sup>s- ‘‘vessel for beer’’<sup>1</sup>, ‘‘bowl’’<sup>2</sup>: Akk *kāsu*<sup>1</sup>, Arab *ka*<sup>3</sup>s-<sup>2</sup>, Hbr *kōs*<sup>2</sup>.

Eg *kʷs* ‘‘vessel’’ (l).

WCh \**kwac*- ‘‘kind of a drum’’: Hs *kōçō*.

Contraction from \**ka*<sup>3</sup>*wac*-.

CCh \**kwac*- ‘‘quiver’’: Hwn *kwasa-ra*, Gbn *kwiči-te*, Boka *kwes-ta*,

Wmd *kwaza*, Chb *kwaza*, Mrg *kwaza*, Gude *kwaza*, Mwl *koso-ro*,

Bch *kwoso-to*, FJ *kwaza*, Gudu *kwāza*.

Contraction from \**ka*<sup>3</sup>*wac*-?

1402 \*ka<sup>3</sup>up- ‘‘cover, close’’

Eg *skʷp* ‘‘cover’’ (caus.), Dem *kʷ* ‘‘cover’’, Copt \**kōp* ‘‘hide’’: Boh *kʷōp*, Shd *kōp*.

Cf. reduplicated *kʷpʷp* ‘‘cover (with butter, oil)’’ (sarc).

WCh \**kVʷup*- ‘‘cover, thatch’’<sup>1</sup>, ‘‘wrap’’<sup>2</sup>: Sura *kup*<sup>1</sup>, Ang *kūp*<sup>1</sup>, Mpn *kūp*<sup>2</sup>.

CCh \**kap*- ‘‘cover (with cloth)’’: Mafa *kap*.

Contraction from \**kaHup*-.

Wrz \**kup*- ‘‘close’’: Gaw *kup*.

Dhl *kupi*- ‘‘cover’’.

Rift \**kuf*- ‘‘close, shut’’: Kwz *kuf-um*-.

Semantic syncretism of ‘‘close’’, ‘‘shut’’ and ‘‘cover’’ as in Slav \**kryti*.

1403 \*ka<sup>3</sup>Vn- ‘‘be true’’

Sem \**kVʷVn*- ‘‘be true’’: Akk *kānu*.

CCh \**kan*- ‘‘true’’<sup>1</sup>, ‘‘truth’’<sup>2</sup>: Bch *kana*<sup>1</sup>, Bud *kani*<sup>2</sup>.

From \**kaHVn*-.

## 1404 \*kab- ‘‘burn, roast’’

Sem \**kVb*- ‘‘burn’’<sup>1</sup>, ‘‘smoulder’’<sup>2</sup>: Akk *kabābu*<sup>1</sup>, Hbr *kby*<sup>2</sup>, Arab *kbw*<sup>2</sup>.

Various formations based on biconsonantal \**kVb*-.

CCh \**kab*- ‘‘roast’’: Bud *kabē*.

Cf. Eg *ḳb* ‘‘warm up’’ (gr) with an unexpected emphatic in the anlaut.

## 1405 \*kab- ‘‘go, follow’’

WCh \**kwab*- < \**kab*- ‘‘go’’: Mnt *kop*, Bol *kob*-.

\**a* > \**wa* under the influence of the following labial.

Mgg *khab* ‘‘follow’’.

## 1406 \*kab- ‘‘shoe, sandal’’

Eg *ṭb.t*, *ṭbw* ‘‘sandal’’ (pyr).

Note the palatalization of \**k*-.

WCh \**kab*- ‘‘shoes’’: Ang *kāp*.

LEC \**kab*-/\**kob*- ‘‘shoe, sandal’’: Som *kab*, Or *kobe*<sup>2</sup>, Boni *kob*, Rnd *kob*, Arb *kobo*, Kon *xop-to*.

Secondary -*o*- before a labial.

Wrz \**xop*- ‘‘shoe, sandal’’: Gaw *xope*.

Borrowed from LEC?

An old *Wanderwort*. Any relation to \**kab*- ‘‘go, follow’’?

## 1407 \*kab-/\*kib- ‘‘(gourd) vessel’’

Eg *kb* ‘‘vessel’’ (n).

WCh *\*kab-* “small calabash”: Hs *kābō*.  
Dhl *kīḅo* “gourd”.

Alternation *\*a* ~ *\*i*.

#### 1408 *\*kabel-/kaber-* “shoe, sandal”

ECh *\*kVb-Vr-* “shoes”: Gbr *kob-oro*, Kbl *kob-ro*.  
SA *\*kab-el-* “shoe, sandal”: Afar *kabel*.

Derived from *\*kab-* “shoe, sandal”.

#### 1409 *\*kaber-* “bull, buffalo”

CCh *\*kabyar-* “bull”: Bud *kāber*.  
HEC *\*kobir-* “buffalo”: Had *kobira*.  
Secondary *\*o* < *\*a* before a labial.

#### 1410 *\*kabVr-* “be thick”

Sem *\*kVbur-* “be big, be thick”: Akk *kabāru*, Arab *kbr* [-*u*].  
Secondary *\*-u-?*  
WCh *\*kabVr-* “thickness”: Hs *kabrī*.

#### 1411 *\*kac-* “cut, tear”

Sem *\*kVsVh-* “cut”: Hbr *ksḥ*, Arab *ksḥ*.  
Based on the original biconsonantal *\*kVs-*?  
WCh *\*kac-* “snap (thread, rope)”: Hs *kaça*.  
Rift *\*kaʔas-* “split”: Bur *kaʔas-*.  
Typical development of the inner vowel into a cluster with a middle laryngeal in Rift.

#### 1412 *\*kacaf-* “metal”

Sem *\*kasp-* “silver”: Akk *kaspu*, Hbr *keseḫ*.  
CCh *\*kVcaf-* “iron”<sup>1</sup>, “sand containing iron”<sup>2</sup>: Log *xsāf*<sup>1</sup>, Gis *mu-ksaf*<sup>2</sup>.  
Prefix *\*mu-* in Gis.

Names of metals are subject to semantic changes motivated by the history of the material culture, cf., e.g., Hitt *ḫarašū-*

“bronze” borrowed from Akk *ḫurāšu* “gold” or Finn *vaski* “copper” borrowed from one of IE words for gold (cf. Arm *oski*, Tokh A *wäs*). Such fluctuations may be observed even within one language, cf. Skt *loha-* “copper” and “iron”.

#### 1413 *\*kaf-* “descendants, clan”

WCh *\*kwaf-* < *\*kafwa-* “inheritance”: Mpn *kōp*.  
Wrz *\*kaf-* “clan”: Gaw *kaf-ko*.

Cf. Ir *sliocht* “descendants, race, family” ~ Mlr *slicht* “trace, track” and, on the other hand, Russ *nasledstvo* “inheritance, heritage” < *sled* “trace”.

#### 1414 *\*kahVp-* “hole”

Sem *\*kahp-* “cavern”: Arab *kahf*.  
Copt *\*kēpi* “vault, cave”: Boh *k'ēpi*, Shd *kēpe*.  
Not attested in Eg.  
WCh *\*kap-* < *\*kaHVp-* “hole”: Hs *kafā*.  
Contraction.  
Wrz *\*kap-* “irrigation ditch”: Gaw *kap-ko*.  
A loanword?

Cf. Eg *ṭph.t* “hole” (pyr) with a different laryngeal and palatalized *ṭ* < *\*k*. Metathesis of the original *\*kahep-* or *\*kahop-*?

#### 1415 *\*kaḥ-* “house”

Sem *\*kaḥ-/kuḥ-* “hut”: Arab *kaḥ*, *kuḥ*.  
Secondary variant in *kuḥ*.  
WCh *\*kaḥ-* “house (with clay walls)”: Hs *kago*, Gwn *kago*.  
SA *\*keH-* “place”: Afar *kee*.  
From *\*kaHe-*.

#### 1416 *\*kakar-* “circle, ring”

Sem *\*kakkar-/kikkar-* “round bread, disk”: Akk *kakkaru*, Hbr *kikkār*.  
ECh *\*kakVr-* “arm-ring, bracelet”: Kera *kaakəray*.

Partial reduplication.

## 1417 \*ka-kul- ‘‘basket’’

Sem \*kul-kul- ‘‘basket’’: Akk *kukkullu*.

Assimilation of vowels.

CCh \*kV<sub>k</sub>VL-/ \*kulVk- ‘‘basket’’: Dgh *kwulge*, Nak *klogo*, Gava *kwulekha*, Mus *kekele*.

Some forms underwent metathesis.

Rift \*kakul- ‘‘half-calabash’’: Kwz *kakul-eto*.

Derived from \*kol- ‘‘gourd, calabash’’.

## 1418 \*kal- ‘‘go’’

Berb \*kVL- ‘‘go, march’’: Siwa *u-kel*, Ntf *ā-kəl*, Mns *χel*.

CCh \*kal- ‘‘run, go (quickly)’’: Mba *kal*, Mafa *kəl*, Gis *kal*.

ECh \*kVL- ‘‘enter’’: Kera *kele*.

Cf. Dhl *kihl*- ‘‘run’’?

## 1419 \*kal- ‘‘female in-law’’

Sem \*kall- ‘‘daughter-in-law’’<sup>1</sup>, ‘‘bride’’<sup>2</sup>; Akk *kallātu*<sup>1</sup>, Ug *kl-t*<sup>2</sup>, Hbr *kallā*<sup>1</sup>, Aram (Syr) *kallātō*<sup>1</sup>.

WCh \*kalya- ‘‘woman’’: Zem *kal*, Zar *kəl*, Zak *kyel*, Buu *kəli*, Dok *kəli*.

Cf. Hs *kōlō* ‘‘daughters’’.

Rift \*kwala<sup>2</sup>- ‘‘widow’’ (Irg *kwala<sup>2</sup>o*, Alg *kwa<sup>2</sup>al- ito<sup>2</sup>o*, Bur *kwa<sup>2</sup>al-ito<sup>2</sup>o*, Asa *kala<sup>2</sup>ayi*) may also belong to this root and reflect \*kol- together with Hs.

## 1420 \*kalah- ‘‘go’’

CCh \*ka-kVLVh- ‘‘return, retire, go slowly’’: Mofu *kakəl<sub>h</sub>*.

Partial reduplication.

SA \*kalah- ‘‘travel’’: Saho *kalaah*, *kalaah*.

Derived from \*kal- ‘‘go’’.

## 1421 \*kalem-/ \*kulem- ‘‘charcoal’’

CCh \*kimyal- ‘‘charcoal’’: Bnn *kimela*, BM *kimil-na*.

Metathesis.

ECh \*kulim- ‘‘charcoal’’: Dng *kulmo*, Mig *kolmo*, Bid *kilmo*, Brg *kilmo*, Mubi *kilim*.

Rift \*kalem- ‘‘charcoal’’: Kwz *kalem-uko*.

Alternation \*a ~ \*u.

## 1422 \*kalim- ‘‘insect’’

Sem \*kalm- ‘‘insect’’<sup>1</sup>, ‘‘louse’’<sup>2</sup>; Akk *kalmatu*<sup>1</sup>, Aram *kalmātā*<sup>2</sup>.

SA \*kilim- ‘‘tick’’: Saho *kilim*, Afar *kilim*.

Assimilation of vowels.

## 1423 \*kalVy- ‘‘vessel’’

Sem \*kalVy- ‘‘vessel’’: Akk *kalū*, Hbr *kālū*.

WCh \*kyl- < \*kayal- ‘‘pot’’: Dera *kile*, Ngm *kyelle*, Kr *kəli*.

Metathesis.

CCh \*kalway- ‘‘pot’’: Bud *kaloē*.

LEC \*kill- ‘‘small bowl’’: Or *killā*.

Contraction of a metathetic form.

An alternative reconstruction may be \*kaVyl-. Any relation to \*kol- ‘‘gourd, calabash’’?

1424 \*kama<sup>2</sup>-/ \*kamay- ‘‘food’’

Eg *kmy* ‘‘food’’ (gr).

WCh \*kamam- ‘‘snack’’: Hs *kāmāmā*.

Partial reduplication of metathetic \*kām- < \*kaHam-.

ECh \*ka<sup>2</sup>am- ‘‘mush’’: Tum *kām*.

Metathesis. Cf. \*kwam- ‘‘eat’’: Smr *kwam*, Mkk *koome*.

An alternative reconstruction is \*ka<sup>2</sup>am-/ \*kayam-.

## 1425 \*kan- ‘‘dog’’

ECh \*kanya- ‘‘dog’’: Dng *kanya*, Jegu *kany-*.

Omot \*kan- ‘‘dog’’: Ome *kana*, *kanā*, Mao *kano*.

A morphonological variant of \*kun- id., \*küHen- id.

## 1426 \*kanap- “wing”

Sem \*kanap- “wing”: Akk *kappu*, Ug *kn̄p*, Hbr *kānāp*, Aram (Syr) *kenṣpō*, Arab *kanaf*-, Gz *kənf*.

Agaw \*kan(V)p-/\*kin(V)p- “wing”: Bil *kanfi*, Xmt *kenfaa*, Kwr *kamb*, Kem *kāmbii*, Aun *kenfii*.

Traces of *i*-grade in Xmt and Aun.

## 1427 \*kanpar-/\*kanpur- “lip, muzzle”

Berb \*kVn̄fur- “lip, muzzle”: Ntf *a-kenfur*, Snus *a- kenfur*.

WCh \*kapur- “mouth”: Mnt *kapur*.

Agaw \*kanpar- “lip”: Bil *kanfər*, Kwr *kanpər*, Kem *kəmbər*, Aun *kanfar*.

SA \*kamfer- “muzzle”: Saho *kamfer*.

Assimilation of \*-np- > \*-mf-.

LEC \*gafur- “muzzle”: Som *gafuur*.

Irregular \*g- < \*k- and loss of inlaut \*-n-. An expressive form with irregular phonetic changes or a loanword?

## 1428 \*kap- “hand”

Sem \*kapp- “hand”: Akk *kappu*, Ug *kp*, Hbr *kap*, Aram (Syr) *kappō*, Arab *kaff*-, Hss *kef*, Mhr *kef*.

Eg *kp* “enemy’s hands separated from his arms; cut off hand” (n).

## 1429 \*kap- “earth”

WCh \*kapu- “red sorrel”: Mpn *kupu*.

Wrz \*kap- “earth”: Gaw *kappe*.

## 1430 \*kap- “house”

Sem \*kupp- “building”: Akk *kuppātu*.

Note \*u.

Eg *kȝp* “house” (MK).

Vocalic -ȝ-.

WCh \*kap- “hut”: Hs *kafē*.

CCh \*kVp- “house”: Tera *kipi*.

Connected with \*ka<sup>2</sup>up- “cover, close”?

1431 \*kapa<sup>2</sup>- “move, go”

Sem \*kVpa<sup>2</sup>- “go away”: Arab *kf<sup>2</sup>* [-a].

WCh \*kap- “come”: Mnt *kop*.

Loss of the auslaut laryngeal.

## 1432 \*kar- “lamb”

Sem \*karr- “lamb”<sup>1</sup>, “fattened lamb, ram”<sup>2</sup>: Akk *karru*<sup>1</sup>, Ug *kr*<sup>1</sup>, Hbr *kar*<sup>2</sup>.

Berb \*kVrVw-/\*kVrVy- “lamb”<sup>1</sup>, “young ram”<sup>2</sup>: Ayr *a-kərwa*<sup>1</sup>, Twl *a-kərwa*<sup>1</sup>, Sml *i-kru*<sup>2</sup>, Kby *i-kərri*<sup>1</sup>.

Derivative in \*-w-/\*-y-. Cf. WCh?

WCh \*karwa- “sheep”<sup>1</sup>, “lamb, bull”<sup>2</sup>: Wnd *karo*<sup>1</sup>, Tng *karwa*<sup>2</sup>.

LEC \*kar- “heifer goats” (coll.): Arb *kaariy*.

## 1433 \*kar- “sun”

Sem \*karar- “day heat”: Akk *kararū*.

Partial reduplication.

WCh \*kar- “sun”: Bele *kaara*.

## 1434 \*kar-/\*kayar- “dog”

WCh \*kar-/\*kayar- “dog”: Hs *karē*, Brw *kəra*, Say *kara*, Bks *kyara*, Klr *gyara*, DB *čira*.

CCh \*kīr- < \*kVyVr- “dog”: Lmn *kīrre*, Mnd *kəre*, Suk *kīrra*, Gid *kəre*.

SA \*kar- “dog”: Saho *kare*.

LEC \*ka[y]ir- “dog”: Arb *kair*, *ker*.

Secondary \*-i- after \*-y-.

Wrz \*χa[y]ar- “dog”: War *χero*, Gaw *haaro*, Gob *heero*, Cam *karo*.

\*kayar- seems to be a secondary formation based on \*kar- preserved in SA and, to some extent, in WCh.

## 1435 \*kariĉ- “belly”

Sem \*kariš- “belly”: Akk *karšu*, Hbr *kārēš*, Aram (Syr) *karsō*, Arab *kariš*-, Gz *karš*, Hss *kēreš*, Mhr *kēreš*, Shh *šurs*.

Wrz *\*korVs-* ‘‘meat’’: Gaw *korse*.

Vocalism is not clear.

Semantically, the connection between ‘‘meat’’ and various words for inner organs may be corroborated by such IE correspondences as ON *kjot* ‘‘meat’’ ~ Skt *guda-* ‘‘intestines’’.

#### 1436 *\*kas-* ‘‘fall’’

Sem *\*nVkuš-* ‘‘turn over’’<sup>1</sup>, ‘‘fall’’<sup>2</sup>: Arab *nks* [-u-]<sup>1</sup>, Jib *nkos*<sup>2</sup>.

Prefix *\*nV-* with modified root vocalism.

CCh *\*kas-* ‘‘fall’’: Msg *kasa*.

#### 1437 *\*kat-* ‘‘back’’

ECh *\*kat-* ‘‘back’’: Bid *kate*.

Rift *\*kat-* ‘‘cow’s hump’’: Alg *kata*, Bur *kata-ŋ*.

#### 1438 *\*kat-* ‘‘be small’’

Sem *\*kVl-* ‘‘weak’’: Akk *katû*.

Eg *kt* ‘‘small’’ (MK).

WCh *\*kat-* ‘‘small’’: Sura *kat*, Mpn *kat*.

Cf. WCh *\*kwati-* ‘‘small, narrow’’ (Ang *kwīt*) and CCh *\*kwati-* ‘‘small’’ (Mafa *kwite<sup>2</sup>e*) reflecting a different root vowel.

#### 1439 *\*kat-* ‘‘move, go’’

Eg *ktkt* ‘‘move’’ (Amar).

Reduplication.

ECh *\*kat-* ‘‘go, go out’’<sup>1</sup>, ‘‘follow’’<sup>2</sup>: Mubi *kāt*<sup>1</sup>, Brg *kaati*<sup>1</sup>, Bid *kaat*<sup>1</sup>, Kwn *kote*<sup>2</sup>.

LEC *\*kat-* ‘‘run’’: Or *kaat-*.

Omot *\*kat-* ‘‘hurry, hasten’’: Kaf *kaat-*, Mch *kaata-*, Bwo *kat-*.

ECh, LEC and Omot may reflect a prototype with an inlaut laryngeal *\*kaHat-/kawat-*. Cf. also in WCh: Hs *katākatā* ‘‘first efforts of a child to walk’’.

#### 1440 *\*katum-* ‘‘metal’’

Sem *\*kVtm-* ‘‘gold’’: Hbr *ketem*.

WCh *\*katum-* ‘‘pig of iron’’: Hs *katūmā*.

See our notes to *\*kacaf-* ‘‘metal’’.

#### 1441 *\*kaw-* ‘‘set fire’’

Sem *\*kūy-* ‘‘burn’’<sup>1</sup>, ‘‘kindle fire’’<sup>2</sup>: Akk *kawû*<sup>1</sup>, Hbr *kwy*<sup>1</sup>, Arab *kwy* [-i-]<sup>2</sup>.

Based on *\*kVw-*.

WCh *\*kaw-/kawVy-* ‘‘roast’’: Tng *kawe*, Wrj *kaw*, Jmb *kaw*, Miya *kaw*, Kry *kaw*, Paa *ku*, Cagu *kuwa*, Siri *ku*, Ngz *kawyu*.

Cf. a similar structure with final *\*-y-* in Sem.

CCh *\*ku[w]-* ‘‘be hot’’: Log *kku*.

Cf. *\*kuw-* ‘‘fire, hotness’’ (LPe *k<sup>w</sup>u*, Suk *khu*, Bnn *kuwa*, Zime *ku*).

ECh *\*kVwiy-* ‘‘set fire, fry, burn’’: Lele *kūy*, Mubi *kewī*, Tbn *kūyē*, Kera *ki*.

Cf. Sem and WCh forms in *\*-y-*.

There are indications of a parallel variant that may be reconstructed as *\*kawVy-*.

#### 1442 *\*keVc-* ‘‘be angry’’

Sem *\*kV<sup>c</sup>Vs-* ‘‘be ill-tempered’’: Hbr *k<sup>c</sup>s*.

Eg *khs* ‘‘anger’’ (XVIII).

Irregular laryngeal.

ECh *\*kyas-* < *\*kyaHVs-* ‘‘angry’’: Sok *kesi kesi*.

#### 1443 *\*ken-* ‘‘cereal’’

Sem *\*kin-* ‘‘cereal’’: Akk *kinītu*.

WCh *\*kyan-* ‘‘seed’’: Ang *kēn*.

#### 1444 *\*ken-* ‘‘know, learn’’

Eg *tny* ‘‘learn’’ (MK).

Palatalized *\*k-* before a middle vowel.

ECh *\*kwan-* < *\*kyanu-* ‘‘knowledge’’: Mkk *konya*.

Bed *kan-* ‘‘know’’.

Unclear *-a-*.

Agaw *\*kan-t-/\*kin-t-* ‘‘learn’’<sup>1</sup>, ‘‘see’’<sup>2</sup>: Bil *kən-t-*<sup>1</sup>, Xmr *kin-t-*<sup>1</sup>,

Kwr *kin-t-*<sup>1</sup>, Aun *kan-t-*<sup>2</sup>.

HEC *\*ken-* ‘‘know’’: Had *ken-*.

Cf. Sem *\*kVhan-/\*kVhun-* ‘‘foretell, predict’’: Arab *khn* [*-a-*, *-u-*].

#### 1445 *\*kenah-* ‘‘darkness’’

Eg *knḥ.w* ‘‘darkness’’ (BD).

No traces of palatalization!

ECh *\*kyanaH-* ‘‘night’’: Nch *kenā*.

#### 1446 *\*kenum-* ‘‘darkness’’

Eg *knm.t* ‘‘darkness’’ (BD).

No traces of palatalization!

CCh *\*kyanum-* ‘‘night’’: Bud *kenum*.

ECh *\*kyaVm-* ‘‘shadow’’: Mig *kelmo*, Mkk *kelēmo*, Sok *kilmio*.

*\*-l-* < HS *\*-n-* dissimilated before *\*-m-*.

Related to *\*kenah-* ‘‘darkness’’.

#### 1447 *\*ket-* ‘‘tie’’

Eg *#* ‘‘untie, disengage’’ (n).

Palatalization of *\*k-*.

ECh *\*kyat-* ‘‘tie’’: Mkk *kette*, *gitte*.

#### 1448 *\*kew-/\*key-* ‘‘wind’’

Eg *ṭw* ‘‘wind, air’’ (pyr), Copt *\*t’ēw* ‘‘wind, air’’: Boh *t’ēou*, Shd *tēu*.

Vocalic *-j-*.

WCh *\*kay-* ‘‘wind’’: Paa *key*.

Consonantal alternation *\*-w-* ~ *\*-y-*.

#### 1449 *\*ki-* ‘‘leg’’

Eg *ṭyṭy* ‘‘leg’’ (BD).

Reduplication. Palatalization of *\*k-*.

WCh *\*ki-* ‘‘hip, thigh’’: Sura *čī*, Ang *či*, Chip *ši*.

Palatalization of *\*k-* before *\*-i-*.

#### 1450 *\*kiʔ-* ‘‘man, child’’

Eg *ṭyṭy* ‘‘man’’ (pyr).

Vocalic *-y*. Note the palatalization of *\*k-*.

ECh *\*kiʔ-* ‘‘child’’: Gbr *kīe*.

#### 1451 *\*kiʔ-* ‘‘put on (clothes)’’

Eg *ṭyṭy* ‘‘put on (clothes)’’ (NK).

Note the palatalization of *\*k-*.

CCh *\*kaʔ-/\*kiʔ-* ‘‘put on (clothes)’’: Gis *kī*, Gudu *kā*, Nza *kaʔa*, Bch *kā*.

*\*kaʔ-* goes back to *\*kiʔa-*.

Cf. LEC *\*kaʔ-/\*kaw-* ‘‘place, put, lay’’ (Or *kaaya*, Arb *kaw-*).

#### 1452 *\*kiʔVd-* ‘‘earth, ground’’

Sem *\*kīd-* ‘‘outside region’’: Akk *kīdu*.

ECh *\*kiḏ-* < *\*kiHVd-* ‘‘earth, ground’’: Mig *kida*, Brg *kiḏo*, Mubi

*kiḏi*, Dng *kiḏa*.

Emphatization of *\*-d-* under the influence of the laryngeal.

#### 1453 *\*kič-* ‘‘bite’’

Sem *\*nVkvṭ-* ‘‘bite’’: Aram (Syr) *nkt*, Gz *nks*.

Prefix *\*nV-*.

Berb *\*kVs-* ‘‘bite’’: Ahg *əkṣ*.

HEC *\*kis-* ‘‘bite’’: Sid *kis-*.

Irregular *-s-*.

#### 1454 *\*kič-* ‘‘basket, container’’

WCh *\*kuč-* ‘‘basket’’: Fyer *kučči*, Ank *ta-kuči*, Mpn *kəči*.

-u- from HS \*ū?

Agaw \*kič- ‘basket’: Xmr *kizaa*, Kem *kišaa*.

LEC \*kiš- ‘sack’: Som *kiiš*, Or *keešaa*.

#### 1455 \*kil- ‘fence’

WCh \*kil- ‘fence’: Hs *killā*.

Cf. Brm *kwāl* ‘house’, Bks *kyel* ‘place’, DB *kil* id., Buli *kila* id.

LEC \*kel- ‘compound, fence’: Or *kellaa*.

Cf. also ECh \*kul- ‘hut, town’ (Lele *kul*, Kera *kuli*, Smr *kūlū*, Kwn *kulū*).

#### 1456 \*kilam- ‘ivory’

Sem \*kilām- ‘ivory’: Akk *kilāmu*, *gilāmu*.

Eg *kmry* ‘ivory’ (n).

Metathesis.

Ancient *Wanderwort*? The alternative reconstruction is \*kimal-.

#### 1457 \*kilbab-/\*kirbab- ‘insect’

Sem \*kulbāb- ‘ant’: Akk *kulbābu*.

\*u < \*i under the influence of \*b.

CCh \*kirbab- ‘flea’: Bud *kirbābo*.

Irregular alternation of liquids. Partial reduplication?

#### 1458 \*kin- ‘egg’

Sem \*mV-kan- ‘lay eggs’: Arab *mkn* [-a-].

Derivative with a prefix \*mV- and modified vocalism.

WCh \*kin- ‘egg’: Diri *akin*.

LEC \*u-kun- ‘egg’: Som (dial.) *ukun*, *ukun*, Rnd *ukun*.

Prefix \*u-. Assimilation from \*u-kin-. This word was obviously influenced by another LEC word for ‘egg’ (cf. Som *ugah* and the like).

Relation to Rift \*kan- ‘egg’ (Irq *qanhi*, Alg *qanaʔi*, Bur *qanaya*) doubtful in view of the initial \*k-.

#### 1459 \*kin- ‘count’

Eg *tnw* ‘count’ (pyr).

Suffix -w?

WCh \*kinu- ‘count’: Mnt *kūn*, Wrj *kin-*, Kry *kin-*, Miya *kan-*, Paa *kan-*, Cagu *kan-*, Siri *kanu*, Mbu *kan*, Jmb *kan*.

Secondary emphatic?

Irregular alternation \*k ~ \*k̥.

#### 1460 \*kir- ‘steal’

WCh \*kir- ‘steal’: Wrj *kir-ai*, Kry *kir*, Mbu *kir*, Paa *kəra*, Jmb *kəra*,

Miya *akir*, Siri *kəri*, Ngz *kəru*, Bade *kəlu*.

Wrz \*kere<sup>c</sup>- ‘steal’: Gaw *kere<sup>c</sup>-*.

Secondary -e<sup>c</sup>-?

#### 1461 \*kirim- ‘genitals’

Sem \*kirim- ‘womb’: Akk *kirimu*.

Eg *lzm* ‘foreskin’ (MK).

Note -ʔ- < \*-r-.

Semantic development may be problematic.

#### 1462 \*kir-kar- ‘camel’

Sem \*kir-kār- ‘she-camel’: Hbr *kirkārā*.

Berb \*kVr-kar- ‘camels’ (pl.): Ayr *i-kərkar*, Twl *i- kərkar*.

Reduplication. Related to Dhl *kiri* ‘giraffe’?

#### 1463 \*kiʒ- ‘container’

Eg *iz.t* ‘box’ (OK).

Palatalization of \*k-.

Agaw \*kiʒ- ‘basket’: Xmr *kizaa*, *kižaa*.

#### 1464 \*ko-ko- ‘vessel’

Eg *tt* ‘vessel’ (n).

Palatalization of \*k-.

WCh *\*kwak-* ‘‘pot’’: Gera *kwaka*.

From *\*kwakwa-*?

CCh *\*kwakway-* ‘‘calabash’’: Mtk *kokway*.

Stem *\*kwakwa-* with a suffix *\*-ay-*.

Reduplication. The original root may be preserved in ECh

*\*kay-* ‘‘pot’’: Mkk *keyye*.

#### 1465 *\*koʔaf-* ‘‘door, gate’’

WCh *\*kwaʔaf-* ‘‘doorway, gateway’’: Hs *kōfa*.

Rift *\*kaʔaf-* ‘‘door, gate’’: Bur *kaʔafu*, Kwz *kaʔaf-uko*.

Assimilation of vowels.

Derived from *\*ʔaf-* ‘‘mouth’’ with a prefix *\*ko-*?

#### 1466 *\*kob-* ‘‘bend’’

Sem *\*nVkub-* ‘‘incline, bend’’: Arab *nkb* [-*u*].

Prefix *\*nV-*. Cf. Arab *kbb* [-*u*] ‘‘upturn’’.

CCh *\*kwab-ay-* ‘‘bend’’: Bud *kobei-hi*.

#### 1467 *\*koč-* ‘‘be big’’

Sem *\*kVl-* ‘‘be massive’’: Akk *kašāšu*.

WCh *\*kwač-* ‘‘high, long’’: Fyer *koos*.

CCh *\*kwač-* ‘‘many, much’’: Mba *kočo*.

#### 1468 *\*kočaʔ-* ‘‘peel, tear’’

Sem *\*kVšaʔ-* ‘‘peel’’: Arab *kšʔ* [-*a*].

WCh *\*kwač-* ‘‘tear’’: Bul *kwəšu*.

Loss of the auslaut laryngeal.

#### 1469 *\*kod-* ‘‘work, be tired’’

Sem *\*kud-* ‘‘work (hard), be tired’’: Arab *kdd* [-*u*].

ECh *\*kad-* ‘‘be tired’’<sup>1</sup>, ‘‘be tired (of feet)’’<sup>2</sup>; Sok *kadi*<sup>1</sup>, Mkk *gidde*.

Secondary emphatization in Mkk (reflecting *\*kadyaH-*?).

Vocalism *\*-a-* of a stative.

Wrz *\*kod-* ‘‘work’’: Gaw *koḡaḡ-*.

Partial reduplication.

#### 1470 *\*koʕar-* ‘‘drive away’’

Sem *\*kVʕar-* ‘‘drive, push’’: Arab *kʕr* [-*a*].

WCh *\*kwaHar-* ‘‘drive away’’: Hs *kōrā*, Buli *karu*.

Cf. CCh *\*kar-uw-* ‘‘hunt’’ (FKi *karuwa*).

#### 1471 *\*koh-* ‘‘egg’’

WCh *\*kwah-* < *\*kwah-* ‘‘egg’’: Hs *kʷai*, Grk *nkie*.

Shift of the emphatization. Prefix in Grk.

Bed *kʷahi* ‘‘egg’’.

Wrz *\*ʔu-kah-* ‘‘egg’’: Gaw *ukāhe*.

Probably, Wrz does not belong here if it is related to Som *ugah* id. and the like.

#### 1472 *\*koḡan-* ‘‘shine; light’’

Eg *ṯḡn* ‘‘shine’’ (pyr).

Palatalization of *\*k-*.

WCh *\*kwan-H-* ‘‘light, day’’: Tng *kəŋ*, DB *ma-kon*.

Metathesis. Prefix *\*ma-* in DB.

Wrz *\*ḡan-* < *\*kVHan-* ‘‘day’’: Gaw *ḡane*.

#### 1473 *\*kol-* ‘‘gourd, calabash’’

Eg *ṯḡ.t* ‘‘vessel’’ (OK).

Palatalization of *\*k-*. Note *-ḡ-* < *\*-l-*.

WCh *\*kwal-* ‘‘calabash’’: Hs *kullu*, Bol *kula*, Tng *kwal*, Pero *kwal*.

Cf. Hs *kwala* ‘‘metal water-bottle’’ and, with partial reduplication *kōlōlō* ‘‘kind of bottle-gourd’’.

CCh *\*kwal-* ‘‘calabash, pot’’: Gvo *kwəla*, HGh *kuli*.

ECh *\*kwal-* ‘‘jug’’<sup>1</sup>, ‘‘pot’’<sup>2</sup>: Bid *kolle*<sup>1</sup>, Mubi *kōli*<sup>2</sup>, Sok *kō-kolo*<sup>2</sup>.

Reduplication in Sok. Cf. Mig *kolo-ngane* ‘‘clay mug’’.

LEC *\*ʔV-kol-* ‘‘skin bucket’’: Or *okolee*.

Prefix *\*ʔV-*.



## 1474 \*kol- “return, go around”

WCh \*kwal- “return”: Bele *kolu*.

LEC \*koll- “go around, run here and there”: Or *kolla*-<sup>3</sup>*a*.

Related to \*kal- “go”?

## 1475 \*kolab- “container”

Sem \**kVlūb*- “basket”: Hbr *k'lūb*.

Secondary vocalism?

Eg *trb* “vessel” (n), *tʃb* (XVIII).

Loanword from Sem?

WCh \*kwalab- “glass bottle”: Hs *kwalabā*.

CCh \*kwalab- “bottle”: Mafa *kwalaba*.

Hs loanword?

Derived from \*kol- “gourd, calabash”.

## 1476 \*kom- “vessel”

Eg *km.ty* “vessel” (XVIII).

No traces of palatalization.

WCh \*kwam- “kind of calabash or gourd”: Hs *kōmō*.

CCh \*kwam- “calabash”: Bud *komo*.

## 1477 \*kom- “cereal”

Eg *kʷm.wt.t* “barley” (BD).

No traces of palatalization.

WCh \*kwam- “peanut”<sup>1</sup>, “maize”<sup>2</sup>: Sura *kōm*<sup>1</sup>, Pero *koomo*<sup>2</sup>.

CCh \*kwam- “guinea corn”: Nza *kʷəmə*.

Cf. WCh \*kima- “grain”: Mnt *šism*, Brm *kim*?

## 1478 \*kom- “fowl”

Sem \**kumVy*- “waterfowl”: Akk *kumū*.

WCh \*kwam- “old hen or guinea-fowl”<sup>1</sup>, “hen”<sup>2</sup>: Hs *kwammā*<sup>1</sup>,

Tng *kom*<sup>2</sup>, Bol *kom*<sup>2</sup>.

## 1479 \*kom- “cattle”

WCh \*kwam- “cow”<sup>1</sup>, “bull”<sup>2</sup>: Bol *kwəm*<sup>1</sup>, Krk *kwam*<sup>1</sup>, Ngm *kwəm*<sup>1</sup>, Ngz *kwam*<sup>2</sup>, Bade *kwam*<sup>2</sup>.

CCh \*kum- < \*kwamu- “meat”: Brm *kum*, Chb *kum*, Mrg *kum*, Klb *kum*, Wmd *kumu*.

ECh \*kwama- “buffalo”<sup>1</sup>, “meat”<sup>2</sup>: Sok *kām*<sup>1</sup>, Dng *kuma*<sup>2</sup>, Mubi *kome*<sup>2</sup>.

Agaw \*kim- “cattle, cow”: Bil *kim*, Xmr *kim*, Kwr *kim*, Dmb *kim*, Kem *kemaa*, Aun *kemii*.

Innovative \*-i-?

## 1480 \*kor- “ass, donkey”

Sem \*kurr- “young of an ass, foal”: Arab *kurr*.

WCh \*kwar- “ass, donkey”: Bol *koro*, Krk *kwaro*, Ngm *koro*, Ngz *kwara*, Bade *kōro-n*.

CCh \*kwar- “ass, donkey”: Tera *koro*, Gaa *kwari*, Gbn *kwari*, Hwn *kwara*, Klb *kwara*, Gude *kwara*, Gudu *kwara*, Bch *kwarey-to*, Bud *koro*, Msg *kurek*, Gid *koro*, Lame *karo*, LPe *koro*, Masa *kəro-ta*, Bnn *kwəra*.

Cf. also Nza *kəra* “horse”.

ECh \*kwar- “ass, donkey”: Smr *kora*, Tum *kora*, Ndm *kurō*, Nch *kora*, Kbl *kura*, Dor *kura*, Kwn *kurā*.

Omot \*kur- “ass, donkey”: Ome *kuraa*, Kaf *kuuroo*, Mch *kuro*, Gim *kur*.

## 1481 \*kor- “(be) round”

Sem \*kur- “ball”: Arab *kur-at*.

Cf. Arab *krw* [-u-] “give spherical form to smth.”.

Note the anomalous morphological structure of the noun.

WCh \*kwar-kwar- “round”: Maha *korkor*.

Reduplication.

Cf. Dhl *kiir-ooδ*- “make in a ball”.

## 1482 \*kor- “be angry”

Sem \**kVrVh*- “be unhappy, be disgusted”<sup>1</sup>, “hate”<sup>2</sup>: Arab *krh*, Hss *kerōh*, Mhr *kerōh*, Shh *kereh*.

Based on biconsonantal *\*kVr-*?

WCh *\*kwar-* ‘hate, disgust’: Sura *kwar*.

Any relation to *\*kar-* ‘punish’: Ang *kār*, Sura *kar*, Fyer *kar*?

Agaw *\*kwar-* ‘be angry’: Xmr *kʷar-*, Kwr *kʷar-*, Dmb *kʷar-*, Aun *kʷal-*.

SA *\*kur-* ‘anger, wrath’: Saho *kuraa*.

Omot *\*kar-* ‘be angry’: Kaf *kaar*.

The source of *\*-a-* is not clear.

Dhl *kor-* ‘be in trouble’.

#### 1483 *\*kora-* ‘field’

Eg *tr* ‘field’ (gr).

Palatalization of *\*k-*.

WCh *\*kwaHar-* ‘farm’: Bol *koori*, Ngm *kori*, Pero *kuuri*.

Metathesis.

The alternative reconstruction is *\*ko<sup>6</sup>ar-*.

#### 1484 *\*kos-* ‘tooth’

Eg *ts* ‘tooth’ (MK).

Palatalization of *\*k-*.

Bed *koos* ‘tooth’.

Rift *\*ko<sup>2</sup>os-* ‘molar’: Kwz *ko<sup>2</sup>os-iko*.

Cf. Irq *goso* ‘incisor’? Note the inlaut laryngeal in *\*-o<sup>2</sup>o-* developed from *\*-o-*.

Connected with *\*kos-* ‘pierce, cut’?

#### 1485 *\*kos-* ‘pierce, cut’

WCh *\*kVs-* ‘cut (with a knife)’: Paa *kəs*.

ECh *\*kyas-* < *\*kwasi-* ‘pierce’: Kwn *kesi*.

Omot *\*koš-* ‘pierce’: Mch *kossi*, Bwo *koš-*.

#### 1486 *\*koz-* ‘knot, unite’

Sem *\*kūz-* ‘unite, collect’: Arab *kuz* [-a-].

Based on *\*kVz-*.

Eg *tz* ‘knot (v.)’ (a), ‘unite’ (n).

Palatalization of *\*k-* > *t-* may be caused by a rounded vowel.

#### 1487 *\*koz-* ‘be dry’

Sem *\*kuz-* ‘be dry’: Arab *kzz* [-u-].

CCh *\*kaž-* ‘dry up’: Bud *kažu*.

Unexpected *\*-a-*.

ECh *\*kVž-* ‘dry up’: Mkk *koḏḏe*, *guḏḏe*.

#### 1488 *\*kub-* ‘house’

Sem *\*kūb-* ‘building’: Akk *kūbu*.

ECh *\*kub-* ‘straw hut’: Smr *kubī*.

#### 1489 *\*kuc-* ‘clothes’

Sem *\*kus-* ‘kind of clothes’: Akk *kusītu*, Ug *ks-t*.

Eg *kʷs* ‘kind of clothes’ (I).

-ʷ- may reflect a vowel.

Cf. WCh *\*kic-* ‘plait’ (Hs *kiçē*), ECh *\*kwas-* ‘spin’ (Tum *kož*).

#### 1490 *\*kučer-* ‘fat, grease’

Sem *\*kuṭr-* ‘suet’: Arab *kuṭr-*.

WCh *\*kučyar-* ‘fat, grease’: Hs *kiçe*, Bol *šidor*, Dera *šudot*, Ngm *šidar*.

#### 1491 *\*kuf-* ‘river’

Sem *\*kupp-* ‘water spring’: Akk *kuppu*.

CCh *\*kuf-* ‘river’<sup>1</sup>, ‘lake’<sup>2</sup>: Gaa *kufa*<sup>1</sup>, Gbn *kufa*<sup>2</sup>, Chb *kufa*<sup>2</sup>, Hwn *kufa-rā*<sup>1</sup>.

#### 1492 *\*kuha<sup>2</sup>-* ‘speak, shout’

Eg *khʷ* ‘utter a cry’ (MK).

Vocalic -ʷ.

WCh *\*kuh-* ‘shout’: Dera *kui*, *kuhi*.

CCh *\*kV<sup>2</sup>ah-* ‘speak’: Log *kāha*.

Metathesis.

## 1493 \*kul- “kidney”

Sem \*kuly- “kidney”: Akk *kalītu*, Ug *klyt*, Hbr *kēlāyōt* (pl.), *kilyā*,  
 Aram (Syr) *kulitō*, Arab *kuly-at-*, Gz *kʷəlīt*, Hss *kelīt*, Mhr *kelyīt*.  
 CCh \*kul-kul- “kidney”: Gaa *kulkul-ara*.

Reduplication.

LEC \*kal-/ \*kulal- “kidney”: Som *kalli*, Or *kalee*, *kulali-ti* (pl.), Kon  
*χalla*.

Cf. Arb *kal-ano* id.

Dhl *kalle* “kidney”.

From \*kulal-?

In Cush there exists a parallel formation \*kel-, cf. LEC \*kel-  
 (Som *kellii*) and Omot \*kel- (Ome *kellawa*).

## 1494 \*kulum- “fish”

WCh \*kulVm- “large fish”: Hs *kulmā*.

SA \*kullum- “fish”: Afar *kullum*, *kulluum*.

LEC \*kullum- “fish”: Som *kalluumo* (pl.), Bay *kunnumi*.

Som -a- is secondary. Assimilation of sonants in Bay.

Any connection with Sem \*kall- “fish, whale” (Shh *kāl*, Mhr  
*kell*)?

## 1495 \*kulup- “worm, crocodile”

Sem \*kulup- “worm”: Akk *kuluppu*.

Eg *kʷp.w* “crocodile” (MK).

-ʷ- goes back to \*-l-.

Related to \*kulum- “fish”?

## 1496 \*kum- “be black”

Eg *km* “black” (pyr), Copt \*kame “black”: Boh *kʷame*, Shd *kame*.

Wrz \*kum- “black”: Gaw *kumma*.

Cf. Agaw \*kVm- “be evening”: Aun *kəm-əŋ*.

## 1497 \*kum- “take, get”

Sem \*hVkum- “take”: Akk *ekēmu*, Arab *hkm* [-u-].

Prefix \*hV-.

CCh \*kum- “obtain”: FK *kum-anu*<sup>2</sup>, FG *kum-ʷvwi*.

Rift \*kom- “have”<sup>1</sup>, “grip”<sup>2</sup>: Irq *kom*-<sup>1</sup>, Bur *kom*-<sup>1</sup>, Asa *kom*-<sup>1</sup>,  
 Kwz *kom-os*-<sup>2</sup>.

Dhl *kam*- “hold”.

Unexpected vocalism.

## 1498 \*kun- “dog”

Berb \*kun- “dog”: Gua *cuna*.

Omot \*kunan- “dog”: Kaf *kunano*, Mch *kunano*.

Partial reduplication.

Related to \*kan-, \*küHen- id.

## 1499 \*kunač- “cereal”

Sem \*kunač- “emmer”: Akk *kunāsu*, Aram (Syr) *kunnātā*.

CCh \*kanVč- “sorghum”: Log *kansē*.

Assimilation of vowels from \*kanas- < \*kunas-?

Derived from \*ken- “cereal”?

## 1500 \*kunak- “tree”

Sem \*kanak- “kind of tree”: Akk *kanaktu*.

Assimilation of vowels.

WCh \*kunak- “sheanut tree”: Kry *kunnaku*.

## 1501 \*kur- “boat”

Eg *kr* “boat” (n).

ECh \*kur-ay- “boat”: Smr *kuroi*.

## 1502 \*kur- “river, lake”

WCh \*kur- “pond”: Ang *kur*.

ECh \*kur- “river”<sup>1</sup>, “pond”<sup>2</sup>, “lake”<sup>3</sup>: Smr *kuri*<sup>1</sup>, Sok *korō*<sup>2</sup>,

Jegu *kūrāye*<sup>3</sup>.

Agaw \*kur- “river”: Bil *kuraa*, Dmb *kuraa*, Kwr *kuraa*, Kem *kuraa*.

LEC \*kur- “rivulet”: Or *kuree*.

## 1503 \*kur- “knife”

Eg *krkr* “knife” (gr).

Reduplication.

ECh \*kur- “knife”: Smr *kura*.

Rift \*kirar- “axe”: Bur *kirara*.

Partial reduplication with modified vocalism.

## 1504 \*kur- “mountain”

WCh \*kir- < \*kuri- “hill”: Grk *kir*.

CCh \*kur- “mountain”: Ksr *kuř*, Log *kurr*.

LEC \*kur- “mountain”: Som *kur*.

## 1505 \*kurak- “bird”

Sem \*kurk- “crane”: Akk *kurku*, Aram (Syr) *kurkayī*, Arab *kurk-īy-*,  
Gz *k<sup>w</sup>ärāki*.

CCh \*kurak- “dove, francolin”: Mba *kūrakay*, Gudu *kurku-to*, Nza  
*kurkute*, Lame *kuruk*, LPe *koroku*.

Secondary -u/-o- of the second syllable in Lame and LPe.

Descriptive stem.

## 1506 \*kus- “be small”

Sem \*wV<sub>k</sub>Vš-/\*yV<sub>k</sub>Vš- “become small”: Arab *wks*, *yks*.

Prefix \*wV-/\*yV-.

WCh \*kus- “short”: Ank *kuss*.

CCh \*kus- “small”: Chb *ḡkusu*, Klb *kušu*, Mrg *kwešu*.

Prefix \*nV- in Chb.

## 1507 \*kus- “rub, pound”

Sem \*kuš- “pound”: Arab *kss* [-u].

WCh \*kus- “rub”: Mpn *kus*.

CCh \*kwas- “rub”: Tera *kwəš-ara*, Zgh *kas-duwe*.

Related to \*kos- “tooth”? Any connection with \*kus- “be small” (cf. ON *smār* “little” < IE \*smē- “rub”)?

## 1508 \*kus- “meat, bull”

Berb \*kus- “meat”: Lib *kusu*.

WCh \*kus- “bull”: Sura *kus*, Ang *kus*, Mnt *kūs*.

Cf. ECh \*kas- “bull”: Bid *kas-kō*. Semantically, cf. an exact parallel in Av *gav-* “ox, cow” and also “meat”.

## 1509 \*kuw- “be dark”

Eg *kkw* “dark” (pyr).

Partial reduplication.

WCh \*kuw- “dark”: Ang *pi-kwi*, Chip *pe-kowo*, Sura *koo*, Mpn *kūo*.

Prefix \*pi- in Ang and Chip.

## 1510 \*kuw-/\*kuy- “shout”

WCh \*kuw- “shout” (n.): Hs *kūwa*.

Agaw \*kuy- “emit sounds”: Aun *koy-ḡ*.

Consonantal alternation \*-w- ~ \*-y-.

## 1511 \*küHen- “dog”

WCh \*kuHen- “dog”: Fyer *k<sup>w</sup>eeḡ*.

Fyer -ḡ goes back to \*-n-H-.

Mgg *kwehen* “dog”.

Omot \*keHen- “dog”: Dime *keenu*.

Related to \*kan-, \*kun- id.

## 1512 \*kün- “rise, raise”

Eg *tny* “raise high” (pyr).

Note the palatalization of \*k-.

WCh \*kunwa- “rise” <sup>1</sup>, “lift” <sup>2</sup>: Bol *kon* <sup>1 2</sup>, Dwot *kun* <sup>2</sup>.

## 1513 \*kün- “woman, co-wife”

Sem \*kann-/\*kinn- “co-wife” <sup>1</sup>, “female in-law” <sup>2</sup>: Akk *kinītu* <sup>1</sup>,  
Arab *kann-at-* <sup>2</sup>.

Secondary variant with \*-a?

Berb *\*kVn-* ‘co-wife’: Izy *iken*, Snus *ta-kna*, Kby *ta-kna*.

WCh *\*kin-* ‘co-wife’<sup>1</sup>, ‘sister’<sup>2</sup>: Tng *kin*<sup>2</sup>, Wrj *kinai*<sup>1</sup>, Kry *kin*<sup>1</sup>, Miya *kin*<sup>1</sup>, Cagu *kine*<sup>1</sup>, Mbu *kina*<sup>1</sup>, Jmb *kina*<sup>1</sup>, Sha *čin*<sup>2</sup>, Klr *kin*<sup>2</sup>.

Irregular development of *\*-ü-*.

Agaw *\*kwin-* ‘woman’: Bil *ɔyiinaa*, Xmr *iuunaa*, Xmt *eqʷen*, Kwr *iewiina*, Dmb *kiuunaa*, Kem *yiwiinaa*, Aun *xuonaa*.

Cf. numerous Cush forms with a voiced stop in the anlaut:  
Agaw *\*gan-* ‘mother’ (Bil *ganaa*, Kwr *ganaa*, Kem *gānaa*),  
Omot *\*gen-* ‘woman, lady’ (Ome *gennee*, Kaf *gennee*, Mch *gānne*),  
Dhl *gaana* ‘woman’.

#### 1514 *\*küsan-* ‘beans’

Sem *\*kišan-* ‘bean’: Akk *kiššānu*.

CCh *\*gusan-H-* ‘kind of beans’: Mofu *gusag*.

Irregular voiced *\*g* < *\*k*.

#### 1515 *\*küɜ-* ‘slave’

Sem *\*kizVy-* ‘servant’: Akk *kizû*.

CCh *\*kuɜ-* ‘slave’: Bch *küsa*, Gudu *kuza*.

#### 1516 *\*kVcVm-* ‘beat, break’

Sem *\*kVsim-* ‘beat, break into pieces’: Akk *kasāmu*, Hbr *ksm*, Arab *ksm* [-i-].

Eg *ksm* ‘strike’ (MK).

#### 1517 *\*kVĉ-* ‘dig’

Sem *\*nVkiš-/nVkuš-* ‘empty, dig’: Arab *nkš* [-i-, -u-].

Prefix *\*nV-*.

ECh *\*kaĉ-* ‘dig, bury’: Kwn *kasi*, *kesi*.

Cf. CCh *\*kVč-* ‘dig’: Mofu *kəč-*?

#### 1518 *\*kVmVʷ-* ‘bind’

Sem *\*kVmVʷ-* ‘bind’: Akk *kamû*.

Eg *lʷm* ‘binding’ (XVIII).

Metathesis. Note the palatalization of *\*k-*.

The alternative reconstruction is *\*kVʷVm-*.

#### 1519 *\*kVnVy-* ‘call’

Sem *\*kVnVy-* ‘call (by name)’: Hbr *kny*, Arab *kny* [-i-].

Eg *kny* ‘call’ (reg).

#### 1520 *\*kVrVb-* ‘ask’

Sem *\*kVrVb-* ‘ask, request’: Akk *karābu*.

Eg *lʷkb* ‘complain’ (pyr).

Metathesis. Initial *i-* may reflect a prefix or a front vowel of the first syllable.

The alternative reconstruction is *\*rVʷVb-*.

#### 1521 *\*kVwVl-/kVyVl-* ‘dog, wolf’

Berb *\*kVwVl-* ‘wolf, jackal’: Tua *akūlen*.

CCh *\*kʷal-* < *\*kVyʷal-* ‘dog’: Ksr *kele*, Log *kəle*, Bud *kelī*.

Sem *\*kalb-* ‘dog’ may also belong here as a reflex of *\*kal-* with the suffix of harmful animals *\*-b-*. Note the consonantal alternation *\*-w-* ~ *\*-y-*.

**\*k**

#### 1522 *\*kaʷ-* ‘see’

Eg *kʷkʷ* ‘look’ (n).

Reduplication.

WCh *\*ka-* ‘see’: Maha *kai*, Bgh *kwa*, Kir *kwē*, Ngz *ika*.

Bgh and Kir go back to *\*kwaʷ-* < *\*kaw-*.

ECh *\*kaʷ-* ‘see’: Tum *ka*.

1523 \*ka<sup>2</sup>-/\*kaw-/\*kay- “move upwards, fly”

Eg *kɔ* “be high” (pyr).

WCh \*ka<sup>2</sup>- “rise”: Sura *kaa*, Chip *kaa*.

CCh \*kwa<sup>2</sup>- “raise, lift”: Gudu *kʷo*.

From \*kaw-?

ECh \*kaw-/\*kay- “fly”<sup>1</sup>, “rise”<sup>2</sup>: Mobu *kaye*<sup>1</sup>, Bid *kaaw*<sup>2</sup>.

Consonantal alternation \*-ɔ- ~ \*-w- ~ \*-y-.

1524 \*ka<sup>2</sup>-/\*kay- “spit”

Sem \*kɪ<sup>2</sup>- “spit”: Hbr *qy*<sup>2</sup>.

Transformation of the original biliteral root into a \*CVyVC- structure. Cf. Akk *gāu*, *kāu* id.?

Eg *kɔ*<sup>c</sup> “spit out” (MK).

Based on the original \*kɔ?

ECh \*ka<sup>2</sup>ak- “spit”: Dng *kaake*.

Reduplication.

1525 \*ka<sup>2</sup>-/\*kay- “egg”

WCh \*kwa<sup>2</sup>-/\*kway- “egg”: Hs *kwai*, Grk *nie*.

Prefix in Grk.

Omot \*kew- “egg”: Yam *keewa*.

## 1526 \*kab- “vessel”

Sem \*kab- “goblet”: Akk *qabūtu*.

Eg *kby* “mug” (MK).

Suffix -y?

WCh \*kaḥ- < \*kab- “basket”: Sha *kaḥa*, DB *kaḥa*.

Shift of emphatization.

## 1527 \*kab- “cold”

Eg *kb*, *kbb* “cold”.

LEC \*kab- “cold”: Som *qabow*, Rnd *ḫobo*, Arb *kab*.

Som and Rnd go back to \*kab-aw-.

## 1528 \*kab- “speak, shout”

Sem \*kVb- “say”: Akk *qabû*.

WCh \*kab- “name” (v.): Tng *kɛb*.

ECh \*kVb- “talk”: Ndm *kəba*.

LEC \*kab-kab- “shout” (n.): Som *qabqab*.

Reduplication.

## 1529 \*kabal- “heart, stomach”

Sem \*kalb- “heart, soul, middle”: Arab *qalb*.

Metathesis.

WCh \*kabal- “stomach”: Siri *bokule*, Mbu *kubulo*.

Assimilation of vowels. Metathesis in Siri.

CCh \*kuḥar- < \*kubal- “heart”: Hwn *kuḥar-fara*.

Metathesis.

Alternative reconstructions are \*kalub- and \*baḥul-. Any relation to Afar *qabul* “fat” (n.)?

## 1530 \*kaç- “bone”

Sem \*kašš- “breast, sternum”: Arab *qašš*.

Agaw \*nV-[k]ac- “bone”: Bil *naaš*, Xmr *ḡac*, Kwr *naaš*, Dmb *naaš*,

Kem *ḡaš*, Aun *ḡac*, Dmt *ḡaaç*.

Prefix \*nV-.

Wrz \*mi-keč- “bone”: War *mi-keč*.

Prefix \*mV-. The vowel is not regular.

Cf. \*kas- “bone”.

## 1531 \*kaç-/\*kuç- “cut”

Sem \*kuš- “cut”: Akk *qašāšu*, Hbr *qšš*, *qšy*, Aram *qšš*, Arab *qšš* [-u-],

Shh *qeš*, Soq *qeš*.

WCh \*kaç- < \*kaç- “scrape, plane (wood)”: Hs *kāçā*.

Dissimilation of emphatics.

Dhl *k'ats*- “circumcise”.

Omot \*kuç- “circumcise”: Maji *kuç*.

Alternation \*a ~ \*u. Cf. \*kuç- “cut, pierce”.

## 1532 \*kač- “divide”

ECh \*kač- “part, divorce”: Bid kač-.

Rift \*kas- “divide”: Irq qasis-.

Cf. WCh \*kač- “place in portions”: Hs kasa (with deglottalization).

## 1533 \*kad- “skin”

Sem \*kadd- “lamb skin”: Arab qadd-.

WCh \*kaḍ- &lt; \*kad- “skin”: Krf kaḍa.

Shift of emphatization.

## 1534 \*kad- “vessel”

Sem \*kadaḥ- “pot, bowl”: Akk qadû, Arab qadaḥ-.

Based on the original \*kad-?

LEC \*kadam- “vessel, gourd”: Or qadaada.

Partial reduplication.

Cf. another morphonological variant in \*kod- “vessel”.

## 1535 \*kad-/kawad- “strike”

CCh \*kaḍ- &lt; \*kad- “strike”: Gis kaḍ, Mofu kaḍ, Mafa kaḍ-.

ECh \*kawaḍ- &lt; \*kawad- “strike”: Mig kooḍo.

Shift of emphatization.

Bed kaḍaw “strike”.

Metathesis. Note the shift of emphatization similar to Chadic.

The original morphological structure is preserved in CCh.

## 1536 \*kaduh- “fly” (n.)

Sem \*kadūḥ- “fly” (n.): Arab qadūḥ-.

WCh \*kud- &lt; \*kudaḤ- “fly” (n.): Hs kudā.

Metathesis of vowels.

## 1537 \*kaḥ- “earth, sand”

Eg kaḥ “earth” (MK).

Vocalic -ɔ-.

CCh \*kay-kay- “sand”: Muk kaykay, Msg kaikai.

Reduplication.

## 1538 \*kaḥah- “cough” (v.)

CCh \*kaḥag- “cough”: Bud kahag.

Dissimilation from \*kaḥaḥ-?

ECh \*kaḤak- “cough”: Bid kaak.

Dissimilation from \*kahah-?

LEC \*kak(V)k- “severe cough”: Or qakkee.

Descriptive root. An alternative reconstruction may be \*kaḥak- or \*kaḥak-.

## 1539 \*kak-/kuḥ- “cuckoo, hen”

Sem \*kakVy- “bird”: Akk qaqû.

Eg ka “cuckoo” (NK).

WCh \*kukway- “rooster”: Fyer kukwe.

CCh \*kwak- “hen”: Gul kwaku.

ECh \*kVkay- “bird”: Bid keeke.

Descriptive root. Alternation \*a ~ \*u.

## 1540 \*kal- “fall”

Sem \*kāl- “fall”: Akk qālu, Ug qā.

Based on \*kVl-.

CCh \*kal- “fall”: Mafa kal-.

ECh \*kal- “drop”: Bid ʔakal.

## 1541 \*kal-/kawal- “speak”

Sem \*kāl- “speak”: Arab qwl [-u-].

Related to \*kāl- “voice” (Hbr qōl, Aram qāl, Gz qāl).

ECh \*kawal- “cry, shout”<sup>1</sup>, “speak, call”<sup>2</sup>: Lele ya-kolo<sup>1</sup>, Kbl ye-kuwələ, Dng kole<sup>2</sup>, Jegu kol<sup>2</sup>, Brg kole<sup>2</sup>, Bid kol<sup>2</sup>.

Prefix \*ya- in Lele and Kbl.

SA \*kal- “say, think”: Afar -kal-.

The original biconsonantal root structure is preserved in SA.

## 1542 \*kal-/kil- “be small”

Sem \*kil- “be small, be light”: Akk *qallu*, Hbr *qll*, Arab *qll* [-i-], Hss *qel*, Soq *qel*.

WCh \*kal- “small”: Dera *kalla*.

ECh \*kal- “small”: Kbl *kāle*.

LEC \*kal- “thin, slender”: Or *qaḷaa*, *qallaa*, Kon *qalla*<sup>2</sup>.

Alternation \*a ~ \*i. Cf. CCh \*kul- “short”: Gudu *kul*.

## 1543 \*kam- “rise, lift”

Sem \*kūm- “stand up, get up”: Hbr *qwm*, Arab *qwm* [-u-], SAR *qwm*, Gz *qwm*.

Secondary transformation of a biconsonantal root into a \*CVwVC- structure.

WCh \*kam- “lift”: Geji *kami*, Buli *kəmu*.

## 1544 \*kamVh- “stick”

Eg *kṃḥ* “twig” (n).

WCh \*kam- “stick”: Sura *kam*, Ang *kam*, Mpn *kam*.

Loss of the auslaut laryngeal.

## 1545 \*kamVh- “flour”

Sem \*kamḥ- “flour”: Akk *qēmu*, Hbr *qemaḥ*, Aram (Syr) *qemḥō*, Arab *qamḥ*-, Gz *qamḥ*.

HEC \*kam(ay)- “flour”: Bmb *kamay*, Had *kama*, Kmb *kama*.

## 1546 \*kan- “plait”

Berb \*kVn- “tie”: Kby *əqqən*.

Eg *kṇ* “weave” (gr).

Cf. *kny* “weaver” (MK).

WCh \*kanu- “tie”: Cagu *kun*-, Bgh *kan*, Buli *kənnu*.

CCh \*kanwa- “plait”: Lame *kənwā*, Msm *kan*.

ECh \*kwan- < \*kanwa- “twist”<sup>1</sup>, “plait”<sup>2</sup>: Tum *koṇ*<sup>1</sup>, Mkk *kini*<sup>2</sup>.

Secondary -i- in Mkk.

## 1547 \*kan- “say, shout”

WCh \*kwan- < \*kanu- “say”: Say *kwan*, *kwani*.

Omot \*kan- “shout”: Ome *kan*.

## 1548 \*kap- “head, occiput”

Sem \*kapa[y]- “occiput”: Aram (Syr) *qōpyō*, Arab *qafā*-.  
Berb \*kaf- “head”: Ghd *iyaḥ*, Kby *ēyaḥ*.

ECh \*kwap- < \*kapwa- “occiput”: Dng *kopo*, Mig *kupo*, Jegu *kofo*.

## 1549 \*kar- “horn”

Sem \*karn- “horn”: Akk *qarnu*, Ug *qrn*, Hbr *qeren*, Aram (Syr) *qarnō*, Arab *qarn*-, Gz *qarn*, Hss *qōn*, Mhr *qōn*, Shh *qun*, Soq *qan*.

Derivative in \*-n-.

Eg *kr.ty* “horns” (dual) (NK).

Omot \*/k/ar- “horn”: Kaf *karoo*, Mch *karo*.

## 1550 \*kar- “cloud”

Eg *kr* “cloud” (pyr).

WCh \*kar- “cloud”: Bol *kəriya*.

## 1551 \*kar- “finish”

Eg *kr* “end (of a book)” (n).

WCh \*karya- “finish”: Hs *kāre*, Tng *ker*, Buli *kyeru*.

ECh \*kar- “finish”: Kwn *kar*, Mobu *kəre*.

## 1552 \*kar- “mountain”

Sem \*kār- “single mountain, hill”: Arab *qār-at*.

Berb \*kar- “hill”: Shl *iyar*.

Eg *ḳṛṛ* “hill”.

-ṛṛ < \*-r-?

LEC \*kar- “high mountain, summit”: Som *qar*, Or *qara*.

## 1553 \*kar- “burn; fire”

Eg *ḳrr* “fire, glaze (pots)” (pyr).



Partial reduplication.

WCh \*kar- ‘burn’: Kr *karu*, Krf *kaʔu*, *kaaru*.

CCh \*kar- ‘fire’: Mnd *kara*, Glv *kara*, Zgh *kara*.

Cf. Mofu *kakər* ‘burn’ with partial reduplication.

#### 1554 \*kar- ‘(be) cold’

Sem \*karr- ‘(be) cold’: Hbr *qar*, Arab *qarr-*, Gz *qʷrr*.

WCh \*karrar- ‘cold (of water, weather)’: Hs *kararā*.

Partial reduplication.

A morphonological variant of \*kor- ‘cold’ (n.).

#### 1555 \*kar- ‘call, shout’

Sem \*kVrV- ‘call, shout’<sup>1</sup>, ‘read’<sup>2</sup>: Akk *qerū*<sup>1</sup>, Ug *qr*<sup>1</sup>, Hbr *qr*<sup>1 2</sup>, Aram *qr*<sup>1</sup>, Arab *qr*<sup>2</sup> [-a-, -u-]<sup>2</sup>.

Based on biconsonantal \*kVr-.

Berb \*kVrVy- ‘call’ (n.): Tua *ta-γeri-t*.

Based on biconsonantal \*kVr-.

WCh \*kar- ‘cry out’: Hs *kārā*.

#### 1556 \*kara- ‘cut’

Sem \*kVʔar- ‘cut (trees)’: Arab *qʕr* [-a-].

Metathesis.

WCh \*kar(aH)-/\*kʕir- ‘cut’: Hs *kira*, Bol *kar*, Krk *karaa*, Dera *kara-*, Ngm *kara-*.

ECh \*kVr- ‘carve’: Ndm *kəra*.

Agaw \*kara- ‘cut’: Bil *karaa* ʔ-.

LEC \*kar- ‘sharp, point’ (v.): Or *qara*.

Cf. also LEC \*kor- ‘cut, carve’ (Som *qor-*, Or *qor-*, Arb *qor-*),

\*kar- ‘shave oneself’ (Arb *qar-*).

Wrz \*kar- ‘sharp’: Gaw *qaru*.

HEC \*kar- ‘be sharp’: Sid *kar-aaʔm-*.

Dhl *kʕeer-* ‘cut’.

Metathesis and contraction.

#### 1557 \*kas- ‘bone’

Berb \*kVs- ‘bone’: Ahg *eyes*, Tua *eyēs*, Snus *īyes*, Kby *īyes*, Siwa *ayēs*.

Eg *ks* ‘bone’ (pyr), Copt \*kas id.: Boh *kas*, Shd *kas*.

WCh \*ha-kas- ‘bone’: Hs *kašī*, Wrj *kāsū-na*, Kry *kāsu*, Miya *kusi*, Paa *kəsi-ki*, Cagu *kəkəsəna*, Mbu *kakəsə*, Jmb *kəkasi*, Bks *kyas*, Sha *gyiš-aw*, Klr *gyiš-aw*, DB *kyas*.

Prefix \*ka-.

ECh \*kas- ‘bone’: Kwn *kisi-gi*, Dng *kāso*, Bid *kas-ko*.

Assimilation of vowels in Kwn.

LEC \*kas- ‘bone, leg’: Gel *kas*.

Omot \*kas-/kʕus- ‘bone’: Nao *kus*, Dime *kas*, *kus*.

Unexpected \*-u-.

#### 1558 \*kat-/kʕut- ‘cut’

Sem \*kʕut- ‘cut’: Arab *qtt* [-u-], Gz *qʷtt*, Amh *qʷtt*.

The vocalism \*u may be reflected in labialized velars of Gz and Amh.

LEC \*kat- < \*kʕat- ‘circumcise’: Bay *kat-*.

Dissimilation of emphatics.

Omot \*kʕut- ‘cut’: Kaf *kʕut-*.

Rift \*kat- ‘circumcise’: Kwz *kat-*.

Dissimilation of emphatics.

Dhl *kʕaatʔ-aad-* ‘divide’.

Alternation \*a ~ \*u.

#### 1559 \*kaw- ‘nail, claw’

WCh \*kaw- ‘finger-nail’: Wrj *kəwi-na*, Mbu *kawi*, Jmb *kuya*.

ECh \*kawak- ‘finger-nail’: Mkk *kooka*.

Partial reduplication.

Wrz \*koy- < \*kaway- ‘claw’: Gaw *qoy-akko*.

#### 1560 \*kawas-/kayas- ‘bow, arrow’

Sem \*kawš- ‘bow’: Akk *qaštu*, Hbr *qešet*, Arab *qaws-*, Gz *qast*.

CCh \*kyas- < \*k[a]yas- ‘arrow’<sup>1</sup>, ‘bow’<sup>2</sup>: Mba *kese*<sup>1</sup>, Msg *kise*<sup>2</sup>.

ECh \*kyas- < \*k[a]yas- ‘bow’: Tum *kēse*, Bid *kēse*, Mig *kese*, Sok *kese* (< Arab?).

Cf. also Rift \*kas- ‘arrow’ in Kwz *kasamato*. Note the consonantal alternation \*-w- ~ \*-y-.

## 1561 \*kawat- ‘‘food’’

Sem \*kawt- ‘‘food’’: Hss *qūt*, Mhr *qawt*, Shh *qit*.

WCh \*kwatu- < \*kVwatu- ‘‘food, bread’’: Tng *kulu*, *kwete*.

CCh \*kwat- < \*kVwat- ‘‘food’’: Lame *kwati*.

## 1562 \*kayaç- ‘‘end, finish’’

Sem \*kās- ‘‘end, finish’’ (n. and v.): Hbr *qēs*, Jib *keši*.

WCh \*kayac- < \*kayaç- ‘‘end, finish’’: Sura *kyes*, Mpn *kes*.

Dissimilation of emphatics.

## 1563 \*kayič- ‘‘summer’’

Sem \*kayt- ‘‘summer’’: Hbr *qayış*, Aram (Syr) *qaytō*, Jib *qoz*, Hss *qayz*, Mhr *qayz*, Shh *qoz*, Soq *qiyat*.

WCh \*kiç- ‘‘summer’’: Buli *kis*, Zul *gisi*.

Contraction of \*-ayi- > \*-i-.

Omot \*keç- ‘‘heat’’ (n.): Mch *keççi*.

Related to \*keç- ‘‘be hot, be warm’’: Ome *kiçu*, Mch *keççi*.

## 1564 \*ke²- ‘‘house’’

CCh \*kyay- ‘‘house’’: Pad *keya*.

From \*kyaH-.

LEC \*ke²- ‘‘enclosure, compound’’: Or *qee²ee*.

Omot \*ke²- ‘‘house’’: Gim *kee²oo*.

Any connection with Hs *kauye* ‘‘village’’?

## 1565 \*keç- ‘‘break’’

Sem \*kīš- ‘‘break, split’’: Arab *qyd* [-i-].

Based on biconsonantal \*kVš-.

ECh \*kyaç- ‘‘break, skin’’: Bid *kedγ*.

## 1566 \*ken- ‘‘kill’’

Sem \*kVna²- ‘‘kill’’: Arab *qn²* [-a-].

Based on biliteral \*kVn-.

Eg *kn* ‘‘kill’’ (reg).

CCh \*kyan- ‘‘kill, break in pieces’’: Mnd *kyen*-.

## 1567 \*kenin- ‘‘vessel’’

Sem \*kinin- ‘‘bottle’’: Arab *qinnin-at*-.

CCh \*kyanin-H- ‘‘small pot’’: Gudu *kēniḡ*.

Partial reduplication?

## 1568 \*ker- ‘‘dwelling’’

Sem \*kary- ‘‘town, village’’: Ug *qr-t*, *qry-t*, Hbr *qiryā*, Aram (Syr) *qerī-t*-, Arab *qary-at*-, SAR *qr*, Jib *sire-t*.

Secondary vocalism.

ECh \*kyar- ‘‘house’’: Smr *kerī*.

Omot \*ker- ‘‘house, dwelling’’: Ome *ķera*.

A morphonological variant of \*kor- ‘‘house, place’’.

## 1569 \*keran- ‘‘monkey’’

WCh \*kyaran-H- ‘‘monkey’’: Bks *kyeraḡ*.

Suffix \*-H-.

LEC \*karan- ‘‘vervet monkey’’: Arb *kaarran*.

Assimilation of vowels.

Cf. WCh \*kar- ‘‘monkey’’ (Sura *kar*, Ang *ker*) as a possible reflection of the original HS \*kar- id. See \*kerVd- ‘‘monkey’’.

## 1570 \*kerVd- ‘‘monkey’’

Sem \*kird- ‘‘monkey’’: Arab *qird*-.

ECh \*mV-kyar(V)d- ‘‘green monkey’’: Mig *mekerda*.

Prefix \*ma-. Phonetically, \*kyar(V)d- > \*kyar(V)d-.

Related to \*keran- id. Apparently, there existed HS \*ker- ‘‘monkey’’.

## 1571 \*kiḥ- ‘‘moon’’

Eg *ḡhy* ‘‘moon’’ (BD).

Vocalic -γ.

CCh *\*kiy-* < *\*kiH-* ‘‘moon’’: Gis *kiya*, Bld *kiya*, Mtk *kiya*.  
 ECh *\*kway-* < *\*kwaHi-* ‘‘moon’’: Dng *kɔye*, Mig *koyo*, Bid *koya*.  
 Unexpected vocalism.

### 1572 *\*kiHVD-* ‘‘set on fire’’

Sem *\*kVHVd-* ‘‘set on fire’’: Akk *qādu*.  
 WCh *\*kiḍ-* < *\*kid-* ‘‘burn’’: Gera *kiḍ*.

Cf. CCh *\*kwa-kwad-* ‘‘hotness’’: Klb *kwakwadu*.

### 1573 *\*kilVb-* ‘‘knee’’

Eg *kɜb.t* ‘‘knee’’ (LM).  
 Note *-ɜ-* < *\*-l-*.  
 LEC *\*[k]ilVb-* ‘‘knee’’: Kon *kilba*, Bus *kilba*, Gat *kilba*, Gdl *kilba*.  
 Omot *\*kelVb-* < *\*kelVb-*: Gll *keelba*.  
 Shift of emphatization.

### 1574 *\*kir-* ‘‘frog’’

Sem *\*kVrr-* ‘‘frog’’: Arab *qarr-at-*, *qirr-at-*, *qurr-at-*.  
 Eg *krr* ‘‘frog’’ (n), Copt *\*krur* id.: Boh *k'rour*, Shd *kroure*.  
 Partial reduplication.  
 CCh *\*kir-* ‘‘frog’’: Daba *kərrəŋ*, Mofu *kakəraŋ*, Gava *kĩre*, FBw *kuř-min*.  
 Partial reduplication in Mofu.  
 ECh *\*kir-yan-* ‘‘frog’’: Mubi *kirēni*, Sok *koringē*.

### 1575 *\*kīrah-* ‘‘wound’’ (v.)

Sem *\*kVrah-* ‘‘wound’’ (v.): Arab *qrh* [-a-].  
 ECh *\*kiHVr-* ‘‘wound’’ (v.): Mkk *giira*.  
 Metathesis.  
 Connected with *\*kura-* ‘‘strike, break’’.

### 1576 *\*kirop-/kōrip-* ‘‘bark’’ (n.)

Sem *\*kirp-* ‘‘bark’’: Arab *qirf-*.  
 Cf. Arab *qrf* ‘‘peel (bark)’’, Gz *qrf* id.

WCh *\*kwarip-* ‘‘bark’’: Cagu *korōpe*, Brw *kworəp*, Wnd *kworip*.

Metathesis of vowels in Sem or WCh. Cf. *\*kolif-* id. Any connection with *\*kur-* ‘‘skin, bark’’? In Cush, there are several similar forms with a voiced auslaut: Bed *kurbe* ‘‘skin’’, Agaw *\*kwarab-* ‘‘skin’’ (Kem *kʷɔreɐs*), Omot *\*kurub-* ‘‘skin’’ (Ome *kurubi*).

### 1577 *\*kirVb-* ‘‘breast, belly’’

Sem *\*kirb-* ‘‘intestines’’<sup>1</sup>, ‘‘belly’’<sup>2</sup>, ‘‘side’’<sup>3</sup>: Akk *qirbu*<sup>1</sup>, Hbr *qereb*<sup>2</sup>, Arab *qurb-*, *qurub-*<sup>3</sup>.  
 Eg *kɜb* ‘‘gut’’ (med).  
 HS *\*-r-* > *Eg -ɜ-*.  
 Wrz *\*ker(V)p-* ‘‘breast’’: Gaw *kerpe*.  
 Irregular anlaut?  
 Cf. SA *\*gar(V)b-* ‘‘belly’’ (Saho *garbaa*, Afar *garbaa*).

### 1578 *\*kobaḥ-* ‘‘cloud, sky’’

Eg *kḥ.w* ‘‘sky’’ (pyr).  
 WCh *\*kwaḥay-* < *\*kwabaH-* ‘‘cloud’’: Bol *kebe*, Krk *kwabo*, Ngm *keḥe*.

### 1579 *\*kod-* ‘‘vessel’’

Eg *ka* ‘‘pot’’ (med).  
 Cf. Copt *\*kot* ‘‘basket’’ (Fym *kat*, Boh *kot* and the like)?  
 WCh *\*kwad-* < *\*kwad-* ‘‘calabash’’: Krf *kwado*, Gera *kwada*.  
 CCh *\*nV-kwad-* ‘‘bottle’’: Log *ḡkōda*.  
 Prefix *\*nV-*.  
 ECh *\*kwad-* < *\*kwad-* ‘‘pot’’: Dng *kɔda*.  
 LEC *\*kod-* ‘‘receptacle’’: Or *godaa*.  
 Dhl *k'oodo* ‘‘kind of calabash’’.  
 Cf. *\*kad-* ‘‘vessel’’.

### 1580 *\*kol-* ‘‘egg’’

CCh *\*kwal-* ‘‘egg’’: Bata *kwalo*.

Agaw \*<sup>ɔ</sup>Vn-*kwalal*- ‘‘egg’’: Kem *ən̄kʷalal*, Aun *ən̄kʷalal*.

Prefix \*<sup>ɔ</sup>Vn-. Partial reduplication.

### 1581 \*kol- ‘‘look, see’’

Sem \**mVkul*- ‘‘look’’: Arab *mql* [-u-].

Prefix \**mV*-.

Berb \**kʷl*- ‘‘look’’: Izy *smuqel*.

ECh \**kwal*- ‘‘see’’: Ndm *kəːla*, Jegu *ʔakal*-.

Agaw \**kwal*- ‘‘look, see’’: Bil *kʷal*, Xmr *kʷal*, Xmt *kaal*-, Kwr *ʷaal*, Dmb *kʷaal*, Kem *χal*.

LEC \**kʷal*- ‘‘see’’: Som *qollaali*-.

Partial reduplication.

### 1582 \*kol- ‘‘earthenware’’

Sem \**kull*- ‘‘clay mug’’ <sup>1</sup>, ‘‘jug’’ <sup>2</sup>: Akk *qulliu* <sup>1</sup>, Arab *qull-at*- <sup>2</sup>.

HEC \**kol*- ‘‘jar’’: Bmb *kole*.

### 1583 \*kol- ‘‘head, nape’’

Berb \**kʷl-kul*- ‘‘occiput’’: Izy *aqelqul*.

Reduplication.

WCh \**kwa-kwal*- ‘‘brain’’: Hs *kwaḳwalwā*.

Partial reduplication.

ECh \**kwa-kʷl*- ‘‘brain’’: Kwan *kokəl*.

Partial reduplication.

LEC \**kol*- ‘‘nape’’: Or *qolee*.

HEC \**koʔ(V)l*- ‘‘nape, back of neck’’: Had *koʔlo*, Kmb *koʔlu*.

Secondary \*-ʔ-.

Quite probably, related to \**kol*- ‘‘earthenware’’. Cf. Lat *testa* ‘‘potsherd’’ > Rom \**testa* ‘‘head’’.

### 1584 \*kol- ‘‘be hot, burn’’

Sem \**kʷlVw*- ‘‘roast’’: Akk *qalū*, Arab *qlw* [-i-, -u-].

Based on \**kʷl*-.

CCh \**kwalu*- ‘‘hotness’’: Bch *kwul*-.

### 1585 \*kolif- ‘‘bark’’ (n.)

Sem \**kulip*- ‘‘bark’’: Akk *quliptu*, Hbr *qelippā*, Arab *qulāf-at*-, Hss *qelfēt*, Mhr *qelēfōt*, Soq *qalifoḥ*.

Cf. Arab *qlf* ‘‘peel’’ (v.), Gz *qʷlf* id. Secondary vocalism in Arab.

SA \**koloḥ*- ‘‘bark’’: Saho *kolofo*.

Irregular \**k*-. Assimilation of vowels.

LEC \**koloḥ*- ‘‘bark’’ <sup>1</sup>, ‘‘foreskin’’ <sup>2</sup>: Som *qolof* <sup>1</sup>, Or *qolofa* <sup>2</sup>, Kon *qolfa* <sup>1</sup>.

Assimilation of vowels.

Wrz \**koḥol*- ‘‘bark’’: Gaw *qoḥfol*.

Assimilation of vowels. Metathesis.

### 1586 \*kom- ‘‘house, enclosure’’

WCh \**kwama*- ‘‘hut’’: Ang *kwam*, Kry *ḳam*, Miya *ḳam*, Siri *ḳami*, Mbu *ḳam*.

Rift \**kwam*- ‘‘enclosure’’: Bur *qwama*, Kwz *kw’ama*.

### 1587 \*komal- ‘‘insect’’

Sem \**kaml*- ‘‘flea’’ <sup>1</sup>, ‘‘louse’’ <sup>2</sup>: Arab *qaml*- <sup>1</sup>, SAr *qmlt* <sup>2</sup>, Gz *qʷemāl* <sup>2</sup>, Tgy *qʷemāl* <sup>2</sup>.

Ethio-Sem forms may reflect an earlier rounded vowel of the root.

CCh \**kwamal*- ‘‘ant’’: Bud *komāli*.

### 1588 \*kop- ‘‘container’’

Sem \**kupp*- ‘‘box’’ <sup>1</sup>, ‘‘basket’’ <sup>2</sup>: Akk *quppu* <sup>1</sup>, Arab *quff-at*- <sup>2</sup>, Shh *qefet* <sup>2</sup>, Mhr *qeffēt* <sup>2</sup>, Soq *qefet* <sup>2</sup>.

Cf. Akk *qappalu* ‘‘basket’’, Gz *qafo* id.

CCh \**kVp*- ‘‘calabash’’: Bch *kpa*.

ECh \**kwap*- ‘‘box’’: Mkk *koop*.

LEC \**kuf*- ‘‘basket’’: Som *quffo*.

### 1589 \*kor- ‘‘house, place’’

Sem \**kur-an*- ‘‘villages’’ (pl.): Arab *qur-an*-.

Suffix -an-.

WCh *\*kwar-* ‘‘hut’’: Krk *kwaro*.

Cf. partial reduplication in DB *kukor* ‘‘stone wall’’, see CCh.

CCh *\*kwa-kwar-* ‘‘town’’: Mtk *kwokwař*.

Partial reduplication (cf. WCh).

ECh *\*kwaru-* ‘‘place’’: Lele *kūr*, Kbl *korr*.

LEC *\*kor-* ‘‘block’’: Or *qoroo*.

Rift *\*kor-* ‘‘brick house’’: Irq *goori*.

A morphonological variant of *\*ker-* ‘‘dwelling’’.

### 1590 *\*kor-* ‘‘speak, ask’’

CCh *\*kwar-* ‘‘speak’’: Zgh *kwaraya*, Gava *kwər-*.

LEC *\*kor-* ‘‘examine, question’’: Or *qora*.

Reduplication in Or *qorqoro* ‘‘ask’’.

HEC *\*kor-* ‘‘ask (in investigation)’’: Gel *kor-*.

Related to *\*kar-/kir-* ‘‘call, shout’’?

### 1591 *\*kor-* ‘‘cold’’ (n.)

Sem *\*kurr-* ‘‘cold’’: Akk *qirru*, Hbr *qor*, Aram (Syr) *qurō*, Arab *qurr-*, *qirr-*, Gz *qʷər*.

LEC *\*kor(r)-* ‘‘intense cold’’: Or *qorra*.

HEC *\*kor(r)-* ‘‘cold’’: Sid *qorre*.

Derived from *\*kar-* ‘‘(be) cold’’.

### 1592 *\*koreš-* ‘‘cut’’

Sem *\*kVriš-* ‘‘cut into parts’’: Akk *qarāšu*, Arab *qrš* [-i-, -u-].

HEC *\*kores-* ‘‘break (bread)’’: Had *koreš-*, Kmb *koros-*.

Note the unusual vocalic pattern. Cf. *\*kara<sup>c</sup>-* ‘‘cut’’?

### 1593 *\*kori<sup>2</sup>-* ‘‘bird’’

Sem *\*kari<sup>2</sup>-* ‘‘kind of bird’’: Hbr *qorē<sup>2</sup>*, Arab *qāriyy-at-*.

Irregular vocalism.

WCh *\*kyar-* < *\*kwari-* ‘‘hen’’: Mnt *kier*.

CCh *\*kwar(i)-* ‘‘duck’’: Mofu *kwerekwere*.

Reduplication.

ECh *\*kwar-* ‘‘duck’’<sup>1</sup>, ‘‘chicken, rooster’’<sup>2</sup>: Kera *akorkoro*<sup>1</sup>, Dng *kokira*<sup>2</sup>, Jegu *kokore*<sup>2</sup>, Mubi *kurī*<sup>2</sup>, Mig *kukkira*, *kokiro*<sup>2</sup>.

Various types of reduplication.

LEC *\*kor-* ‘‘kite’’: Arb *qore*.

### 1594 *\*korV<sup>c</sup>-* ‘‘shield’’

Eg *kr<sup>c</sup>.w* ‘‘shield’’ (XIX).

ECh *\*kwar-* ‘‘shield’’: Mkk *korko*, Sok *kokēre*.

Partial reduplications. Loss of the auslaut laryngeal.

### 1595 *\*kos-* ‘‘strike’’

WCh *\*kwas-* ‘‘strike’’: Hs *dan-kwasa*, Ang *kwās*.

ECh *\*kVs-* ‘‘break, strike’’: Mkk *koss-*, *gusse*.

LEC *\*kos-* ‘‘knock, peck’’: Or *qossa<sup>a</sup>a*.

HEC *\*kas-* ‘‘strike, pierce’’: Sid *kas-*, Had *kaass-*, Bmb *kas-*, Kmb *kas-*.

The root vowel is irregular.

### 1596 *\*kotir-/kotur-* ‘‘be small’’

Sem *\*kVtir-/kVtur-* ‘‘live modestly, make meager’’: Arab *qtr* [-i-, -u-].

CCh *\*kwatVr-* ‘‘small’’: Mtk *kwotr*.

### 1597 *\*koṭi<sup>c</sup>-* ‘‘end, finish’’ (v.)

Sem *\*kVṭi<sup>c</sup>-* ‘‘finish, be finished’’<sup>1</sup>, ‘‘be spent’’<sup>2</sup>: Akk *qatū*<sup>1</sup>, Arab *qt<sup>c</sup>*<sup>2</sup>.

WCh *\*kwaṭi-* < *\*kwaṭi-* ‘‘end, finish’’: Ang *kūt*, Siri *kwata*, Fyer *kīt*, Tng *kwade*, Siri *kwata*.

Dissimilation of emphatics.

CCh *\*kaṭ-* < *\*kwaṭa-* ‘‘end, finish’’: Msg *kata*.

### 1598 *\*koy-* ‘‘bird’’

Eg *ky* ‘‘bird’’ (XVIII).

WCh *\*kway-* ‘‘hen’’: Sura *kwεε*, *kyε*, Ang *ki*, Mnt *kiyε*.

CCh *\*kuy-* ‘‘hawk’’: Mnd *kuye*.

ECh \**kway*- ‘‘bird’’: Kwn *koyō*.

Cf. Mkk *kaawa* ‘‘dove’’.

### 1599 \**ḱub*- ‘‘roof, house’’

Sem \**ḱubb*- ‘‘cupola’’: Arab *qubb-at*.

CCh \**kub*- ‘‘hut’’: Tera *kəba*, Gude *kuva*, FM *kuvu*.

### 1600 \**ḱuḱ*- ‘‘cut, pierce’’

Sem \**ḱVṣ*- ‘‘pierce’’: Arab *qdd*.

WCh \**ḱVḱ*- ‘‘cut, split’’: Jmb *kəṣ*.

CCh \**ḱVṣ*- ‘‘cut’’: Zgh *kṣu-naya*.

Rift \**ḱuḱ*- ‘‘cut’’: Bur *quuḱ*.

Cf. \**ḱaḱ*- ‘‘cut’’.

### 1601 \**ḱud*- ‘‘cut, tear’’

Sem \**ḱud*- ‘‘cut’’<sup>1</sup>, ‘‘tear’’<sup>2</sup>: Hbr *qdd*<sup>1</sup>, Aram *qdd*<sup>1</sup>, Arab *qdd* [-u-]<sup>1 2</sup>, Gz *qdd*<sup>1</sup>, Tgr *qdd*<sup>2</sup>, Amh *qdd*<sup>2</sup>, Arg *qdd*<sup>2</sup>, Hrr *qdd*<sup>2</sup>, Gur *qdd*<sup>2</sup>.

CCh \**kuḱi*- ‘‘tear, pluck’’: Mafa *kwiḱ*-, *ḡgwiḱ*-.  
Agaw \**ḱidid*- ‘‘tear’’: Aun *qeded-əḡ*.

Partial reduplication.

LEC \**ḱod*- ‘‘divide’’: Or *qood*-.

Omot \**ḱad*-/\**ḱod*- ‘‘divide’’: Kaf *ḱodi*, Mch *ḱoodi*.

### 1602 \**ḱudah*- ‘‘dig’’

Sem \**ḱVdVh*- ‘‘make holes’’: Arab *qdh*.

ECh \**kudaH*- ‘‘dig’’: Ndm *kudā*.

Wrz \**ḱod*- ‘‘dig’’: Gaw *qoḱ*-.

### 1603 \**ḱuḱ*- ‘‘bark’’ (n.)

Eg *ḱḱ.ty* ‘‘bark’’ (gr).

WCh \**a-ḱuḱwak*- ‘‘bark’’<sup>1</sup>, ‘‘skin’’<sup>2</sup>: Klr *ak’uk’weg*<sup>1</sup>, Ang *kuk*<sup>2</sup>.

Partial reduplication in Klr.

### 1604 \**ḱul*- ‘‘lift, rise’’

Sem \**ḱVI*- ‘‘raise’’: Arab *qll*.

Berb \**ḱVwVI*- ‘‘rise’’: Sml *ḡuli*, *ḡli*, Sgh *eylīy*.

Inlaut \*-w- continuing HS \*u?

CCh \**kul*- ‘‘lift’’: HNk *kulu*, Kap *kəl-te*, HF *kəli*-, FKl *kəltu*<sup>3</sup>.

### 1605 \**ḱum*- ‘‘sweep’’

Sem \**ḱVm*- ‘‘sweep’’: Arab *qmm*.

WCh \**ḱum*- ‘‘sweep’’: Chip *kum*, Ank *kum*, Grk *kokum*.

Partial reduplication in Grk.

### 1606 \**ḱum*- ‘‘be hot, burn’’

Sem \**ḱVm*- ‘‘burn’’: Akk *qamū*.

WCh \**ḱum*- ‘‘become hot’’: Bol *kum*.

### 1607 \**ḱur*- ‘‘go around, follow’’

WCh \**ḱur*- ‘‘go around’’: Bol *kur*.

CCh \**kur*- ‘‘accompany’’: FMch *kuri*.

ECh \**kwar*- ‘‘go away’’<sup>1</sup>, ‘‘follow, turn’’<sup>2</sup>: Kera *koore*<sup>1</sup>, Mkk *guzze*<sup>2</sup>.

LEC \**ḱor*- ‘‘run back and forth’’: Or *qoraʔa*.

### 1608 \**ḱur*- ‘‘skin, bark’’

WCh \**ḱur*- ‘‘skin, bark’’: Bgh *kwar*, Wnd *kur*, Tala *kuur*, Zul *kuuri*,

Bot *koore*, Kir *kwār*, Pol *kūri*, Geji *kūr*, Brw *kūru*.

Omot \**ḱur*- ‘‘skin, bark’’: Ome *ḱuuro*, *kurra*.

### 1609 \**ḱurab*- ‘‘insect’’

Sem \**aḱrab*- ‘‘scorpion’’: Hbr *ʿaqrāb*, Aram (Syr) *ʿeqarbō*, Arab *ʿaqrab*-.

Prefix \**a*-.

WCh \**ḱurVb*- ‘‘ant’’: Glm *kurba*.

1610 \*kura<sup>c</sup>- ‘‘strike, break’’

Sem \*kVra<sup>c</sup>- ‘‘strike (with a stick)’’: Arab qra<sup>c</sup> [-a-].

Based on \*kVr-?

WCh \*kir- ‘‘grind’’<sup>1</sup>, ‘‘blow’’<sup>2</sup>: Glm kir<sup>1</sup>, Ang kīr<sup>2</sup>.

Loss of the auslaut laryngeal. Secondary \*i.

CCh \*kur- ‘‘forge’’: FJ kura.

Loss of the auslaut laryngeal.

LEC \*kura<sup>2</sup>- ‘‘hit, bat’’: Or qura<sup>2</sup>a.

## 1611 \*kurom- ‘‘cut, bite’’

Sem \*kVrum- ‘‘cut with teeth’’: Arab qrm [-u-].

WCh \*kurwam- ‘‘cut or bite head off’’<sup>1</sup>, ‘‘cut’’<sup>2</sup>: Hs kurmē<sup>1</sup>, Ang karm<sup>2</sup>.

## 1612 \*kuruc- ‘‘rope’’

Sem \*kurus- ‘‘belt’’: Akk kurussu.

Irregular reflection of \*k.

Eg kʾs ‘‘cord’’ (pyr).

-ʾ- continues HS \*-r-.

A cultural loanword?

## 1613 \*kut- ‘‘beat, break’’

Sem \*wVkvVt-/ʾyVkvVt- ‘‘beat (smb.)’’: Arab wqt, yqt.

Prefix \*wV-/ʾyV-.

ECh \*kut- ‘‘break, pound’’: Kwn kutē.

Cf. also Rift \*ket- ‘‘break in pieces’’: Irq qet-is-, Bur qet-is-.

## 1614 \*kut- ‘‘feed, cook’’

Sem \*kūt- ‘‘feed’’: Arab qwt [-u-].

Derivative based on \*kVt-.

WCh \*kut- ‘‘prepare food, cook’’: Tng kute.

Related to \*kawat- ‘‘food’’.

## 1615 \*kuṭun- ‘‘be small’’

Sem \*kVṭVn- ‘‘be small, be thin’’: Hbr qṭn, Gz qṭn, Hss qayṭen, Mhr qayṭen, Shh qeṭen.

CCh \*kuṭun- ‘‘short, small’’: Tera kutun.

Related to \*kotir-/ʾkotur- ‘‘be small’’?

## 1616 \*küč- ‘‘insect’’

ECh \*guč- ‘‘termite’’: Lele gusi.

Agaw \*küč- ‘‘worm’’: Bil kešaa, Xmr hesaa, Kwr xešii, Dmb xesee,

Kem xešaa.

Dhl kʾutsi ‘‘bee larva’’.

## 1617 \*küd- ‘‘genitals’’

CCh \*kuḍ- < \*küd- ‘‘testicles’’: Mnd kuḍa, Pad kuda-ma, Mtk kuḍe-eč.

Shift of emphatization.

Agaw \*kwid- ‘‘anus, vulva’’: Xmr xwedaa.

LEC \*kod- ‘‘penis’’: Som qoodo, qoodo.

## 1618 \*küdur- ‘‘vessel’’

Sem \*kidr- ‘‘earthenware’’: Hbr qēdērā, Aram qidrā, Arab qidr-, Hss qeder, Mhr qāder.

ECh \*gudur- ‘‘pot’’: Kera gədərya, Mubi gudur.

## 1619 \*kün- ‘‘(be) white, (be) yellow’’

Eg kny.t ‘‘yellow color’’ (NK).

Vocalic -y.

CCh \*kun-H- ‘‘white’’: Bch kuḡ, Bata kuḡe.

## 1620 \*kür- ‘‘snake’’

Eg ikr.w ‘‘kind of snake’’ (pyr).

i- may be a prefix lost in Chadic or a vocalic sign for a front vowel.

WCh \*kur- ‘‘snake’’: Tng kurot, Bol kureeḍi.

CCh *\*kur-* ‘snake’: Bnn *kuriya*.

Cf. a denominative formation in Sem *\*kur-* ‘hiss (of a snake)’: Arab *qrr* [-u].

### 1621 *\*ḲVĉeb-* ‘cut’

Sem *\*ḲVšVb-* ‘cut’: Arab *qdb*.

ECh *\*ḲVĉyap-* < *\*ḲVĉyab-* ‘cut’: Bid *keḏep*.

Note the unvoiced anlaut.

Derived from *\*Ḳuĉ-* ‘cut, pierce’.

### 1622 *\*ḲVʿoh-* ‘shoulder’

Eg *Ḳḥ* ‘shoulder, arm’ (MK).

Rift *\*Ḳwaḥ-* < *\*Ḳwaḥ-* ‘shoulder’: Irq *ḳwaḥa*, Alg *ḳwaḥu*, Bur *ḳwaḥa*.

Dissimilation of emphatics. The inlaut *\*-ḥ-* is not preserved.

### 1623 *\*ḲVḳ-* ‘eat, bite’

Eg *ḳḳ* ‘eat’ (XVIII).

WCh *\*ḲVḳ-* ‘bite’: Kry *ḳəki*.

A nominal reflex of *\*ḲVḳ-* may be preserved in Dhl *ḳʾokʾo* ‘throat’.

### 1624 *\*ḲVI-* ‘spin’

Sem *\*ḲVI-ḲVI-* ‘brandish, agitate’: Gz *qʷlqʷl*.

Reduplication.

Berb *\*ḲVI-* ‘spin’: Tua *eyli*.

### 1625 *\*ḲVIVc-* ‘spit’

Sem *\*ḲVIVs-* ‘spit’: Arab *qls*.

Eg *ḳʾs* ‘spit’.

-ʾ- continues HS *\*-l-*.

### 1626 *\*ḲVr-* ‘dry’ (v.)

Sem *\*ḲVr-* ‘drying’: Akk *qarūru*.

Berb *\*ḲVr-* ‘be dry’: Tua *iḳar*.

### 1627 *\*ḲVrVs-* ‘freeze’

Sem *\*ḲVrVš-* ‘freeze’: Aram (Syr) *qrš*, Arab *qrs*.

Berb *\*ḲVrVs-* ‘freeze’: Tua *ḳeres*.

Derived from *\*ḳar-* ‘(be) cold’, *\*ḳor-* ‘cold’ (n.).

### 1628 *\*ḲVw-/\*ḲVy-* ‘remain, wait’

Sem *\*ḲVw-* ‘remain’<sup>1</sup>, ‘wait’<sup>2</sup>: Akk *qūʾu*<sup>2</sup>, Hbr *qwy*<sup>2</sup>, Aram (Syr) *qw*<sup>2</sup><sup>1</sup><sup>2</sup>.

CCh *\*ḳi-* < *\*ḲVy-* ‘remain’: Log *ki*.

Omot *\*ḲVwVy-* ‘remain, wait’: Kaf *ḳee-*, *ḳeey-*, *ḳway-*.

Consonantal alternation *\*-w-* ~ *\*-y-*.

### 1629 *\*ḲVyVn-* ‘forge’

Sem *\*ḳīn-* ‘forge’: Arab *qyn* [-i].

WCh *\*ḳyan-un-* < *\*ḲVyan-un-* ‘forge’: Hs *ḳyanuna*.

Partial reduplication.

### 1630 *\*ḲVžor-* ‘dirt, be dirty’

Sem *\*ḲVdar-/\*ḲVdur-* ‘be dirty’: Arab *qḏr* [-a-, -u-].

Cf. Hbr *qḏr* ‘be dark’.

ECh *\*gVžwar-* ‘faeces, silt’: Kera *goder*.

## \*1

### 1631 *\*laʾ-* ‘be tired, be sick’

Sem *\*lVʾay-* ‘be tired’<sup>1</sup>, ‘be slow’<sup>2</sup>: Hbr *lʾy*<sup>1</sup>, Arab *lʾy* [-a-]<sup>2</sup>.

Cf. also Akk *laʾū* ‘weak (?)’ (in context with *šerru* ‘baby’).

Sem verb is based on biconsonantal *\*lVʾ-*.



WCh \*la<sup>3</sup>- ‘‘sickness, pain’’: Sura *laa*, Ang *le*.

Nominal derivative.

Cf. ECh \*law- ‘‘to become weak for lack of water (of plants)’’:  
Bid *law*.

### 1632 \*la<sup>3</sup>-/\*law- ‘‘cattle’’

Sem \*la<sup>3</sup>-/\*li<sup>3</sup>- ‘‘cow’’<sup>1</sup>, ‘‘heifer’’<sup>2</sup>, ‘‘wild bull’’<sup>3</sup>: Akk *lú*<sup>1</sup>, Hbr *lēṽā*<sup>2</sup>, Arab *la<sup>3</sup>*-<sup>3</sup>, Jib *le<sup>3</sup>*, Soq *ṽelha*<sup>1</sup>.

Forms reflecting \*-i- may belong to a different ablaut grade.

WCh \*la<sup>3</sup>- ‘‘cow’’: Dera *la*.

WCh \*la<sup>3</sup>u- ‘‘meat’’ may belong to the same root.

Agaw \*law-/\*luw- ‘‘cattle, cow’’: Bil *laaw*, Xmr *luwaa*, Aun *luwaa*.

Secondary \*-u- before a labial.

SA \*la<sup>3</sup>-/\*law- ‘‘cattle, herd’’: Saho *laa*, Afar *laa*, *low*.

LEC \*lo<sup>3</sup>-/\*low- ‘‘cattle’’: Som *loo<sup>3</sup>*, Or *loo-n*, Kon *lowaa*, Gdl *loha*.

Secondary \*-o-.

Wrz \*lo<sup>3</sup>- ‘‘cow’’: Gaw *lo<sup>3</sup>o*, Cam *loo<sup>3</sup>oo*, Hrs *lo<sup>3</sup>o*, Dob *lo<sup>3</sup>o*, Grr *lo<sup>3</sup>o*.

Secondary \*-o-.

### 1633 \*la<sup>3</sup>ad- ‘‘field’’

Eg *lʾd.t* ‘‘field’’ (MK).

Initial *t*- goes back to \*l-.

ECh \*lawad- < \*laHad- ‘‘field’’: Jegu *lood*.

LEC \*lad- ‘‘land’’: Or *laddaa*.

Contraction.

### 1634 \*lab- ‘‘cereal’’

Sem \*lāb- ‘‘roasted corn’’: Akk *lābtu*.

Eg *nb* ‘‘cereal’’ (gr).

Note *n*- < HS \*l-.

### 1635 \*lab- ‘‘cow, bull’’

Eg *nb.t* ‘‘cow’’ (gr).

*n*- < HS \*l-.

ECh \*labi- ‘‘cattle’’<sup>1</sup>, ‘‘bull’’<sup>2</sup>: Smr *labei*<sup>1</sup>, Ndam *libe*<sup>2</sup>, Lele *ku-lba*.

### 1636 \*labi<sup>3</sup>-/\*liba<sup>3</sup>- ‘‘lion’’

Sem \*labi<sup>3</sup>- ‘‘lion’’<sup>1</sup>, ‘‘lioness’’<sup>2</sup>: Akk *lab<sup>3</sup>u*<sup>1</sup>, Ug *lbu*<sup>1</sup>, Hbr *lābī<sup>3</sup>*<sup>2</sup>, Arab *labu<sup>3</sup>*-<sup>2</sup>.

WCh \*lVbV<sup>3</sup>-Vr- ‘‘wild cat’’: Sura *rəḫəl*.

Suffix \*-r-. Note -ḫ- < \*-b<sup>3</sup>-.

CCh \*a-lib-ar- ‘‘lion’’<sup>1</sup>, ‘‘hyaena’’<sup>2</sup>: Hwn *lifāri*<sup>1</sup>, Mrg *ha-livari*<sup>1</sup>, Klb *lēvari*<sup>1</sup>, Chb *ṽalvari*<sup>1</sup>, Hld *luvari*<sup>1</sup>, HF *luveri*<sup>1</sup>, HB *livəru*<sup>1</sup>, HNK *livəri*<sup>1</sup>, Lam *ərvare*<sup>1</sup>, Mnd *ṽuruvwəri*<sup>1</sup>, Glv *ṽarvara*<sup>1</sup>, FMch *luvari*<sup>1</sup>, Gude *livara*<sup>1</sup>, Mtk *laval*<sup>2</sup>.

Note that Mtk reflects the original structure with \*-ṽar- > -al.

SA \*lub-ak- ‘‘lion’’: Saho *lubaak*, Afar *lubaak*.

Suffix \*-ak-. \*i > u before a labial.

LEC \*lib-aḥ- ‘‘lion’’: Som *libaḥ*.

Suffix \*-ḫ- or an irregular continuation of the auslaut laryngeal of the original HS form?

Metathesis of root vowels.

### 1637 \*lag- ‘‘river’’

CCh \*lagwa- ‘‘river’’: Zgh *gu-lagwa*, Bnn *loka*.

Prefix \*gu- in Zgh. Unvoiced Bnn -k- seems to be not quite regular.

LEC \*lag- ‘‘river’’: Or *laga*.

HEC \*lag- ‘‘river’’: Sid *laga*.

Borrowed from LEC?

### 1638 \*lağ- ‘‘speak’’

Sem \*lağ-/\*luğ- ‘‘speak, chat’’: Hbr *l<sup>c</sup>*, Arab *lǧw* [-a-, -u-].

WCh \*lağ- ‘‘speak’’: Fyer *lak*, Bks *lak*, DB *lak*.

### 1639 \*lağ-/\*luğ- ‘‘neck, throat’’

Sem \*luğ- ‘‘throat’’: Hbr *loa<sup>c</sup>*, Arab *luğ-at*.

Dhl *lak’a* ‘‘area under chin’’.

Alternation \*a ~ \*u. Cf. WCh \*la<sup>c</sup>- ‘‘neck’’ (Sha *laha*, DB *la*, Bks *la*) and CCh \*lay- id. (Mba *le*).

## 1640 \*lahas- ‘‘lick’’

Sem \*lVhaš- ‘‘lick’’: Arab *lhs* [-a-].

Cf. also *lhs* id. [-a-].

WCh \*laHVš- ‘‘lick’’: Hs *lāsā*.

If the inlaut laryngeal is of secondary origin, the root may be related to \*les- ‘‘tongue’’.

## 1641 \*laḥaḵ-/ \*laḥiḵ- ‘‘clay’’

Sem \*laḥaḵ- ‘‘clay’’: Arab *laḥaq-*.

Berb \*laḵ- ‘‘clay’’: Ahg *ta-laq*.

Bed *lik<sup>w</sup>* ‘‘clay’’.

Contraction from \*lVHiḵ-?

## 1642 \*laḥam- ‘‘meat, food’’

Sem \*laḥm- ‘‘bread, food’’<sup>1</sup>, ‘‘meat’’<sup>2</sup>: Hbr *leḥem*<sup>1</sup>, Aram (Syr) *laḥmā*<sup>1</sup>, Arab *laḥm-*, *laḥam-*<sup>2</sup>.

Cf. Akk *laḥāmu* ‘‘to eat’’, Arab *lḥm* [-a-] ‘‘feed with meat’’.

WCh \*laHam- ‘‘meat’’: Brm *laamu*, Grn *laam*.

Note Hs *lamai* ‘‘tuwo’’.

## 1643 \*laḥ- ‘‘sheep, goat’’

Berb \*laH- ‘‘ram’’: Ayr *tele*, Ahg *e-lah-əy*, Sus *tīli*, Fgg *tīli*.

Eg *nḥ* ‘‘goat’’ (XIX).

Prefix \*C<sup>-</sup>V-. Note *n-* < \**l*.

Bed *naa<sup>ʔ</sup>* ‘‘sheep’’.

Note *n-* < \**l*.

SA \*laḥ- ‘‘she-goat’’: Saho *laḥ*, Afar *laaḥ*.

LEC \*laḥ- ‘‘fat-tailed sheep’’: Som *laḥ*.

Cf. also Arb *leh* ‘‘ewe’’.

HEC \*laḥ- ‘‘she-goat’’: Sid *laaḥ*.

Rift \*le<sup>ʔ</sup>- ‘‘goat’’: Irq *le<sup>ʔ</sup>i*.

Irregular \*-<sup>ʔ</sup>-.

## 1644 \*laḥ- ‘‘knife, axe’’

Eg *nḥ<sup>ʔ</sup>* ‘‘knife’’ (TS).

Vocalic -<sup>ʔ</sup>.

CCh \*lay- ‘‘spear’’<sup>1</sup>, ‘‘axe’’<sup>2</sup>: Log *laya*<sup>1</sup>, Bud *lai*<sup>1</sup>, Gude *raḥa*<sup>2</sup>, FBw *rəḥ-an*<sup>2</sup>, FMch *raḥa*<sup>2</sup>, FJ *laḥa*<sup>2</sup>.

## 1645 \*lak- ‘‘think’’

Eg *nk<sup>ʔ</sup>* ‘‘think’’ (MK).

Vocalic -<sup>ʔ</sup>.

CCh \*lak- ‘‘think’’: Gis *lak*.

Cf. Or *lakkaa<sup>w</sup>a* ‘‘count’’ (v.), Sid *lakka<sup>ʔ</sup>*- ‘‘measure’’ (v.)?

## 1646 \*laḵ- ‘‘kite’’

Sem \*laḵ(w)- ‘‘she-kite, female eagle’’: Ug *lqh*, Arab *laqw-at-*.

WCh \*lVwVḵ- ‘‘vulture’’: Mpn *look*.

Secondary development of \*laḵ-.

CCh \*la-lak- ‘‘kite’’: Msm *lolokoi*, Bnn *laraka*.

Partial reduplication. Dissimilation of *liquida* in Bnn.

## 1647 \*lal- ‘‘goat, cattle’’

Sem \*lali<sup>ʔ</sup>- ‘‘goat’’: Akk *lalū*, *lali<sup>ʔ</sup>u*, Soq *luloh*.

LEC \*lal- ‘‘she-goat’’<sup>1</sup>, ‘‘cattle’’<sup>2</sup>: Or *lal-eesa*<sup>1</sup>, Rnd *lolyo*<sup>2</sup>.

HEC \*lal- ‘‘cattle’’: Sid *laalo*, Dar *laalo*, Ala *laalo*, Kmb *laalu*.

Reduplication of \*la<sup>ʔ</sup>-/\*law- ‘‘cattle’’ or \*laḥ- ‘‘sheep, goat’’?

## 1648 \*lam- ‘‘speak, shout’’

Eg *nmy* ‘‘shout, cry’’ (MK).

Suffix -y.

WCh \*lam- ‘‘say’’: Ank *lem*.

CCh \*lam- ‘‘cry’’<sup>1</sup>, ‘‘speak’’<sup>2</sup>: Lame *lam*<sup>1</sup>, Mwu *u-lamo*<sup>2</sup>.

ECh \*lVm- ‘‘speak’’: Mwu *lame*.

## 1649 \*lam- ‘‘lie’’ (v.)

ECh \*lam- ‘‘lie’’: Sbn *lama*.

Rift \*lam- ‘‘lie’’: Irq *lama*, Bur *lama*.

**1650 \*lam- “be soft”**

WCh *\*lwam-* < *\*lam-* “be soft”: Ang *lōm*.

Vowel change before a labial.

Agaw *\*lim-* “be tender”: Xmr *lilem*, Xmt *ləmlim*, Kwr *lələm*, Kem *ləməy*.

Secondary vocalism in a reduplicated stem.

**1651 \*lap- “spleen”**

WCh *\*lap-* “spleen”<sup>1</sup>, “liver”<sup>2</sup>: Sura *llap*<sup>1</sup>, Ang *lap*<sup>1</sup>, Klr *ma-laf*<sup>2</sup>.

Prefix *\*ma-* in Klr.

SA *\*a-lef-* “spleen”: Afar *alefu*.

Prefix *\*a-*. Secondary *\*-e-*.

LEC *\*lap-* “heart, chest”: Or *lapḫee*.

Secondary emphatic in Or?

Dhl *laḫi* “lungs”.

Note *l-* and irregular *-f-*.

**1652 \*lap- “beans, corn”**

Sem *\*lupp-* “beans”: Akk *luppu*.

Vowel labialized before *\*-p-*.

Eg *npḫ* “seed, grain” (n).

Suffix *-ḫ*, cf. ECh.

ECh *\*lap-* “millet”: Sok *lap-iya*.

**1653 \*lap-/\*lawap- “be wet”**

Eg *npḫ* “wet” (sarc).

*-ḫ* is a vocalic sign.

ECh *\*lawap-* “wet”: Ndam *lwap*, Smr *lawe*.

Secondary extension of *\*lap-*.

**1654 \*larVy- “stick”**

Sem *\*larVy-* “twig”: Akk *larû*.

Eg *ḫry.t* “stick” (MK).

Eg *ḫ-* < HS *\*l-*.

Another possibility for Eg is to compare it with ECh *\*war-* “stick”: Jegu *ḫorra*.

**1655 \*lat- “skin”**

Eg *ntnt* “skin” (med).

Reduplication. Eg *n-* < *\*l-*.

WCh *\*lat-* “skin”: Zar *laat*.

Cf. deverbative *\*lut-* “skin” (v.): Fyer *lut*.

**1656 \*lat- “man”**

Eg *nty.w* “people, men” (OK).

*-y* may be a suffix or a reflex of a front vowel.

WCh *\*lat-* “person”: Maha *latu*.

**1657 \*lat- “destroy, split, grind”**

Sem *\*lVta-* “split”<sup>1</sup>, “strike”<sup>2</sup>: Akk *letû*<sup>1</sup>, Arab *lt*<sup>2</sup> [-a-]<sup>2</sup>.

Based on biconsonantal *\*lVt-*.

Eg *nt* “slaughter” (gr).

WCh *\*latu-* “grind”: Klr *lot*.

ECh *\*lVt-* “destroy”: Mkk *litt-*.

**1658 \*lawVy- “twist, bend”**

Sem *\*lūy-* “twist, bend”<sup>1</sup>, “turn”<sup>2</sup>: Arab *lwy* [-i-]<sup>1</sup>, Jib *lwy*<sup>2</sup>,

Hss *lewō*<sup>2</sup>, Mhr *lewō*<sup>2</sup>, Shh *le*<sup>2</sup>.

WCh *\*lawya-* < *\*lawVy-* “bend”: Hs *lawya*.

CCh *\*lay-* “fold”: Lame *lei*.

Contraction of *\*lawVy-*.

**1659 \*lay- “water; pour”**

WCh *\*lay-* “pour”: Ang *le*.

ECh *\*law-/\*lay-* “pour out”<sup>1</sup>, “wet” (v.)<sup>2</sup>: Sok *ileo*<sup>1</sup>, Tum *lāw*<sup>2</sup>.

Secondary variant in *\*-w-*.

SA *\*lay-* “water”: Saho *laye*, Afar *lay*, *le*.

1660 \*le<sup>2</sup>- “shine”

Sem \*/V<sup>2</sup>-/V<sup>2</sup>- “shine (of a star)”: Arab *lP*.

Reduplication.

WCh \**lya*<sup>2</sup>- “begin (of the day)”: DB *le*<sup>2</sup>.

SA \**lela*<sup>c</sup>- “day”: Saho *lälä*<sup>c</sup>, Afar *lälä*<sup>c</sup>.

Reduplication. Note the development of hS \*<sup>2</sup>-.

Any relation to Irq *lo*<sup>2</sup>*a* “sun, God”, Bur *letu* “sun”, Alg *lele*<sup>2</sup>*a* id. in Rift?

1661 \*le<sup>2</sup>-/\*lew- “put on (clothes)”

Eg *nw* “put on (clothes)” (l).

WCh \**lya*<sup>2</sup>- “dress” (v.): Sura *lee*.

ECh \*/V<sup>w</sup>- “put on (clothes)”: Tum *law*.

Consonantal alternation \*<sup>2</sup>- ~ \*-w-.

## 1662 \*leb- “elephant”

Eg *ɣbw* “elephant” (OK).

ɣ- < HS \*l-.

WCh \**lab*- < \**lyaba*- “elephant”: Tng *laba-ta*.

Suffix -*ta*?

CCh \**nyab*- “elephant”: Log *nevi*.

Irregular \*n- < \*l-.

ECh \**lyab*- “elephant”: Mkk <sup>2</sup>*elbi*.

With a typical Mkk metathesis in the first syllable.

Any relation to Or *arba* “elephant”?

## 1663 \*leĉum- “fish”

Berb \**licVm*- “fish”: Ghd *u-lisma*, Ghat *a-ləməšay*.

Metathesis in Ghat.

Eg *nšmw.t* “fish” (NK).

Final -w indicates \*u of the second syllable.

WCh \**l(y)amVĉ*- “fish”: Hs *lamsa*.

## 1664 \*len- “be soft”

Sem \**līn*- “be soft, become soft” <sup>1</sup>, “soften” <sup>2</sup>: Arab *lyn* [-i-] <sup>1</sup>,

Mhr *liyōn* <sup>1</sup>, Jib *lɛ:n* <sup>1</sup>, Hss *alyin* <sup>2</sup>, Mhr *alyin* <sup>2</sup>, Shh *elyīn* <sup>2</sup>.

Based on \*/Vn-.

Eg *nny* “be tired, be lazy”.

Metathesis. For the meaning, cf. MHG *weich* “soft” and “weak”.

WCh \**lyan*- < \*/Vyan- “soft”: Ang *len*.

Cf. reduplication in Chip *lenlen*. The same root may be also reflected in Sura *non* id. with assimilation.

## 1665 \*ler- “time”

Eg *nry* “time, moment” (NK).

Vocalic -y.

CCh \**lyar*-/\**lwar*- “time”: Mtk *leř*, Bnn *lora*.

## 1666 \*les- “tongue”

Sem \**lišān*- “tongue”: Akk *lišānu*, Ug *lšn*, Hbr *lašōn*, Aram (Syr) *leššōnō*, Arab *lisān*-, Gz *lesān*, Jib *elsen*, Hss *lēšen*, Mhr *lēšen*, Shh *lišēn*, Soq *lešin*.

Suffix \*-ān-.

Berb \*/V<sub>s</sub>- “tongue”: Siwa *elles*, Kby *iləs*.

Eg *ns* “tongue” (pyr), Copt \**les* “tongue”: Fym *les*, Akh *les*, Boh *las*, Shd *las*.

Copt attests the character of the sonant orthographically denoted as n- in Eg.

WCh \**ha-lis-um*- “tongue”: Hs *halše*, *harše*, Sura *liis*, Ang *leus*, Chip *liis*, Mnt *liis*, Grk *lis*, Bol *lisi-m*, Krk *lusu*, Ngm *linsa*, Maha *di-lis*, Krf *ilmiši*, Gera *de-linsa*, Glm *lim*, Grm *limši*, Fyer *lis*, Bks <sup>2</sup>*alis*, Sha <sup>2</sup>*aləs*, DB *lis*.

Prefix \**ha*- and a suffix of body parts.

CCh \*<sup>2</sup>V-*lyas*- “tongue”: Gis *eles*, Msg *lesi*.

Prefix \*<sup>2</sup>V-.

ECh \**lyas*- “tongue”: Mig *li-t*, Mubi *lesi*, Mkk <sup>2</sup>*ilze*, Dng *lɛ:s-en*, *leese*.

Metathesis in Mkk, see s.v. \**leb*- “elephant”.

Omot \**mi-las*- “tongue”: Kaf *mi-laso*.

Prefix \**mi*-.

See \**lahas*- “lick”.

1667 \*li<sup>2</sup>af- ‘‘fingernail, claw’’

Eg *lɪf.t* ‘‘claw (of the vulture)’’.

CCh \*li-lif- ‘‘fingernail’’: Masa *lilifa*.

Partial reduplication.

Bed *ne<sup>2</sup>aaf* ‘‘fingernail, claw’’.

Note initial \*n- < \*l-.

SA \*li<sup>2</sup>fi- ‘‘fingernail, claw’’: Saho *li<sup>2</sup>fi*.

Metathesis. Note the development of HS \*<sup>2</sup>-.

## 1668 \*lib-/ \*lub- ‘‘heart’’

Sem \*libab- ‘‘heart’’: Akk *libbu*, Ug *lb*, Hbr *lēb*, Aram (Syr) *lebbō*,

Arab *lubb-*, Gz *labb*, Hss *ḥelbēb*, Mhr *ḥewbēb*, Shh *ūb*, Soq *elbeb*.

Eg *ib* ‘‘heart’’ (pyr).

\*l- > i- before a front vowel.

WCh \*lVb- ‘‘lungs’’: Chip *lep*.

CCh \*(HV-)lib- ‘‘belly, stomach’’<sup>1</sup>, ‘‘heart’’<sup>2</sup>: Daba *liḥi*<sup>1</sup>, Mus *lib(i)*<sup>1</sup>, Mnd *ṣurvə-ḡude*<sup>2</sup>, Glv *rivi-ḡiya*<sup>2</sup>, Zgh *arve*<sup>2</sup>.

ECh \*lub- ‘‘heart’’: Mkk *ṣulbo*.

Metathesis in Mkk, cf. \*leb- ‘‘elephant’’.

Agaw \*lVb-ak- ‘‘heart’’: Bil *lābbāka*, Kwr *lābakaa*, Dmb *lābakaa*, Kem *lābbākaa*.

Suffix \*-ak-.

SA \*lub(b)- ‘‘heart’’: Afar *lubbi*.

LEC \*lab-/ \*lub- ‘‘heart’’: Som *laab*, Or *lubbu*, *labbe*.

Secondary \*-a-.

Omot \*lib- ‘‘heart’’<sup>1</sup>, ‘‘belly’’<sup>2</sup>: Anf *yiboo*<sup>1</sup>, Gil *lib<sup>2</sup>a*<sup>2</sup>.

Rift \*lib- ‘‘chest’’: Asa *liba*.

Alternation \*i ~ \*u.

## 1669 \*lič- ‘‘be weak, be soft’’

Sem \*lVt-lVt- ‘‘linger, tarry’’: Arab *lilt*.

Reduplication. On the semantic development see s.v. \*layan- ‘‘be soft’’.

Agaw \*lič- ‘‘be soft’’: Xmr *lis-*.

SA \*lis-lis- ‘‘soft’’: Saho *lislis*.

Reduplication. Not quite regular \*-s- < HS \*-č-.

## 1670 \*lihab- ‘‘burn’’

Sem \*lVhab- ‘‘burn, be bright’’: Hbr *lhb*, Arab *lhb* [-a-], Gz *lhb*.

Eg *rhb* ‘‘glow’’.

Note r-.

Agaw \*lib- < \*liHVb- ‘‘heat, cook’’ (v.): Kem *lāb-*, *lāb-*.

Cf. also Bed *liw-* ‘‘burn’’ as a possible continuation of \*lib-.

## 1671 \*liḥap- ‘‘cover’’

Sem \*lVḥap- ‘‘envelop, cover’’: Arab *ḥf* [-a-], Jib *elḥef*.

WCh \*liḥ- < \*liHVp- ‘‘cover’’: Hs *lulluḥa*, Bol *liḥḥ-*, Dera *lipe*.

Reduplication in Hs. Secondary emphatic \*p goes back to \*p in contact with a laryngeal.

## 1672 \*liḥum- ‘‘kill, fight’’

Sem \*lVḥum- ‘‘kill, fight’’: Hbr *ḥm*, Arab *ḥm* [-u-].

CCh \*lim- < \*liHVm- ‘‘war’’: Lmn *lamo*, Daba *lim*.

## 1673 \*liḡam-/ \*liḡim- ‘‘eat, swallow’’

Sem \*lVḡam- ‘‘swallow, eat, gobble (a mouthful)’’: Arab *lqm* [-a-].

ECh \*liḡam- ‘‘eat’’: Tum *lagəm*, Kbl *liyəm*.

LEC \*liḡim- ‘‘swallow’’: Or *liḡim-s-*.

Assimilation of vowels.

Derived from \*lVḡ- ‘‘lick’’. On the other hand, cf. Sem \*lVḡam- ‘‘eat, feed’’ (see s.v. \*laḡam- ‘‘meat’’).

## 1674 \*lil- ‘‘water; be wet’’

Berb \*lil- ‘‘sea, river’’: Nfs *iləl*, Zng *ell*, Sus *ill*.

Cf. Lib \*lil- ‘‘water’’ (apud Hdt.: λιλυ) and Fgg *ill* ‘‘weep’’.

Cf. also Kby derivative s-lil ‘‘wash’’.

Bed *lil-* ‘‘be wet’’.

Reduplication of \*lay- ‘‘water; pour’’.

## 1675 \*liw- “cloud, sky”

Eg *nw.t* “sky” (pyr).

Eg *n-* < HS \**l-*.

WCh \**liw-ay-* “cloud”: Sura *lluu*, Chip *liwu*, Bgh *lway*, Mnt *luo*.

## 1676 \*liwVč- “mix”

Sem \**lūt-* “knead, mix”: Akk *lāšu*, Hbr *lōš*, Arab *lwt* [-u-].

ECh \**liwVč-* “mix”: Mobu *luse*, Ngam *lise*, Dng *lewsī*.

## 1677 \*loʔ- “breath, soul”

Eg *nʔw* “breath” (XVIII).

Vocalic -w.

WCh \**lwaʔ-* “soul”: DB *lwaʔ*.

## 1678 \*loḵum- “camel”

Berb \**lVḵum-* “camel”: Siwa *a-lyom*, Ntf *a-lyum*, Tlt *a-lyum*, Izy *alyem*, Kby *a-lyʷəm*, Rif *alyəm*, Wrg *aḷəm*.

WCh \**raḵum-* < \**rwāḵum-* “camel”: Hs *rāḵumi*.

Irregular \**r* < \**l*.

CCh \**lukVm-* “camel, horse”: Mba *lukma*.

Cf. Log *kurguma* “camel”.

ECh \**lwaḵum-* “camel”: Tum *logma*, *loguma*, Dng *lokumo*, Ndam *lugumo*, Brg *lokomō*, Jegu *logom*.

Cf. Kbl *lakʹma* “horse”.

A cultural term that may be a *Wanderwort* (of Berber origin?).

## 1679 \*lo-lüm- “insect”

ECh \**lwa-lVm-* “ant”: Jegu *lolmo*.

LEC \**lu-lum-* “larvae of mosquitoes”: Som *lulumo* (pl.).

Reduplication of \**lüm-* “termite”.

## 1680 \*lom- “bird”

Eg *nm* “kind of bird” (l).

CCh \**lwam-* “dove”: Ngw *loma*.

## 1681 \*lub- “be thirsty”

Sem \**lūb-* “be thirsty”: Arab *lwb*.

Based on HS \**lub-*.

Eg *iby* “be thirsty”.

Reflects \**lVbVy-*.

Dhl *λuuβ-* “sip”.

Note λ-.

## 1682 \*lubaḥ- “strike”

Sem \**lVbaḥ-* “strike”: Arab *lbḥ* [-a-].

ECh \**lVb-* “strike”: Tum *ləbə*.

Loss of the auslaut laryngeal.

Dhl *luβ-* “beat”.

## 1683 \*luḡab- “be tired”

Sem \**lVḡab-/lVḡub-* “be exhausted”: Arab *lḡb* [-a- , -u-].

WCh \**lub-* “be tired”: Dera *luba*.

Contraction from \**lVHub-*.

CCh \**luHVb-* “tiredness”: Kap *luḥwε*, HF *liḥi*, Bnn *lobuwa*, FMch *ruḥu*.

Nominal derivative with a different vocalism.

## 1684 \*luḥur- “cloth”

Eg *nḥr.w* “kind of dress” (gr).

WCh \**luHur-* “striped cloth”: Hs *nūrū*, *lūrū*.

## 1685 \*luk- “bird”

ECh \**lukuk-* “kind of bird”: Bid *lukuku*.

Partial reduplication.

LEC \**luk(k)-* “hen”: Som *luki*, Or *lukku*, Bay *luk- ale*, Arb *lukku*.

HEC \**lukk-* “hen”: Bmb *lukk-ančo*.

## 1686 \*luk- “road”

CCh \**lak-* “road”: Klb *laku*, Bura *laku*, Mrg *lagu*.

Intervocalic \*-k- > Mrg -g-.

LEC \*luk- “crossroads of forest paths”: Or *lookoo*, *luukoo*.

### 1687 \*lum- “eat”

Sem \*lum- “chew”: Akk *lamāmu* [-u-].

CCh \*lum- “bite, eat”: Mba *lum*, Msg *lama*, *luma*.

Cf. Sem \*IVham- “eat, feed” (see s.v. \*laḥam- “meat”).

### 1688 \*lum- “gather”

Sem \*lum- “gather”: Arab *lm* [-u-].

ECh \*lam-/lum- “gather”: Mubi *lamma*, Bid *lum*, Mig *lumme*.

### 1689 \*lūbaḥ- “be wet”

Eg *ibḥ* “wet” (MK).

Palatalization of \*l- > t-.

CCh \*luḥa- < \*lubaH- “wet” (v.): Bura *liḥ-enta*, Hld *lūḥ-uri*, Chb *luḥ-ti*, Wmd *luḥ-ta*, HF *ləḥ-əši*, FG *luḥwi-ti*, Kap *luḥi-ke*, Gava *luḥ*, Daba *luḥ*, Msg *laḥ*, Zime *laḥ*.

ECh \*lub- “wet”: Kera *lubi*.

### 1690 \*lūf- “cloud, fog”

Eg *nf* “fog” (gr).

Vocalic -y.

WCh \*IVfVf- “cloud”: Kry *ləfəfə*.

Partial reduplication.

CCh \*luf- “cloud”: Daba *luv*.

### 1691 \*lüm- “boat”

Eg *lmw* “kind of ship” (OK).

Palatalization of \*l- > t-.

CCh \*lum- “boat”: Zime *lum*.

### 1692 \*lüm- “big, many”

Sem \*liVm- “thousand” < \* “many”: Akk *lim*, Ug *lpm*.

Based on \*lim-.

WCh \*lumum- “in quantity”: Hs *lumumu*.

Partial reduplication. Cf. also Hs *lamama* “in great quantity”.

HEC \*lum- “big”: Dar *lumo*.

### 1693 \*lüm- “termite”

Sem \*nimm- “termite”: Arab *nimm-at*.

Assimilation of consonants.

CCh \*lum- “termite”: Bura *luma*, Chb *ləma*, Kap *luma*, HK *luma*.

### 1694 \*lūnaḥ- “net”

Eg *inḥ* “net” (LM).

Palatalization of \*l- > t-.

WCh \*lunaḥ- “net”: Mnt *lung*, Ank *lang*.

### 1695 \*l[ü]w- “house, dwelling”

Verb \*liw- “room”: Ghd *ta-lūw-in*.

Eg *nw.t* “village, town” (pyr).

WCh \*lu/w- “house, hut”: Sura *lu*, Ang *lū*, Chip *lə*.

CCh \*luw- “town”: Zgh *luwa*.

ECh \*a-luw- “interior dwelling space”: Kera *aluwa*.

Dhl *lawā* “village”.

Unexpected vowel.

### 1696 \*IVk-/IVk- “leg”

Sem \*ilk- “heel”: Akk *ilku*.

Prefix \*i-.

Verb \*IVk- “leg, calf”: Twl *eləy*, Ahg *ēləy*, Izy *iley*.

Agaw \*lik(u)- “leg, hip”: Bil *lik<sup>w</sup>*, Xmr *lik<sup>w</sup>*, Xmt *luk<sup>w</sup>*, Kwr *lik<sup>w</sup>*,

Dmb *lik<sup>w</sup>*, Kem *läk<sup>wə</sup>*, Aun *lək<sup>w</sup>*.

SA \*lak- “hip, thigh, leg”: Saho *lak*, Afar *lak*.

LEC \*luk-/luk- “leg, hip”: Som *lug*, Or *luka*, *luka*, Rnd *lux*, Bay *lukka*, Arb *lukk*, Kon *log-da*, Gdl *lukke-to*.

HEC \*lek-/lok- “leg, hip”: Sid *lekkee*, Dar *lekka*, Had *lokko*, Ala *lokka-ti*, Bmb *luka*, *lukka*, Kmb *lokka-ta*.

Wrz \*luχ- ‘‘leg’’: War *luχ-te*, Gaw *luχ-te*, Gob *luh-*, Cam *lu<sup>3</sup>ge*.  
Dhl *luka* ‘‘thigh’’.

Irregular \*k ~ \*k̥ in various branches of HS.

### 1697 \*IVk- ‘‘lick’’

Sem \*luḵ- ‘‘lick, lap’’: Hbr *lqq*, Arab *lqq* [-u-].

Cf. Akk *leku* ‘‘lick’’ (< \*lVhVḵ-).

Berb \*lVḵ- ‘‘lick’’: Twl *əlləy*, Ahg *əlləy*, Mzab *əlləy*.

WCh \*laḵ- ‘‘eat greedily’’<sup>1</sup>, ‘‘lick’’<sup>2</sup>: Hs *lake*<sup>1</sup>, Bks *lok*<sup>2</sup>, DB *loḵ*<sup>2</sup>.

ECh \*lya-lik- ‘‘lick’’: Mig *lelliko*.

Partial reduplication.

Bed *lak-* ‘‘lick’’.

LEC \*lik-/loḵ- ‘‘swallow, lap’’: Som *liq-*, Kon *log-*, Gid *loq-*, Had *liq-ič-*.

Vocalism \*o may be secondary.

## \*m

### 1698 \*ma-/\*mi- ‘‘mouth’’

Berb \*mV- ‘‘mouth’’: Ghd *a-mi*, Awj *am*, Ahg *i-mi*, Zng *i-mmi*.

CCh \*ma-/\*mi- ‘‘mouth’’: Bata *mee*, Daba *ma*, Nza *ma*, Msg *maa*, *mii*, Gid *mo*.

One of the cases representing a rare root pattern CV-.

### 1699 \*ma<sup>3</sup>- ‘‘water’’

Sem \*ma<sup>3</sup>-/\*may- ‘‘water’’: Akk *mû*, Ug *my*, Hbr *mayim* (pl.), Aram (Syr) *mayyō* (pl.), Arab *mā<sup>3</sup>-*, Gz *māy*.

Berb \*mV- ‘‘water’’ (pl.): Izy *aman*, Kby *aman*.

Eg *mw* ‘‘water’’ (pyr).

WCh \*ma<sup>3</sup>- ‘‘water’’: Geji *maa*, Grn *maa*.

CCh \*ma<sup>3</sup>-/\*maw- ‘‘river’’<sup>1</sup>, ‘‘water’’<sup>2</sup>, ‘‘dew’’<sup>3</sup>: FKl *māwa*<sup>1</sup>, Gude *ma<sup>3</sup>in*<sup>2</sup>, FBw *ma<sup>3</sup>in*<sup>2</sup>, Log *mū*<sup>3</sup>.

If Log is not from \*ma<sup>3</sup>u- it may go back to an apophonic variant \*mu<sup>3</sup>-, cf. Bed.

Bed *mu<sup>3</sup>-* ‘‘liquid’’.

A reflex of *u*-grade?

Dhl *ma<sup>3</sup>a* ‘‘water’’.

Rift \*ma<sup>3</sup>-ay- ‘‘water’’: Irq *ma<sup>3</sup>ay*, Asa *ma<sup>3</sup>a*, Kwz *ma<sup>3</sup>aya*.

Note parallel forms with sonants \*may- and \*maw- in Sem, Eg and CCh. Sem, Berb and CCh may reflect an archaic HS plural \*ma<sup>3</sup>-in-!

### 1700 \*ma<sup>3</sup>in- ‘‘woman, wife’’

WCh \*ma<sup>3</sup>in- ‘‘wife, woman’’: Ngm *mīno*, Krk *men*.

CCh \*min- ‘‘woman’’: Gude *munii*, Msg *minne*.

Gude -u- is irregular.

ECh \*ma<sup>3</sup>an- ‘‘co-wife’’: Kera *maanə*.

Assimilation of vowels.

LEC \*min-/ma<sup>3</sup>in- ‘‘woman’’: Bay *amine*, Gel *minne*.

HEC \*men-/ma<sup>3</sup>in- ‘‘woman’’: Sid *meen-to* (pl.), Ala *meen-*, Bmb *aameen-*.

Omot \*ma<sup>3</sup>in- ‘‘wife’’: Shn *maan* (pl.), Gim *main*.

Rift \*ma<sup>3</sup>in- ‘‘wife’’: Irq *ameni*, Bur *ameni*.

Dhl *maani* ‘‘barren woman’’.

Contraction.

In Cush, several branches reflect \*ma<sup>3</sup>in-.

### 1701 \*mabar- ‘‘mouth’’

WCh \*mabar- ‘‘mouth’’: Hs *mabāri*.

Bed *ambar* ‘‘mouth’’.

WCh \*ma- and Bed *am-* reflect the HS correspondence that may be also traced between Cush prefix \*ma- and Chadic prefix \*ma-.

### 1702 \*mač- ‘‘be drunk’’

WCh \*miwač- ‘‘beer’’: Ang *mos*, Sura *mwos*, Ank *mwess*, Mpn *mwes*, Grk *mut-*, Mnt *mus*.

Derived from \*mač-?

LEC \*mač- ‘‘be drunk’’: Or *mačaw-*.



Note -č- preserved in Or in contrast to the expected reflex of HS  
 \*č > LEC \*s, \*š. Derived from the original noun?

Omot \*mač- ‘be drunk’: Ome *matto-*, Kaf *maš-*, Mch *maša*.  
 Denominative form?

### 1703 \*maç- ‘press, cut’

WCh \*maç- ‘press, squeeze’: Hs *māša*.

Omot \*maçç- ‘cut’: Kaf *maçç-*.

As to semantics, cf. W *trychu* ‘cut’ ~ OEEng *thrycean* ‘press’.

### 1704 \*mag- ‘be numerous, be big’

CCh \*magwa- ‘big, long, high’: Mus *mogwa*.

ECh \*mag- ‘much, many’: Tum *māg*.

SA \*mag-/mang- ‘be strong’<sup>1</sup>, ‘be numerous’<sup>2</sup>, ‘fill’<sup>3</sup>,  
 ‘plenty’<sup>4</sup>: Saho *meng-*<sup>1</sup>, *meg-*<sup>2</sup>, Afar *mag-*<sup>2</sup>, *mangoo*<sup>4</sup>.  
 Nasal infix in certain forms.

### 1705 \*mag- ‘be bad’

WCh \*mug- ‘bad’: Hs *mūgu*.

Secondary formation with modified vocalism.

Bed *maag* ‘be bad’.

LEC \*mag- ‘be bad’: Or *magu*.

### 1706 \*ma<sup>Ć</sup>- ‘grain, cereal’

Sem \*mā<sup>Ć</sup>- ‘corn, seed’: Hbr *mā<sup>Ć</sup>ā*.

ECh \*may- ‘millet’: Smr *may*, Ndam *may*.

ECh \*may- may reflect earlier \*maH(i)-.

### 1707 \*ma<sup>Ć</sup>aw-/ma<sup>Ć</sup>ay- ‘wind’

Eg m<sup>ǰ</sup>w ‘wind’ (MK).

-ǰ- stands for a vowel of the first syllable.

ECh \*maHay- ‘wind’: Mkk *maaye*.

Consonantal alternation \*-w- ~ \*-y-.

### 1708 \*ma<sup>Ć</sup>id- ‘stomach’

Sem \*ma<sup>Ć</sup>Vd- ‘stomach’: Arab *ma<sup>Ć</sup>id-at-*.

Cf. also Arab *ma<sup>Ć</sup>ad-* ‘side’?

CCh \*mVHid- ‘liver’: Chb *mide*, Ngw *miḍa*, Mrg *miḍa*.

ECh \*myad- ‘belly’: Jegu *med-et*.

\*-ya- results from a contraction of \*-aHi-.

### 1709 \*mahar- ‘suck’

Eg *mhr* ‘suck, milk’ (gr).

WCh \*maHar- ‘suck’: Ang *mōr*.

A regular contraction.

### 1710 \*mahor- ‘slave, soldier’

Sem \*mVhVr- ‘service man, soldier’: Ug *mhr*.

Cf. the semantic development of OIr *ōc* ‘young’ (adj.) →  
 ‘young man’ → ‘warrior’.

WCh \*maHwar- ‘slave’: Klr *mahor*, DB *moor*.

CCh \*mVhwar- ‘immigrant’: Lame *muhor*.

Secondary -u- after a labial.

### 1711 \*mahaw-/mahay- ‘forget’

Eg *mhy* ‘be forgetful (of heart)’ (MK).

CCh \*maw- < \*maHaw- ‘forget’: Bnn *mawa*.

Contraction.

Agaw \*may- ‘forget’: Xmr *mii-t-*, Kwr *mey*, Dmb *mey*, Kem *maay*.

Narrow vowels in Xmr, Kwr and Dmb continue \*-a- before  
 \*-y-.

Consonantal alternation \*-w- ~ \*-y-.

### 1712 \*maḥ- ‘tie’

Eg mḥ<sup>ǰ</sup> ‘tie’ (MK).

Vocalic -ǰ.

ECh \*maH- ‘tie’: Smr *mā*.

## 1713 \*maḥal- ‘‘box, basket’’

Sem \*maḥal- ‘‘box, basket’’: Akk *maḥḥalu*.

Eg *mhn* ‘‘box’’ (n).

Irregular reflection of the laryngeal in late Eg.

Sem loanword in Eg?

## 1714 \*maḥVy- ‘‘wind’’

Sem \*maḥVy- ‘‘storm’’: Akk *meḥûl*.

Eg *imṣḥ* ‘‘turbulence’’ (sarc).

Metathesis. Vocalic -ṣ-.

The alternative reconstruction is \*yVmaḥ-.

## 1715 \*makay- ‘‘stick’’

Sem \*makVy- ‘‘stick’’: Akk *makûtu*.

CCh \*makay- ‘‘stick’’: Bud *makai*.

## 1716 \*makil- ‘‘boat’’

Sem \*magîl- ‘‘barque, boat’’: Akk *magîlu*.

Akk -g- substitutes \*k?

Eg *mkr* ‘‘ship’’ (XXII).

Sem loanword? Note -r < \*-l.

## 1717 \*makVr- ‘‘(be) red’’

Sem \*makr- ‘‘red’’: Akk *makrû*.

Eg *mkrr* ‘‘unknown color’’ (gr).

-rr may continue \*-r- or reflect a partial reduplication.

## 1718 \*maḶVᶯ- ‘‘vessel’’

Sem \*maḶVᶯ- ‘‘vessel for offerings’’: Akk *maqqu*.

Eg *mḍṣ* ‘‘measure (for dates)’’ (n).

Palatalization of \*-ḷ-.

HEC \*maḤaḷ- ‘‘jar for milking’’: Sid *maakke*.

Metathesis.

## 1719 \*malaw- ‘‘desert’’

Sem \*malaw- ‘‘desert’’: Arab *malā*(ʔ)-.

-ʔ- is of orthographic value only.

Eg *mrw* ‘‘desert’’.

Note -r- < HS \*-l-.

## 1720 \*mam- ‘‘forget, doubt’’

WCh \*mam- ‘‘forget’’: Siri *mama*, Mbu *mamw*-, Jmb *mama*.

LEC \*mam- ‘‘doubt’’: Or *mama*.

Semantically, *tertium comparationis* may be formulated as \* ‘‘not know’’. Hence, ‘‘not know exactly’’ → ‘‘doubt’’.

## 1721 \*man- ‘‘know, test’’

Sem \*mVnVw- ‘‘count’’ <sup>1</sup>, ‘‘test, try’’ <sup>2</sup>: Akk *manû* <sup>1</sup>, Hbr *mny* <sup>1</sup>, Arab *mnu* [-u-] <sup>2</sup>.

Based on biliteral \*mVn-. The meaning ‘‘test, try’’ may be the most archaic in this group of words, serving as a source of other meanings connected with intellectual activities as such.

WCh \*man- ‘‘know’’: Mnt *man*, Ank *man*, Mpn *mān*, Bol *mon*, Ngm *man*.

CCh \*man-/\*mun- ‘‘understand, analyze’’: Lame *man*, *mun*.

Secondary \*-u-.

LEC \*man- ‘‘mind’’: Som *maan*.

Cf. also Eg *mn.t* ‘‘manner, way’’ (MK)?

## 1722 \*man-/\*mayan- ‘‘man’’

Berb \*mīn- < \*mVyVn- ‘‘man’’: Zng *mīn*.

WCh \*man-/\*min- ‘‘man’’: Krk *mun* (pl.), Pol *māni*, Dwot *mani*, Buli *mān*, Bar *mani*, Kir *mīni* (pl.), Bol *menni*, Geji *māni*, Say *mwān*.

The variant \*min- may go back to \*mVyVn-.

CCh \*mayan- ‘‘man’’: Log *meeni*.

LEC \*mun- ‘‘male’’: Som *mun*.

Secondary \*-u-, cf. Omot.

HEC \*man- ‘‘people’’: Sid *maana*, Dar *maana*, Had *maana*, Kmb *maana*, Tmb *mana*.

Omot \**mon-* < \**man-* ‘people’: Yam *monoo*.

Note a morphonological co-variant of the root with an inlaut sonant. Cf. also Dhl *mana<sup>c</sup>* ‘child’.

### 1723 \**man-/min-* ‘house’

Eg *mn* ‘room’ (MK), Copt \**monē* ‘dwelling, inn’: Boh *monē*, Shd *monē*.

Copt may be borrowed from Gk *μονή*.

WCh \**man-/min-* ‘house’<sup>1</sup>, ‘place’<sup>2</sup>: Tng *man*<sup>1</sup>, Dera *māna*<sup>1</sup>, Pero *mina*<sup>1</sup>, Sha *mun*<sup>2</sup>.

Secondary -u- in Sha.

CCh \**min-* ‘door’: Msg *min*, *mj*.

ECh \**man-* ‘place’: Smr *mana*, Ndam *mān*, Tum *man*.

LEC \**man-/min-* ‘house’: Som *miin*, Or *mana*, *manaa*, Boni *miy*, Arb *min*.

Wrz \**man-* ‘house’: Gaw *mano*.

HEC \**min-* ‘house’: Sid *mine*, Dar *mine*, Had *mine*, Kmb *mine*.

Dhl *mini* ‘house’.

Alternation \**a* ~ \**i*.

### 1724 \**mang-* ‘millet, lentils’

Sem \**mang-/magg-* ‘beans, lentils’: Akk *mangu*, Arab *magg-*.

HEC \**manḵ-* ‘millet’: Bmb *manḵo*.

Secondary emphatic \**ḵ* < \**g*?

One of the cases in which HS stops display irregularities when appearing after nasals, in HS clusters.

### 1725 \**manV<sup>c</sup>-* ‘hold, take’

Sem \**mVnV<sup>c</sup>-* ‘hold, take hold of’: Jib *mina<sup>c</sup>*, Hss *mōna*, Mhr *mōna*, Shh *mina<sup>c</sup>*.

WCh \**man-H-* ‘take’: Sura *maḡ*, Grk *maḡ*, Mpn *maḡ*.

### 1726 \**maq-* ‘pour’

Sem \**mVḡ-* ‘pour’: Akk *maḡāḡu*.

Berb \**mVγ-* ‘be wet’: Izy *emmey*.

Eg *mhy* ‘pour’ (gr).

-ḡ- from -ḡ- in late Eg.

WCh \**maHay-* ‘pour, wet’: Dera *māy-*.

The development of \*-q- in this case is irregular. Cf. \**muq-* ‘be wet’.

### 1727 \**mar-* ‘slave’

Eg *mr.t* ‘serf’ (OK).

WCh \**mar-* ‘slave’: Siri *marā-čək*, Mbu *mar*, Jmb *mar-ṣu*.

CCh \**mVr-* ‘slave’: FKī *māra*.

### 1728 \**mar-* ‘cow, bull’

Eg *mr.t* ‘cow’ (gr).

CCh \**mar-* ‘sacrificial bull’: Mafa *maray*.

LEC \**mar-* ‘calf’: Arb *maar*.

### 1729 \**mar-* ‘sheep, goat’

Sem \**ṣimmar-* ‘sheep, lamb’: Akk *imмерu*, Ug *ṣimr*, Phn *ṣmr*, Pun *ṣmr*, Aram (Bibl) *ṣimmar*, (Palest) *ṣimm<sup>e</sup>rā*, (Syr) *ṣemm<sup>e</sup>rā*, Arab *ṣimmar-*.

WCh \**mar-* ‘goat’<sup>1</sup>, ‘ram’<sup>2</sup>: Tng *mara*<sup>1</sup>, Pol *mar*<sup>1</sup>, Geji *mal*<sup>1</sup>, Buli *mar*<sup>1</sup>, Bks *maray*<sup>2</sup>.

SA \**mar-* ‘sheep’: Saho *maruu*, *maaru*, Afar *maruu*, *maaru*.

Apparently, this root has no etymological connection with \**mar-* ‘cow, bull’.

### 1730 \**mar-* ‘bind, roll up’

Eg *mr* ‘bind, tie’ (med).

WCh \**mar-* ‘twist, wring’: Tng *mari*.

LEC \**mar-* ‘roll up, turn’: Or *mar-*, *maar-*.

Rift \**mar-* ‘twist’: Irq *marra*.

### 1731 \**mar-* ‘walk’

Sem \**mur-* ‘go away’: Arab *mrr* [-u-].

\*-u- may be secondary.

Berb *\*mVr-* “pass by”: Ayr *əmmər*.

WCh *\*mīr-/mur-* “run”: Miya *mīr-*, Mbu *mur-*.

Secondary vocalism?

HEC *\*mar-* “go”: Bmb *mar-*, Had *mar-*, Kmb *mar-*, Sid *mar-*.

Dhl *mar-* “go round”.

### 1732 *\*mar-* “house”

Eg *mr* “pyramid” (OK).

Note the semantic development.

Agaw *\*mar-* “yard”: Bil *maraa*.

Rift *\*mar-* “house”: Irq *maray* (pl.), Bur *mara*, Asa *mor-ok*.

### 1733 *\*mar-* “drop, rain”

Sem *\*mar-* “drop”: Hbr *mār*.

ECh *\*mar-* “rain”: Smr *ma:ri*

Cf. Berb *\*mVr-* “pour” (Kby *əmmīr*) as a continuation of the corresponding HS verb.

### 1734 *\*mar-* “be sour”

Sem *\*mar-* “(be) bitter”: Akk *marāru*, Hbr *mar*, Arab *mrr* [-a-, -u-],

Soq *mrr*, Hss *mer*, Mhr *mer*, Shh *mur*.

For a similar semantic evolution see s.v. *\*ḥamaṣ-* “be sour”.

Eg *ṣmṣ* “become sour” (pyr).

Prefix *ṣ-*.

WCh *\*mar-* “sour”: Ang *mer*.

### 1735 *\*mar-* “field”

Eg *mr* “pasture” (OK).

WCh *\*mar-* “field, farm”: Chip *mar*, Mnt *mai*, Sura *mār*, Ang *mār*.

Development of *\*-r* in Mnt is regular.

ECh *\*mar-* “earth”: Sok *māro*.

### 1736 *\*mar-* “be ill, be weak”

Sem *\*mVrah-* “be weak, suffer”: Arab *mrh* [-a-].

Derivative based on *\*mar-*.

Eg *mr* “be ill” (pyr).

ECh *\*maHyar-* “become weak”: Bid *meer*.

Based on *\*mar-*?

Rift *\*maʿar-* “weak”: Asa *maʿara*.

Cf. also LEC *\*mar-* “kind of smallpox” (Or *maaree*)? Note a morphological variant *\*maHar-/maHer-* in ECh and Rift that may correspond to Sem *\*marah-*. If so, Eg remains isolated.

### 1737 *\*mar-* “recover, be healthy”

Sem *\*mar-* “healthy, strong”: Akk *marmaru*, Arab *marīr-*.

Reduplications based on *\*mar-*. Cf. Hss *merret* “strength”.

WCh *\*mar-* “recover”: Hs *māre*.

### 1738 *\*mar-* “hoe” (n.)

Sem *\*marr-* “hoe, spade”<sup>1</sup>, “iron spade”<sup>2</sup>: Akk *marru*<sup>1</sup>, Aram (Syr) *marr-*, *maʿr-*<sup>1</sup>, Arab *marr-*<sup>2</sup>.

Eg *mr* “hoe” (a).

ECh *\*mar-/mīr-* “hoe”: Smr *mara*, Sbn *miri*.

HEC *\*morar-* < *\*marar-* “hook of the plough”: Had *moraara*.

Partial reduplication.

Related to *\*mar-* “dig”.

### 1739 *\*mar-* “dig”

Sem *\*mur-* “dig”: Akk *marāru* [-u-].

Secondary *\*-u-*.

WCh *\*mari-* “hoe, farm” (v.): Ang *mār*, Bol *mar*, Dera *na mira*.

### 1740 *\*mar-/mar<sup>2</sup>-* “man”

Sem *\*mar<sup>2</sup>-* “son”<sup>1</sup>, “master”<sup>2</sup>, “man, husband”<sup>3</sup>: Akk *māru*<sup>1</sup>, Aram (Bibl) *mārē*<sup>2</sup>, Arab *mar<sup>2</sup>-*, *mur<sup>2</sup>-*<sup>3</sup>, SAr *mr<sup>2</sup>*<sup>3</sup>.

Eg *mr.w* “people” (OK).

WCh *\*maʿar-* “boy”<sup>1</sup>, “masculine”<sup>2</sup>: DB *maar*<sup>1</sup>, Fyer *mara*<sup>2</sup>.

Metathesis.

ECh *\*maʿar-* “uncle”: Mig *maar*.

Metathesis.

The alternative reconstruction is \*ma<sup>3</sup>ar-. There are no traces of \*-<sup>3</sup>- in Eg.

#### 1741 \*marVg- ‘‘field’’

Sem \*marg- ‘‘meadow’’; Arab *marg*-.

ECh \*mVrVg- < \*marug- ‘‘field’’; Dng *morgo*.

Cf. LEC \*marVg- ‘‘grass’’ (Or *marga*)? Derived from \*mar- ‘‘field’’.

#### 1742 \*marV<sup>c</sup>- ‘‘be right, be true’’

Eg m<sup>3</sup>c ‘‘be true’’ (a).

Note -<sup>3</sup>- < \*-r-.

CCh \*mar- ‘‘right’’ (adj.): Zgh *mara<sup>n</sup>*.

#### 1743 \*ma-rV<sup>k</sup>- ‘‘stair, staircase’’

Sem \*mark- ‘‘stair’’; Arab *marq-at*-.

Eg m<sup>3</sup>k ‘‘staircase’’ (pyr), Dem *mky*, Copt \*muki: Boh *mouki*.

Sem loanword?

Derived from \*rek(ay)- ‘‘climb’’.

#### 1744 \*masak- ‘‘skin’’

Sem \*maš<sup>k</sup>- ‘‘skin’’<sup>1</sup>, ‘‘skin bag’’<sup>2</sup>: Akk *mašku*<sup>1</sup>, Hbr *mešek*<sup>2</sup>, Aram (Syr) *meškō*<sup>1</sup>, Arab *mask*-<sup>1</sup>.

Eg msk<sup>3</sup> ‘‘skin, hide’’ (pyr).

Final -<sup>3</sup> may indicate \*a of the second syllable.

Ancient Sem loanword in Eg?

#### 1745 \*masi<sup>3</sup>- ‘‘take, steal’’

Sem \*mVšV<sup>3</sup>- ‘‘rob’’; Akk *mašā<sup>3</sup>u*.

WCh \*mus- ‘‘take (away)’’: Hs *amše*, Sha *mus*, Klr *mus*.

Secondary formation with a prefix in Hs. Unexpected vocalism.

ECh \*ma<sup>3</sup>is- ‘‘steal’’<sup>1</sup>, ‘‘catch’’<sup>2</sup>: Mig *māso*<sup>1</sup>, Bid *miis*<sup>1</sup>, Mobu *maše*<sup>2</sup>.

Metathesis. Cf. also Tum *muž* ‘‘steal’’, Ndam *muž-en* id. HEC \*mas- ‘‘take’’: Sid *mass*-, Had *mass*-.

The alternative reconstruction is \*ma<sup>3</sup>is-.

#### 1746 \*mat- ‘‘go, walk’’

Eg *mt* ‘‘march’’ (pyr).

Prefix \*nV-.

WCh \*mat- ‘‘come’’: Ang *mēt*, Fyer *moot*.

SA \*mat- ‘‘come’’: Saho -*amat*-, -*emet*-, Afar -*mat*-.

#### 1747 \*maṭar- ‘‘water’’

Sem \*maṭar- ‘‘streaming water’’<sup>1</sup>, ‘‘rain’’<sup>2</sup>: Akk *miṭirtu*<sup>1</sup>, Ug *mṭr*<sup>2</sup>, Hbr *māṭār*<sup>2</sup>, Aram (Syr) *meṭrō*<sup>2</sup>, Arab *maṭar*-<sup>2</sup>.

Eg *mtr* ‘‘water’’ (Amarna).

#### 1748 \*mawaṭ-/mayaṭ- ‘‘wash’’

Sem \*mūš- ‘‘wash’’: Arab *muṣ* [-u-].

Cf. Arab *mšmš* ‘‘rinse’’.

CCh \*mac-/muc- ‘‘wash’’: Msg *masa*, Masa *musu-mo*.

LEC \*mVyV<sup>c</sup>- ‘‘wash’’: Som *mayḍ*-, Or *miṭ*ḥ-.

HEC \*mVyV<sup>c</sup>- ‘‘wash’’: Sid *maṭo*, Kmb *meṭṭe*<sup>3</sup>, Kab *meṭṭi*-, Ala *meṭṭi*-.

Omot \*mayaṭ- ‘‘wash’’: Ome *meṭ*-, Kaf *maāṭ*-.

Consonantal alternation \*-w- ~ \*-y-.

#### 1749 \*mawar- ‘‘roof, house’’

WCh \*mawar- ‘‘roof’’: Sha *mawar*, DB *mawar*.

LEC \*mōr- < \*mawar- ‘‘manger’’<sup>1</sup>, ‘‘home’’<sup>2</sup>: Or *moora*<sup>1</sup>, Boni *moor*<sup>2</sup>.

Related to \*mar- ‘‘house’’.

#### 1750 \*mawaṭ-/mayaṭ- ‘‘tree’’

CCh \*mVṭ- ‘‘baobab’’: Hnk *māte*, HGh *mate*, HF *mād*-.

Cf. also Hnk *muds* id.

ECh *\*mawat-* ‘kind of tree’: Mkk *moote*.

LEC *\*mēt-* < *\*mayat-* ‘palm tree’: Or *meēti*.

Consonantal alternation *\*-w-* ~ *\*-y-*. Probably, related to *\*muṭ-* ‘stick’.

### 1751 *\*mawut-* ‘die’

Sem *\*mūt-* ‘die’: Akk *mātu*, Hbr *mwṭ*, Aram *mwṭ*, Arab *mwṭ* [-u-], Gz *mōta*, Hss *mōt*, Mhr *mōt*.

Verb *\*mVt-* ‘die’: Ayr *ammat*, Izy *emmet*, Kby *emmet*, *əmməṭ*.

Eg *ml*, *mwṭ* ‘die’ (pyr).

WCh *\*mawut-* ‘die’: Hs *mutu*, Sura *muut*, Ang *muut*, Chip *muut*, Grk *mud*, Bol *mot*, Krk *mēt-*, Tng *mud-*, Ngm *mato*, Maha *muto*, Bele *motu-*, Krf *muk-ko*, Gera *mudu-*, Glm *məz-*, Grm *mut-*, Wrj *miy-*, Kry *miya*, Diri *matu*, Miya *miy-*, Paa *miy-*, Cagu *mōs-en*, Pol *miši*, Geji *musu*, Brm *mise*, Say *miši*, Dwot *mus*, Buli *muši*, Fyer *mot*, Bks *mot*, Sha *mot*, Klr *mot*.

CCh *\*mat-/matVw-* ‘die’: Bura *mta*, Chb *mti*, Mrg *mtu*, HF *mtu*, HNk *mtē*, HGh *mtē*, FG *mti*, Kap *mti*, Mnd *mat*, Bld *muč*, Nza *mute*, Log *mti*, Bud *matte*, Lame *mata*, Masa *mita*, Bnn *matua*.

Metathesis in *\*matVw-* > Bnn *matua*.

ECh *\*mawut-* ‘die’: Smr *made*, Tum *māde*, Dng *muutu*, Mubi *māt*, Sok *mūta*, *mīta*.

LEC *\*mūt-* < *\*mVwVt-* ‘die’<sup>1</sup>, ‘deadly ill’<sup>2</sup>: Rnd *amut* (1st sg.)<sup>1</sup>, Gid *muut*<sup>2</sup>.

### 1752 *\*may-* ‘go, come’

Eg *nmy* ‘go’ (pyr).

Prefix *\*nV-*.

WCh *\*may-* ‘return’: Bol *maa*, Dera *mai*.

CCh *\*may-* ‘go’<sup>1</sup>, ‘come’<sup>2</sup>: Gis *me*<sup>1</sup>, Masa *mai*<sup>2</sup>.

ECh *\*maw-/may-* ‘outrun’<sup>1</sup>, ‘enter’<sup>2</sup>: Mobu *maye*<sup>1</sup>, Sbn *mwə*<sup>2</sup>.

SA *\*maH-* ‘come’: Saho *ma*, Afar *ma*.

LEC *\*may-* ‘come’: Arb *maye*.

ECh and SA seem to reflect co-variants of the main root with consonantal alternations.

### 1753 *\*mayas-* ‘know, hear’

WCh *\*mayas-* ‘know’: Tuli *mēsī*.

Bed *maasu(w)-* ‘hear’.

From *\*mayas-* with *\*-y-* > *\*-H-*?

### 1754 *\*maži-* ‘vessel’

Sem *\*maži-* ‘bronze vessel’: Akk *maziū*.

Eg *mḏy* ‘vessel’ (n).

Sem loanword in Eg?

### 1755 *\*meciṭ-/mecuṭ-* ‘squeeze’

Sem *\*mVsuṭ-* ‘squeeze’: Arab *msṭ* [-u-].

WCh *\*nyacuṭ-* ‘squeeze’: Krk *nžaḏu*, Tng *sond-*, Glm *čuuz*, Geji *četi*, Dwot *nzəṭ*.

CCh *\*nVciṭ-* ‘press’: Tera *nžəḏi*, Ngw *nsitə*.

In WCh and CCh *\*n-* reflects the assimilation of *\*m-*.

### 1756 *\*meḥ-* ‘swim’

Eg *mhy* ‘swim, navigate’ (a).

Vocalic *-y*.

WCh *\*myaH-* ‘swim’: Bgh *myau*.

### 1757 *\*meḥas-* ‘big snake, crocodile’

Eg *mzh* ‘crocodile’ (OK).

Metathesis.

WCh *\*myaHas-* ‘python’: Hs *mēsā*.

LEC *\*mas-* ‘snake’: Som *mas-*.

Contraction.

HEC *\*hamas-* ‘snake’: Sid *hamaso*, Had *hamas-iččō*, Bmb *hamasi*.

Metathesis. Assimilation of vowels.

### 1758 *\*mek-* ‘stone’

Sem *\*mikk-* ‘stone’: Akk *mikku*, *mekku*.

Eg *mḏl* ‘granite’ (OK).

Together, Eg -ʔ- and Sem \*i may reflect only HS \*e.

### 1759 \*mer- ‘‘be near’’

Eg *mr* ‘‘nearness’’ (t).

ECh \**myar*- ‘‘near, close’’: Nch *mera*, Kbl *mra*.

### 1760 \*mer- ‘‘beast of prey’’

CCh \**myar*- ‘‘serval, wild cat’’: Lame *mēr*, *mereo*, LPe *meri-an*.

Rift \**mer*- ‘‘lion’’: Asa *mer-ok*.

Cf. Alg *mariyamo* ‘‘wild cat’’.

### 1761 \*meriʔ- ‘‘see, watch’’

Sem \*ʔ*mVr*- ‘‘see’’: Akk *amāru*, Ug ʔ*amr*.

Metathesis.

Eg *mʔʔ* ‘‘see’’ (westc).

The alternative comparison for *mʔʔ* is CCh \**mya*ʔ- ‘‘see’’ (Bud *mē*).

ECh \**myar*- ‘‘look, peer’’: Bid *mer*.

Agaw \**mirri*<sup>c</sup>- ‘‘look, watch’’: Bil *mili*<sup>c</sup> *y*-.

### 1762 \*met-met- ‘‘speak, shout’’

Eg *mtmt* ‘‘speak’’ (XVIII).

ECh \**myat-myat*- ‘‘shout’’: Sok *metemeteg*.

Reduplication.

### 1763 \*metiʔ- ‘‘spear’’

Eg *mtʔy.t* ‘‘spear’’ (BD).

ECh \**myat*- ‘‘spear’’: Bid *meta*.

Loss of the auslaut laryngeal.

### 1764 \*mi(ʔ)- ‘‘child’’

Eg *my* ‘‘sperm, son’’ (XIX).

Wrz \**mi*ʔ*y*- ‘‘baby, boy’’: Gaw *mi*ʔ*y*.

### 1765 \*miʔ- ‘‘antelope’’

Eg *mʔ* ‘‘antelope’’ (pyr).

CCh \**miyaw*- < \**mi*ʔ-*aw*- ‘‘antelope’’: Lame *miyeo*, LPe *miyeo*, Zime *miyeo*.

Agaw \**miHiw*- ‘‘kind of gazelle’’: Kem *meewaa*.

### 1766 \*miʔes- ‘‘tree’’

Sem \**mVHVš*- ‘‘kind of tree’’: Akk *mēsu*.

WCh \**myas*- < \**mVHyas*- ‘‘mahogany’’<sup>1</sup>, ‘‘locust-bean’’<sup>2</sup>: Chip *mes*<sup>1</sup>, Mpn *mes*<sup>2</sup>.

CCh \**myas*- < \**mVHyas*- ‘‘tamarind’’: Log *mesā*.

HEC \**mi*ʔes- ‘‘cedar’’: Bmb *mi*ʔesaa.

### 1767 \*migir- ‘‘grass’’

Berb \**mVgVr*- ‘‘cut (grass)’’: Kby *emger*.

Denominative verb.

LEC \**migir*- ‘‘kind of tough grass’’: Or *migira*.

HEC \**migir*- ‘‘grass’’: Had *migira*.

Rift \**magir*-/\**migir*- ‘‘firewood’’: Irq *migir*-, Alg *magiru*.

### 1768 \*mi-(V)bal- ‘‘arrow, spear’’

Sem \**mi*-(V)*bal*- ‘‘arrow’’: Arab *mi*<sup>c</sup>*bal-at*.

Eg *m<sup>c</sup>bʔ* ‘‘harpune’’ (pyr).

Sem loanword?

WCh \**ʔumbul*- < \**mubul*- ‘‘throw (a spear)’’: Bol ʔ*umbul*.

Denominative verb.

### 1769 \*mič- ‘‘son, child’’

Sem \**mVt*- ‘‘son’’: Ug *mt*.

Eg *ms* ‘‘child’’ (pyr), Copt \**mes*: Akh *mes*, Boh *mas*, Shd *mas*.

ECh \**mič*- ‘‘son, child’’: Bid *mičō*, *miča*, Mig *miča*.

### 1770 \*min- ‘‘water, river’’

Eg *myn.t* ‘‘waters’’ (pyr).

Vocalic -*y*-.

CCh \**min*- ‘‘river’’<sup>1</sup>, ‘‘dew’’<sup>2</sup>: FG *mini*<sup>1</sup>, Kap *mins*<sup>2</sup>, Mwu *minu*<sup>1</sup>.

### 1771 \**min*- ‘‘worm’’

Sem \**mūn*- ‘‘caterpillar’’: Akk *mūnu*.

From \**min*-?

Berb \**mVn*- ‘‘flea’s eggs’’: Twl *imniwan*.

Meaning?

LEC \**min(n)*- ‘‘tapeworm’’: Or *minni*, Arb *mīinne*.

HEC \**min(n)*- ‘‘tapeworm’’: Dar *minne*.

Rift \**menan*- ‘‘tapeworm’’: Asa *menana*.

### 1772 \**min*- ‘‘want’’

Sem \**mVnVy*- ‘‘want’’: Arab *mny*, Soq *mny*, Gz *mny*, Tgy *mny*.

CCh \**min*- ‘‘want’’: Masa *min*.

### 1773 \**minV*<sup>c</sup>- ‘‘cow’’

Eg *mn<sup>c</sup>.t* ‘‘cow’’ (pyr).

Agaw \**miHVn*- ‘‘young cow’’: Kem *miyān*.

Metathesis.

### 1774 \**mir*- ‘‘river’’

Eg *mr* ‘‘channel, pond’’.

CCh \**mir*- ‘‘river’’<sup>1</sup>, ‘‘pool’’<sup>2</sup>: FM *mirə*<sup>1</sup>, Mus *amrai*<sup>2</sup>.

Prefix *a*- in Mus.

### 1775 \**mit*- ‘‘insect’’

CCh \**mVd*- ‘‘mosquito’’: Tera *mədə*.

Irregular Tera *-d* < HS \**-t*.

LEC \**mit*- ‘‘worm’’<sup>1</sup>, ‘‘black ant’’<sup>2</sup>: Som *miḏ*<sup>1</sup>, Or *miṭii*<sup>2</sup>.

HEC \**mit*- ‘‘ant’’: Sid *miṭa*.

Dhl *muta* ‘‘small ant’’.

*-u* < \**-i* after \**m*-.

### 1776 \**mit*- ‘‘pull’’

Sem \**mut*- ‘‘pull, stretch’’: Arab *mtt* [-*u*-], Hss *meṭ*, Mhr *meṭ*, Shh *miṭ*.

Secondary vowel.

CCh \**mit*- ‘‘pull’’: Mtk *mit*.

### 1777 \**mo*<sup>3</sup>- ‘‘stick’’

Eg *mṭw* ‘‘stick’’ (pyr).

CCh \**u-mwa*<sup>3</sup>- ‘‘twig’’: Msg *umo*.

Prefix \**u*-.

### 1778 \**mo*<sup>3</sup>- ‘‘be new’’

Eg *mṣ* ‘‘new’’ (OK).

WCh \**mwa*<sup>3</sup>- ‘‘new’’: Fyer *mu*, Klr *mōhwe*, DB *mwa*.

CCh \**mway*- ‘‘new’’: Tera *mewa*, Mofu *mɔuya*.

### 1779 \**modaṭ*- ‘‘tear’’

CCh \**mwaḏ*- < \**mwadVH*- ‘‘tear’’: Gis *mod*.

LEC \**mudaḥ*- ‘‘tear off’’: Som *muḏaḥ*.

Som *ḏ* < \**d* has been influenced by the laryngeal.

### 1780 \**mog*- ‘‘head’’

CCh \**mog*- ‘‘head’’: Mnj *mok*, Msg *mok*.

HEC \**mug*- ‘‘head’’: Bmb *muga*.

### 1781 \**mo*<sup>c</sup>*uḥ*- ‘‘bury’’

Eg *mḥ<sup>c</sup>.t* ‘‘tomb’’ (MK).

Unexpected final *-c*.

CCh \**mwaHu*- ‘‘bury’’: Lame *mu<sup>3</sup>u*, Msg *mou*.

Wrz \**may*- ‘‘bury’’: Gaw *may*-.

### 1782 \**mon*- ‘‘move, go’’

Berb \**mun*- ‘‘accompany’’: Izy *mun*.

Eg *mnmn* ‘‘move (away)’’ (OK).



Reduplication.

WCh *\*mwan-* “go”<sup>1</sup>, “ride”<sup>2</sup>, “come”<sup>3</sup>: Ang *mwen*, Sura *mwān*<sup>2</sup>, Say *man*<sup>3</sup>.

Related to WCh *\*man-* “return” (Ngm *man*) and CCh *\*min-/mun-* id. (FJ *mun*, FM *min*, Mwu *umina*, Bch *muna*) if the above forms are not analyzed as *\*ma-n-* and *\*mi-n-/mu-n-* correspondingly.

### 1783 *\*monVh-* “slave”

Eg *mnḥ* “slave” (n).

WCh *\*mwan-* “slave”: Bgh *mwan*.

Loss of the auslaut laryngeal.

### 1784 *\*mori²-/moriḥ-* “fat, oil”

Sem *\*mari²-* “fat”<sup>1</sup>, “fat cattle”<sup>2</sup>: Akk *marû*<sup>1</sup>, Ug *mru*<sup>2</sup>, Hbr *mārî*<sup>2</sup>.

Cf. Arab *mrḥ* [-a-] “oil” (v.).

Eg *mrḥ.t* “fat, grease” (OK).

WCh *\*mwaHir-* “fat, oil”: Hs *mai*, Sura *mwoor*, Ang *mūr*, *mūr*, Mpn *muur*, *mwoor*, *myar*, Bol *mor*, Krk *meru*, Ngm *mor*, Maha *mor*, Bele *murū*, Krf *murū*, Gera *moori*, Glm *mār*, Grm *moori*, Pol *mīri*, Geji *mīli*, Brw *miyir*, Say *mūr*, *māyi*, Kir *mār*, Tala *mīr*, Sha *maḥ*, Ngz *mārək*.

Metathesis.

CCh *\*mar-* “fat, grease”: Tera *mər*, Gude *mara*, Gudu *maṛ*, Bch *marəy*, Nza *mare*.

From *\*mwarə-*.

LEC *\*mor-* “fat”: Or *moora*.

Irregular correspondences of laryngeals.

### 1785 *\*mos-* “weapon”

Sem *\*mūšay-* “razor”<sup>1</sup>, “knife”<sup>2</sup>: Arab *mūšay-*<sup>1</sup>, Soq *mos*<sup>2</sup>, Shr *mus*<sup>2</sup>, Mhr *maus*<sup>2</sup>.

Secondary *\*-u-* after a labial.

WCh *\*mas-* “spear”: Hs *māši*.

From *\*mwas-*.

CCh *\*mwas-* “spear”<sup>1</sup>, “iron”<sup>2</sup>: Chb *mwaši*<sup>1</sup>, Klb *masu*<sup>1</sup>, Ngm *mwasu*<sup>1</sup>, Wmd *masu*<sup>1</sup>, Hil *masu*<sup>1</sup>, Daba *māsa*<sup>2</sup>, Mus *masa*<sup>2</sup>.

ECh *\*mwas-* “iron”: Mubi *masiyo*.

Rift *\*muš-* “spear”: Asa *muš-uk*.

### 1786 *\*mos-* “give birth”

Eg *msy* “give birth” (pyr).

Suffix *-y*.

CCh *\*mwas-* “give birth”: Bata *mwaza*, Bch *mwasa*, Mwu *kumwaša*.

Prefix *\*ku-* in Mwu.

### 1787 *\*mu²-* “man”

WCh *\*mu²-* “man”: Dera *mu*, Tng *muu*, pl. *mi*.

CCh *\*mi²-* “people”: Log *mi*.

From *\*mu²i-*?

LEC *\*moH-* “man”: Arb *mo*, *moh*.

Omot *\*ma²-/mo²-* “man”: Hozo *mo*, Sezo *mao*.

Rift *\*mu²-* “people”: Irq *mu*, Kwz *me²-iko*.

### 1788 *\*mud-* “speak”

Berb *\*mVwVd-* “ask, pray”: Twl *mud*.

Based on *\*mVd-*.

Eg *mdw* “speak” (pyr), Copt *\*mute*: Boh *mout*, Shd *moute*.

Vocalic *-w*.

WCh *\*muḍ-* “answer”: Hs *muḍa*.

Unexpected *\*ḍ*.

CCh *\*mud-* “speak”: Msg *muda*.

ECh *\*mad-* “ask”<sup>1</sup>, “call”<sup>2</sup>: Jegu *mād*<sup>1</sup>, Ndam *madidī*<sup>2</sup>.

Partial reduplication in Ndam. Secondary vocalism?

Cf. LEC *\*mod-* “think” (< HS *\*mVwVd-* or *\*mVd-*): Som *mood-*?

### 1789 *\*muk-* “press”

Sem *\*muk-* “be pressed”: Hbr *mkk* [-u-].

WCh *\*muk-* “press”: Ang *muk*.

## 1790 \*muk- “suck, drink”

Sem \*muk- “suck”: Arab *mkk* [-u-].

WCh \*muk- “sip”<sup>1</sup>, “chew”<sup>2</sup>: Ang *muk*<sup>1</sup>, Mpn *muk*<sup>1</sup>, Bol *mukk*<sup>2</sup>.

## 1791 \*mulak-/\*mulik- “stranger, chief”

Sem \*malik- “king”: Akk *maliku*, *maliku*, Hbr *melek*, Arab *malk-*, *malik-*.

\*-u- > \*-a- after a labial.

WCh \*mulVk- “stranger”: Wrj *malki-zəhə-*, Diri *murkyu*.

CCh \*mulak- “stranger”: Suk *malak*, Gis *mulak*.

The semantic connection of “stranger” and “ruler” reflects a certain historical reality of a “king” or “chief” belonging to or coming from an outside socio-ethnic group. At the same time, note CCh \*mul- “king” (Bnn *mula*, Masa *mula*), ECh \*mul- id. (Kwn *mulā-te*).

1792 \*mulu<sup>c</sup>- “lizard”

WCh \*muluH- “gray lizard”: Bks *mulu-sus*.

Cf. Hs *mulwa* “short thick snake”.

SA \*mulu<sup>c</sup>- “lizard”: Afar *multu-it*.

LEC \*mulu<sup>c</sup>- “lizard”: Som *mulu<sup>a</sup>*.

## 1793 \*mun- “bird”

Eg *mnw.t* “dove, turtle” (OK).

WCh \*mun- “bird”: Kry *mūnu*.

Cf. a partial reduplication in ECh \*minin- “kind of bird”: Bid *mininiyo*.

## 1794 \*mun- “heart, liver”

CCh \*mun- “liver”: Hwn *məna-ra*, Gbn *məna<sup>a</sup>əta*, Gaa *mənə-tla*,

HNk *mne*, Kap *mune*, FG *mini*, Mtk *məna-d*, Tera *mənaməna*.

Dhl *muna* “heart”.

Cf. *mani* “large intestine”?

Rift \*mun- “heart”: Irq *muna*, Bur *muna*, Kwz *mun- ako*, Asa *mon-ok*.

## 1795 \*mun- “be, remain”

Eg *mn* “remain” (pyr).

WCh \*mun- “remain”: DB *mun*.

CCh \*min- < \*muni- “be”: Msg *mine*.

1796 \*munc<sup>3</sup>- “love” (v.)

Sem \*mun- “love”<sup>1</sup>, “be favorable”<sup>2</sup>, “desire”<sup>3</sup>: Akk *menū*<sup>1</sup>, Arab *mnn* [-u-]<sup>2</sup>, Soq *mny*<sup>3</sup>, Jib *mutni*<sup>3</sup>.

WCh \*munya- “love, like”: Fyer *muni*, Sha *mun*, Pero *meno*.

CCh \*mun- “preferred”: Lame *mun*.

## 1797 \*mun-/\*muyun- “ash, coal”

Eg *mn.w* “ash, coal” (gr).

WCh \*muyun- “ash”: Bgh *muyun*.

Note the root pattern with “optional” C<sup>2</sup> = -y-.

## 1798 \*munaḥ-/\*muniḥ- “give”

Sem \*mVnaḥ-/\*mVniḥ- “give”<sup>1</sup>, “offer”<sup>2</sup>: Arab *mnḥ* [-a-, -i-]<sup>1</sup>, Soq *mnḥ*<sup>1 2</sup>.

WCh \*mun- “give”: Pero *munu*.

## 1799 \*muq- “be wet”

Sem \*muḥ- “soak, dissolve”: Akk *maḥāḥu* [-u-].

Verb \*mVγ- “be damp”: Ahg *əmməy*, Twl *əmməy*.

ECh \*muk- “rinse out”: Mkk *muk-*.

## 1800 \*muqeq- “marrow, brain”

Sem \*muḥḥ- “marrow”<sup>1</sup>, “brain”<sup>2</sup>: Akk *muḥḥu*<sup>1 3</sup>, Ug *mḥ*<sup>1 2</sup>, Hbr *mō<sup>a</sup>ḥ*<sup>2</sup>, Aram (Syr) *muḥḥō*<sup>1 2</sup>, Arab *muḥḥ-*<sup>2</sup>.

CCh \*mVqyaq- “brain”: Mnd *məxxyekxe*.

Derived from \*muq- “be wet”? Cf. Skt *majjan-* “brain”, Av *mazga* id., Slav \*mozgъ id. ~ IE \*mezg- “dip, sink”.

## 1801 \*muğaʔ-/muğaw- “male relative”

Sem \*maḥāʔ- “uncle”: Akk *maḥāʔu*.

Usual development of \*u after a labial.

Eg *mhwt* “relative; subordinate; family” (MK).

Irregular reflex of HS \*-q-.

WCh \*muqaʔ- “king”: Jim *mugaʔa*.

CCCh \*mVq- “king”: Kap *məys*, Log *myai*, Bud *mei*.

Consonantal alternation \*-ʔ- ~ \*-w-. Note the semantic shift in Chadic.

## 1802 \*muqVʔ- “strike, pierce”

Sem \*mVḥVʔ- “beat, flog”: Aram (Syr) *mḥʔ*.

Eg *mḥʔ* “pierce (with a spear)”.

WCh \*muHVq- “strike”: Hs *mūka*.

Metathesis.

ECh \*muk- “beat”: Mig *mukkiyo*.

Rift \*muḥ- “fight”: Irq *muḥ*.

Cf. Dhl *mukk-eeδ*- “take by force, plunder”?

## 1803 \*mur- “man”

WCh \*mur- “servant”: Hs *murī-ma*.

CCCh \*mur- “man”: Gudu *məř*, Nza *murs*, Bch *murey*, Bata *muřən*.

HEC \*mur- “infant”: Sid *mure*.

## 1804 \*murVh- “feed”

Sem \*mVrVh- “feed”: Akk *marū*.

ECh \*muHVr- “food”: Ndam *mūr*, Bid *muro*.

Metathesis.

Related to \*moriʔ-/moriḥ- “fat, oil”.

## 1805 \*murVṭ- “beard, chin”

Eg *mrt* “chin” (l).

From Berb (Nfs *tu-mar-t* “beard”)?

WCh \*murVṭ- “beard”: Diri *mulḍu*.

The word seems to be derived from a root preserved also in Chadic, cf. WCh \*mar-/mur- “beard”: Wrj *mara*, Kry *mar*, Siri *muri*, Ngz *mari*.

## 1806 \*mut- “man”

Sem \*mut- “man”<sup>1</sup>, “nobleman”<sup>2</sup>: Akk *mutu*<sup>1 2</sup>, Ug *mt*<sup>1</sup>, Hbr *mēṭīm*<sup>1</sup> (pl.).

Secondary vocalism influenced by the initial labial.

WCh \*mut- “man”: Hs *mut-um*.

ECh \*muti- “man”: Dng *miti-ko*, Sok *mati*, *muti*.

This root describes “man” as “mortal”, cf. \*mawut- “die”. The same semantic development is well-known in IE, cf. Skt *mṛta*- “dead” ~ Av *mašya-*, OPers *martiya-* “man”.

## 1807 \*muṭ- “stick”

Sem \*maṭ- “stick, branch”: Hbr *maṭe*.

Eg *mdw* “stick” (OK).

## 1808 \*m[u]yir- “snake”

WCh \*mVyir- “python”: Sura *miyir*, Ang *myirm*, Chip *mür*, Mpn *mer*, *mür*.

Agaw \*mir-/mur- “snake”: Bil *mər-aawaa*, Kem *mər-ewa*, *mär-äwaa*, Dmb *merwaa*, Dmt *murii*, Aun *muri*.

## 1809 \*muž- “cattle”

Eg *mḍ.t* “cattle” (OK).

ECh \*muž- “ox”: Brg *mūzo*.

## 1810 \*müʔ- “lion”

Eg *mḍy* “lion” (pyr).

Vocalic -y.

ECh \*muʔi- “lion”: Smr *mi*, *mui*, Tum *mui*, *mūy*, Ndam *mui*.

1811 \*mV<sup>3</sup>ad- ‘‘be large’’

Sem \*mV<sup>3</sup>ād- ‘‘many, much’’<sup>1</sup>, ‘‘very’’<sup>2</sup>: Akk *mādu*<sup>1</sup>, Hbr *m<sup>3</sup>ōd*<sup>2</sup>.

CCh \*mVd- ‘‘large’’: Daba *mōdde*.

Contraction.

## 1812 \*mVd- ‘‘knife, axe’’

Sem \*mVdy- ‘‘knife’’: Arab *mady-at-*, *midy-at-*, *mudy-at-*.

WCh \*<sup>3</sup>i-mVd- ‘‘small axe’’: Grk *imda*.

CCh \*mVd- ‘‘axe’’: Gudu *mədō-čü*.

## 1813 \*mVdun- ‘‘vessel’’

Berb \*mVdun- ‘‘kind of pan’’<sup>1</sup>, ‘‘kind of basin’’<sup>2</sup>: Izn *mādun*<sup>1</sup>, Kby *amdun*<sup>2</sup>.

WCh \*nVdun-H- ‘‘pot’’<sup>1</sup>, ‘‘drum’’<sup>2</sup>: Sha *ndug*<sup>1</sup>, Klr *ndug*<sup>2</sup>.

Assimilation of the initial \*m-.

## 1814 \*mVl- ‘‘speak, call’’

Sem \*mVl- ‘‘speak’’: Aram *mll*.

Berb \*mVl- ‘‘say, indicate’’<sup>1</sup>, ‘‘shout, call’’<sup>2</sup>: Twl *əməl*<sup>1</sup>, Kby *mmel*<sup>2</sup>.

## 1815 \*mVlog- ‘‘bosom; suck’’

Sem \*mVlag-/ \*mVlug- ‘‘suck’’: Arab *mlg* [-a-, -u-].

Eg *mng* ‘‘bosom, udder’’ (pyr), Copt \**mnot*: Boh *mnot*.

Note the progressive palatalization of \*-g-.

## 1816 \*mVlVh-/ \*mVlVh- ‘‘be good’’

Sem \*mVlVh- ‘‘be good’’: Arab *mlh*.

Eg *mnh* ‘‘be fitting, fit’’.

Irregular correspondence of laryngeals.

## 1817 \*mVsaw-/ \*mVsay- ‘‘cereal’’

Eg *msy* ‘‘kind of corn’’ (n).

CCh \*mVsaw- ‘‘millet’’: Log *msoā*.

Consonantal alternation \*-w- ~ \*-y-.

## 1818 \*mVtak- ‘‘be sweet’’

Sem \*mVlV<sub>k</sub>- ‘‘be sweet’’: Akk *matāqu*, Hbr *miq*, Hss *maṭq*, Mhr *maṭq*, Shh *maṭq*, Soq *maṭaq*.

CCh \*mVtak- ‘‘sweet’’: Mtk *mtake*.

## 1819 \*mVtur- ‘‘run’’

Sem \*mVtur- ‘‘go fast (of horses)’’: Arab *mṭr* [-u-].

CCh \*mVtVr- ‘‘run’’: Glv *mdər*.

## \*n

1820 \*na<sup>3</sup>-/ \*naw-/ \*nay- ‘‘see’’

Berb \*nVn- ‘‘see’’: Izy *anni*.

Reduplication.

Eg *nw* ‘‘see’’ (XVIII).

WCh \*na<sup>3</sup>-/ \*nay- ‘‘see’’: Sura *naa*, Ang *ne*, Chip *naa*, Bol *innaa*-, Krk *naa*, Krf *nee*, Gera *nee*, Glm *ny*, Grm *nee*, Wrj *nah*, Kry *nahə*, Miya *nay*, Mbu *nay*.

CCh \*na<sup>3</sup>-/ \*ni<sup>3</sup>- ‘‘see’’: Tera *na*, Gbn *ni*, Mnd *nə* .

\*ni<sup>3</sup>- goes back to \*nVy-.

LEC \*nay- ‘‘learn’’: Arb *nay*-.

The semantic shift is similar to the development of Goth *witan* ‘‘know’’ < IE \**weid*- ‘‘see’’.

Consonantal alternation \*-<sup>3</sup>- ~ \*-w- ~ \*-y-.

1821 \*na<sup>3</sup>ib- ‘‘left’’

Eg *iḅy* ‘‘left’’ (pyr).

Note *i*- < HS \**n*-. Vocalic -y.

WCh \*naḅ- < \*na<sup>3</sup>Vb- ‘‘left’’: Zar *naḅi*.

While WCh reflects initial \**n*-, Eg may well indicate \**l*- > *i*-.

If *\*l-* was originally in the anlaut, the reconstruction *\*la<sup>3</sup>Vb-* is to be connected with HS *\*lib-/lub-* ‘heart’. If *\*n-* is reconstructed in HS, cf. *\*nib-* ‘heart’.

### 1822 *\*nab-* ‘speak; name’

Sem *\*nVb-* ‘call’<sup>1</sup>, ‘speak’<sup>2</sup>, ‘nominate’<sup>3</sup>: Akk *nabû*<sup>1</sup>, Hbr *nb<sup>2</sup>*<sup>2</sup>, SAr *nb<sup>2</sup>*<sup>2</sup>, Gz *nbb<sup>2</sup>*<sup>2</sup>, Soq *nb<sup>3</sup>*<sup>3</sup>, Jib *enbe<sup>3</sup>*<sup>3</sup>.

WCh *\*nab-* ‘read, count’: Tng *nabi*.

Omot *\*nab-* ‘name’: Hmr *nabi*, *naabi*.

Deverbative formation.

### 1823 *\*nabal-* ‘arrow, spear’

Sem *\*nabl-* ‘arrow’: Arab *nabl-*.

Rift *\*labal-* ‘spear’: Irq *lawala*, Alg *labala*, Bur *labalā*.

Assimilation of the initial *\*n-* > *\*l-*.

### 1824 *\*nacin-* ‘(be) sharp’

Sem *\*nasin-* ‘sharp point, nail’: Akk *nasinu*.

Eg *nšny* ‘sharp’ (NK).

š < \*s before \*i.

### 1825 *\*naç-* ‘speak, call’

Sem *\*nVç-* ‘dictate (a letter)’: Arab *nçç*.

Eg *nç* ‘call’ (OK).

ECh *\*nas-* ‘chat’: Tum *naž*.

Voicing of auslaut *\*-s-* > *-ž*.

### 1826 *\*nad-/nīd-* ‘go, walk’

Sem *\*nid-* ‘go fast’<sup>1</sup>, ‘run (away)’<sup>2</sup>: Ug *ndd*<sup>1</sup>, Hbr *ndd*<sup>2</sup>, Aram (Bibl) *ndd*<sup>2</sup>, Arab *ndd* [*-i-*]<sup>2</sup>.

Cf. also Hbr *nd<sup>2</sup>*, *ndy* ‘move away’.

Berb *\*nVyVd-* ‘walk’: Izy *nyuddu*.

Based on *\*nVd-*.

Eg *nwd* ‘move’ (med).

Based on *\*nVd-*.

WCh *\*nVd-* ‘go (away)’<sup>1</sup>, ‘come’<sup>2</sup>: Bol *ndi-*<sup>1</sup>, Krk *nde-*, *ndayi*<sup>1</sup>, Krf *ndo*<sup>2</sup>, Pol *nduwu*<sup>1</sup>.

CCh *\*nad-* ‘come’: Wmd *and-əw*.

Alternation *\*a* ~ *\*i*.

### 1827 *\*nada<sup>c</sup>-* ‘swallow’

CCh *\*nVda-* ‘swallow’: HNk *nda-re*, FK *nda-*, HF *ndaço*, Glv *ndu*, Mofu *nd-*, Gude *nday-*.

SA *\*nada<sup>c</sup>-* ‘swallow’: Saho *nada<sup>c</sup>-*, Afar *nada<sup>c</sup>-*.

### 1828 *\*naf-* ‘breath’

Eg *nf* ‘breath’ (NK).

SA *\*naf-* ‘breath, soul’<sup>1</sup>, ‘face’<sup>2</sup>: Saho *naf*<sup>1</sup>, Afar *neef*<sup>2</sup>.

LEC *\*naf-* ‘breath, soul’<sup>1</sup>, ‘body’<sup>2</sup>: Som *naf*, *neef*<sup>1</sup>, Or *nafa*<sup>2</sup>, Arb *nafa*<sup>2</sup>.

Related to *\*nif-* ‘smell, breathe’.

### 1829 *\*nafar-* ‘man’

Sem *\*napr-* ‘man, group of men’: Arab *nafr-*.

WCh *\*nafar-* ‘man’: DB *naafara*.

Derived from *\*naf-* ‘man, person’ preserved only in WCh: DB *nāf*, Gul *nāfu*. Cf. also Pero *neepe* ‘first born child’.

### 1830 *\*nafus-* ‘breath’

Sem *\*napš-* ‘breath, soul’: Akk *napištu*, Ug *npš*, Hbr *nepeš*, Aram (Syr) *napšā*, Arab *nafs-*, Gz *nafs*, Hss *nefeset*, Mhr *nefesēt*, Shh *nefsset*.

Berb *\*nVfas-* ‘breath’: Ahg *u-nfas*.

Metathesis of vowels.

WCh *\*nufas-* ‘breath’: Hs *numfāšī*, *lumfāšī*, Sha *lafwos*, *lufwos*.

Secondary nasal infix in Hs and dissimilation of *\*n-* in Sha.

Metathesis of vowels.

CCh *\*na[ff]us-* ‘soul’: Log *nawusə*.

A widely attested semantic pattern, cf. Lat *anima* ‘breath’ → ‘soul’.

SA *\*nafVs-* ‘breathing’: Saho *nafse*.

Metathesis of vowels explained by the influence of verbal forms. Derived from \*naf- ‘‘breath’’. Related to \*nufas- ‘‘blow, breathe’’. Cf. also Sem \*nVšVp- ‘‘blow’’ (Akk *našāpu*, Hbr *nšp*, Aram *nšp*) and Eg *nšp* ‘‘breathe’’ (gr) if these are not derived from \*sip- ‘‘blow’’.

### 1831 \*nagaĉ-/ \*naguĉ- ‘‘ruler, man’’

Sem \*nVguš- ‘‘ruler’’: Arab *nigāš*-, Gz *nəguš*.

Cf. also SAR *ngšwn* ‘‘king’s title’’. Arab may be a Gz loanword or a deverbative.

CCh \*ma-nVgaš- ‘‘bridegroom’’: Gis *mangaš*.

Prefix \*ma-.

LEC \*<sup>2</sup>angāš- ‘‘tribal chief’’<sup>1</sup>, ‘‘eldest son’’<sup>2</sup>; Som *ugaas*<sup>1</sup>, Or *angafu*<sup>2</sup>.

Metathesis in the anlaut. Assimilation of vowels in Or. Note \*ng- > -g- in Som.

Omot \*<sup>2</sup>angus- ‘‘first-born son’’: Ome *angussaa*.

As in LEC, initial \*<sup>2</sup>Vn- corresponds to Chadic and Sem \*nV-.

\*-s- < HS \*-ĉ- is not quite regular.

### 1832 \*nag[i]H- ‘‘cattle’’

Sem \*na<sup>CV</sup>g- ‘‘sheep’’: Arab *na<sup>CV</sup>g-at*.

Metathesis.

Eg *ng* ‘‘bull’’ (OK).

WCh \*nungi- ‘‘cow’’: Sura *niŋ*, Ang *nüng*, Mnt *nung*.

WCh, presumably, represents a partial reduplication \*nu-nVgi- from \*nu-nVgiH-. On the other hand, WCh could be borrowed from Fulbe.

Note contradictory evidence of Sem and Eg as far as the laryngeal is concerned.

### 1833 \*na<sup>CV</sup>W- ‘‘snake, worm’’

Eg *n<sup>CV</sup>w* ‘‘kind of snake’’ (BD).

WCh \*nVHVw- ‘‘snake’’: Sura *ŋwɔɔ*, Chip *nwɔ*, Mpn *nwo*.

Omot \*naHu- ‘‘worm’’: Kaf *nau-ttoo*.

### 1834 \*nahak- ‘‘cry’’

Sem \*nVhaḱ-/ \*nVhuḱ- ‘‘cry, shout’’<sup>1</sup>, ‘‘bray’’<sup>2</sup>; Akk *nāqu*<sup>1</sup>, Hbr *nhq*<sup>1</sup>, Arab *nhq* [-a-, -u-]<sup>1</sup>, Gz *nhq*<sup>1</sup>, Hss *nekāq*<sup>2</sup>, Mhr *nehēq*<sup>2</sup>, Shh *nhēq*<sup>2</sup>.

ECh \*nak- < \*naHaḱ- ‘‘cry’’: Kera *nak-te*.

Contraction.

Cf. CCh \*nyax- ‘‘ask’’: Daba *nexu*.

### 1835 \*naḥ- ‘‘want’’

Eg *nh* ‘‘want’’ (MK).

-y is a suffix.

CCh \*naH- ‘‘want, love’’: Glv *nā*.

### 1836 \*naḥ- ‘‘oil, fat’’

Sem \*nāḥ- ‘‘fat, grease’’: Akk *nāḥu*.

Eg *nhḥ* ‘‘oil’’ (n).

Partial reduplication. -ḥ- is a late Eg reflex of -ḥ-.

Irregular correspondence of laryngeals. A cultural word?

### 1837 \*naḥ- ‘‘bend’’ (intr.)

Sem \*nVḥ- ‘‘bend’’: Arab *nḥḥ*.

Agaw \*naH- ‘‘bend’’: Bil *na<sup>2</sup>y*-.

Cf. Bed *nu<sup>2</sup>*- ‘‘lower, put’’.

### 1838 \*naḥas- ‘‘pierce’’

Sem \*nVḥas-/ \*nVḥuš- ‘‘prick’’: Arab *nḥs* [-a-, -u-].

WCh \*nas- ‘‘pierce (with spear)’’: Hs *naše*.

ECh \*nas- < \*naHas- ‘‘pierce’’: Mobu *nase*, Ngam *nesi*.

### 1839 \*naḥūr- ‘‘nose’’

Sem \*naḥūr- ‘‘nostrils’’<sup>1</sup>, ‘‘nose’’<sup>2</sup>; Akk *naḥūru*<sup>1</sup>, Hbr *nēḥīrayim*<sup>1</sup>, Aram (Syr) *nəḥīrē*<sup>1</sup>, Arab *manḥīr*<sup>1</sup>, Jib *naḥer*<sup>2</sup>, Soq *naḥīr*<sup>2</sup>.

Prefix \*ma- in Arab.

Berb \*nVḥur- ‘‘nose’’: Ghat *a-nḥur*, Ahg *a-nḡur*.

## 1840 \*nakar-/nakir- “refuse, deny”

Sem \**nVkar*- “ignore, disapprove”: Arab *nkr* [-a-], Jib *nkr*.

ECh \**nakir*- “refuse”: Tob *naar*, Dng *nakir*.

Derivative from \**kor*- preserved only in Chadic: WCh \**kwar*- “refuse” (Sura *kwar*) and CCh \**kyar*-/\**kwar*- “refuse” (Hwn *kar*, Gaa *kər-fa*, Gbn *ker-fa*, Mwu *ukoro*, FMch *kara*).

## 1841 \*nam- “man”

ECh \**nam*- “people”: Tum *nemi-nam*.

Old collective. Cf. Kwn *nom-tō* “woman”, Sib (pl.) *nam-de* id.

SA \**num*- “man”: Afar *nuum*, *nuumuu*.

Probably, \**u* < \**a* before \**-m*-.

LEC \**nam*-/\**nim*- “man”: Som *nin*, Or *nama*, Kon *nama*, Bus *nama*, Gdl *nama*.

Regular Som *-n* < \**-m*. Vocalism of Som has no support in other forms.

Omot \**nam*- “man” <sup>1</sup>, “son” <sup>2</sup>: Kaf *anaamoo* <sup>1</sup>, Mch *naamo* <sup>2</sup>.

## 1842 \*nan- “god”

Eg *nn* “primeval god [Urgott]” (gr).

WCh \**nan*- “god”: Sura *nān*, Ang *nen*, Mnt *nān*, Ank *nān*, Mpn *nān*.

## 1843 \*nan- “go, walk”

Berb \**nVn*- “go across”: Izy *ennu*.

Eg *nyy* “go” (pyr).

-y is a suffix.

CCh \**nan*- “go”: Masa *nana*.

LEC \**nan*- “go round” <sup>1</sup>, “walk” <sup>2</sup>: Or *naanna<sup>w</sup>a* <sup>1</sup>, Arb *nanni-ete* <sup>2</sup>.

Reduplication?

## 1844 \*nani[ḵ]- “plant”

Sem \**naniḵ*- “plant”: Akk *naniqu*.

Eg *innk* “medicinal herb” (med).

Prefix *i*-?

Irregular correspondence of Sem \**ḵ* ~ Eg *k*. A loanword?

## 1845 \*nap- “intestine”

Eg *npʔ* “guts” (sarc).

Vocalic -ʔ.

CCh \**ni-nap*- “liver”: Daba *ninap*.

Partial reduplication. Cf. also FKl *nəffo* “heart”, Log *nəfu* id.

## 1846 \*napil- “snake, worm”

Sem \**napil*- “caterpillar”: Akk *nappillu*.

Eg *nḫn* “snake” (reg).

-n < HS \*-l-.

## 1847 \*naw- “be tired”

Eg *nw* “weak” (MK).

WCh \**naʔ*-/\**naw*-/\**nay*- “be tired”: Ank *ne*, Geji *naʔ-wi*, Wrj *nuw*-

Kry *nuwa*.

Secondary -ʔ- in Geji? Cf. also Kry *nuwa* “tiredness”.

Any connection with \**naw*-/\**nay*- “be bad”?

## 1848 \*naw-/\*nay- “be bad”

Eg *ny.t* “evil” (BD).

WCh \**niʔaw*- “be bad”: Ank *niau*.

Modification of the original stem.

ECh \**naw*- “evil, terrible”: Mkk *nāwa*.

Consonantal alternation \**-w*- ~ \**-y*-.

## 1849 \*nawaĉ- “wine, beer”

Sem \**na[w]aʃ*- “kind of beer”: Akk *nāšu*.

Eg *wnš.t* “wine” (XIX).

Metathesis.

An alternative reconstruction is \**wanaĉ*-.

## 1850 \*nayaw- “vessel”

Eg *nyw* “pot” (med), *nw* (n).

ECh *\*nawaw-* ‘‘mug’’: Jegu *naayo*.

### 1851 *\*neʔul-* ‘‘moisten’’

Sem *\*nVʔVl-* ‘‘moisten’’: Akk *naʔālu*.

CCh *\*nVHul-* ‘‘moisten’’: Masa *ḡul-*.

Masa *ḡ-* < *\*nH-*.

ECh *\*nyaHul-* ‘‘rain’’ (v.): Sbn *nwə:lə*; Mig *nyālo*.

### 1852 *\*neb-* ‘‘swim’’

Eg *nby* ‘‘swim’’ (pyr).

Vocalic *-y*.

CCh *\*nyabi-* ‘‘swim’’: Gul *nebia*.

### 1853 *\*neča<sup>c</sup>-* ‘‘inhale through the nose’’

Sem *\*nVša<sup>c</sup>-* ‘‘introduce a medicine through the nose’’<sup>1</sup>, ‘‘sniff, snuffle’’<sup>2</sup>; Arab *nš<sup>c</sup>* [-a-]<sup>1</sup>, Hss *še-nšā*<sup>2</sup>, Mhr *še-nšē*<sup>3</sup>, Jib *niša*<sup>4</sup>.  
 Berb *\*nV[c]-* ‘‘sneeze’’: Nfs *ə-nzu*, Siwa *ə-nzu*, Mzab *ə-nzu*, Sml *t-inzi*.

WCh *\*nyaHVč-* ‘‘breathe’’: Klr *nos*, Bol *nēs-*.

ECh *\*nyaHas-* ‘‘breathe’’: Mig *naaso*, Bid *nēs*.

Metathesis.

Cf. *\*nVčag-* ‘‘inhale through the nose’’.

### 1854 *\*neg-* ‘‘ask, shout’’

Eg *nd* ‘‘ask (advice)’’ (pyr).

Palatalization of *\*g* after *\*e*.

CCh *\*nVg-* ‘‘answer’’: Glv *nggw*.

ECh *\*nyag-* ‘‘shout’’: Sok *negi*.

### 1855 *\*neh-* ‘‘spit’’

Eg *nh* ‘‘spit’’ (pyr).

CCh *\*nyah-* ‘‘spit’’: Mnd *nyahə*, Bata *naewi*, Mwl *nayi*.

### 1856 *\*neh-* ‘‘saliva’’

Eg *nh* ‘‘saliva’’ (pyr).

CCh *\*nyah-* ‘‘saliva’’: Mnd *nyehə*, Lame *neʔe*.

Derived from *\*neh-* ‘‘spit’’. Reduplicated in ECh *\*naHan-* ‘‘saliva’’: Brg *naani*.

### 1857 *\*nek-* ‘‘punish’’

Eg *nyk* ‘‘punish’’ (pyr).

Vocalic *-y*.

CCh *\*nyak-* ‘‘punish’’: Bch *nyaka*.

Cf. ECh *\*nik-* ‘‘disobey’’: Mkk *nīke*.

### 1858 *\*nes-* ‘‘sand’’

Eg *nš* ‘‘sand’’ (l).

Irregular *-š* < *\*-s-*.

WCh *\*ni-nyas-* ‘‘sand’’: Kir *nineyesi*, Tala *nyenyəs*.

Partial reduplication.

### 1859 *\*nes-* ‘‘red’’

Eg *ins* ‘‘red’’ (pyr).

*i-* may be a prefix.

CCh *\*nyas-* ‘‘red’’: Hwn *nyis*.

### 1860 *\*ni-* ‘‘water’’

Eg *nwy.t*, *n.t* ‘‘water’’ (MK).

CCh *\*ni-* ‘‘water’’: Msm *nī*.

### 1861 *\*niʔan-/niwan* ‘‘finger, fingernail’’

WCh *\*niwan-* ‘‘nail’’: Bgh *nyoon*, *nywoon*, Kir *nyoon*.

Agaw *\*naʔan-* ‘‘hand’’<sup>1</sup>, ‘‘finger’’<sup>2</sup>; Bil *naḡ*<sup>1</sup>, Xmr *nān*<sup>1</sup>, Xmt *naan*<sup>1</sup>, Kwr *naan*, *naana*<sup>1 2</sup>, Kem *naan*<sup>2</sup>.

Assimilation of vowels.

Reduplication of HS *\*Vn-* in Eg *\*n* ‘‘fingernail’’ (pyr)? Consonantal alternation *\*-ʔ- ~ \*-w-*.



## 1862 \*nib- “heart”

CCh \*nib- “heart”: Daba *niv*, Mus *nəv*.

Omot \*nib- “heart”: Yam *nibaa*, Kaf *nibboo*, Mch *nibbo*, Bwo *niiba*.

Cf. \*lib-/ \*lub- id.

## 1863 \*nib- “pour”

Sem \*nVbV- “sprinkle, flow”: Hbr *nb<sup>c</sup>*, Aram (Syr) *n<sup>a</sup>ba<sup>c</sup>*, Arab *nb<sup>c</sup>* [-a-, -i-, -u-].

Based on biconsonantal \*nVb-.

Eg *nby* “cast metal” (v.) (pyr).

Infinitive in -y.

## 1864 \*nibuč- “dig”

Sem \*nVbuč- “dig out”: Arab *nb<sub>t</sub>* [-u-], Jib *nb<sub>t</sub>*, Hss *nebōt*.

WCh \*bičVn- “bury”: Hs *bisne*.

Metathesis.

The alternative reconstruction is \*bičun-.

## 1865 \*nif- “smell, breathe”

Sem \*nVpaḥ- “smell” (intr.): Arab *nfh* [-a-], Jib *nifχ*, Soq *nafaḥ*.

Secondary formation based on \*nap-?

Eg *nfy* “breathe” (n).

CCh \*nif- “breathe, smell”: Daba *nip*, Mus *nəp*.

For the semantic development, cf. Bret *c’houez* “smell” and “breath”.

## 1866 \*nig- “break”

Eg *ngy* “break” (NK).

Infinitive in -y.

CCh \*lig- < \*nig- “break”: Mba *ligi*.

## 1867 \*nigal- “sickle, sword”

Sem \*ni(m)gal- “sickle”: Akk *ningallu*, *nimgallu*, Arab *mingal-*, Hbr *maggal*.

Note a nasal infix and various assimilations.

WCh \*kasa-nVgal- “sword”: Wrj *kasagāla*, Kry *kamsagal*, Cagu *kasaggalen*, Jmb *kasəngali*.

Compound consisting of \*kas- “war” and \*nVgal- “sickle”.

CCh \*nVgil- < \*nigal- “knife”: Gude *ngila*, Nza *ngəla*.

ECh \*<sup>ə</sup>angul- “sickle”: Bid <sup>ə</sup>angul.

Irregular vocalism.

Related to \*nVgil- “cut”.

1868 \*ni<sup>c</sup>ar- “prick, be sharp”

Sem \*nV<sup>c</sup>ar- “prick, knock”: Arab *n<sup>c</sup>r* [-a-].

WCh \*nar- “spear”: Tng *nar*.

Deverbativ. Contraction from \*niHar-.

ECh \*nyar- < \*niHar- “sharp”: Mkk *nyerere*, Ndam *nyar*.

Partial reduplication in Mkk.

## 1869 \*nihar- “flow”

Sem \*nVhar- “flow”: Arab *nh<sup>r</sup>* [-a-].

Related to \*nahar- “river”: Akk *nāru*, Ug *nh<sup>r</sup>*, Hbr *nāhār*, Aram *nahrā*, Arab *nahr*.

ECh \*nyar- < \*niHar- “flow slowly”: Mkk *nyernyire*.

Reduplication.

## 1870 \*niḥas- “snake”

Sem \*naḥas- “snake”: Ug *nhš*, Hbr *nāḥāš*.

Assimilation of vowels. Cf. Arab *ḥanaš*- “reptile, snake”?

WCh \*nyas- < \*niHas- “python”: Bks *nyeš*, DB *nis*.

## 1871 \*niḱ- “grind”

Eg *nd* “grind” (OK).

Progressive palatalization of \*<sup>k</sup>-.

WCh \*niḱu- “grind”: Hs *niḱa*, Fyer *niḱ*, Bks *nuk*.

Cf. partial reduplication in \*ni-nuḱ- id.: Sura *nuḱ*, Sha *nuḱ*, Klr *nyij*.

## 1872 \*niḱ-/\*nuḱ- ‘‘lick’’

Sem \**yVnVḱ*- ‘‘lick’’: Akk *enēqu*, Hbr *ynq*.

Prefix \**yV*-.

Eg *snḱ* ‘‘suck’’ (pyr).

Causative in *s*-.

WCh \**nVḱ*- ‘‘lick’’: Wrj *nəkə*, Kry *nəkə*.

CCh \**niḱ*- ‘‘lick’’: Mba *nik*.

Dhl *nuuḱ*- ‘‘suck beer through a straw’’.

Cf. LEC \**nug*- ‘‘suck’’: Arb *nuug*-. Alternation \**i* ~ \**u*.

## 1873 \*niḱif- ‘‘tree, bush’’

Sem \**niḱip*- ‘‘bush’’: Akk *niqiptu*.

Eg *ndf.t* ‘‘tree’’ (OK).

Palatalization of \**ḱ*.

## 1874 \*niḱud- ‘‘bird’’

Sem \**niḱūd*- ‘‘swamp bird’’: Akk *niqūdu*.

CCh \**nVgud*- < \**nVḱud*- ‘‘dove’’<sup>1</sup>, ‘‘bird’’<sup>2</sup>: Gbn *ḡgudiya*<sup>1</sup>, Gaa *guḍiya*<sup>1</sup>, Bud *ḡgudo*<sup>2</sup>.

## 1875 \*nim- ‘‘vessel’’

Sem \**inim*- ‘‘goblet’’: Akk *inimmū*.

\**i*- may be a prefix.

Eg *nm* ‘‘vessel’’ (NK).

## 1876 \*nin- ‘‘be tired’’

Eg *nny* ‘‘be tired’’ (MK).

Vocalic *-y*.

WCh \**nin*- ‘‘be tired’’: Ang *nyin*.

ECh \**linVy*- ‘‘become tired’’: Tum *lən*, Ndm *linya*.

With dissimilation of \**n*- > \**l*-.

Reduplication of \**naw*- ‘‘be tired’’.

## 1877 \*nin-/\*nun- ‘‘water’’

Eg *nnw* ‘‘water’’ (pyr).

CCh \**nin*- ‘‘water, dew’’: Msm *nina*, Msg *eneni*, Mba *nini-d*.

Alternation \**i* ~ \**u*. Any relation to Sem \**nun*- ‘‘fish’’?

## 1878 \*ninay- ‘‘man’’

Eg *wunny.w* ‘‘people, men’’ (XVIII).

*w*- is a prefix.

WCh \**ninVy*- ‘‘man’’: Pero *ninya*.

Omot \**nVna[y]*- ‘‘relative, nephew’’: Ome *nainaa*, Gim *niania*.

Cf. ECh \**nun*- ‘‘(dead) body’’: Mkk *nuune*?

## 1879 \*niwiw- ‘‘plant’’

Eg *nywyw* ‘‘kind of plant’’ (med).

CCh \**nVwVw*- ‘‘grass’’: Gudu *nwu:wa*.

Partial reduplication?

## 1880 \*noḥ- ‘‘tie’’

Eg *nwh* ‘‘tie’’ (BD).

Vocalic *-w*-.

WCh \**nwaH*- ‘‘tie’’: Bks *noʔ*, Sha *noʔ*.

## 1881 \*noḱ- ‘‘water’’

Sem \**nVḱ*- ‘‘pour out’’: Akk *naqū*.

Denominative verb?

Eg *nḱw.t* ‘‘liquid’’ (med).

Vocalic *-w*.

Ome \**noḱ*- ‘‘water’’: Ari *noḱa*, *noka*, Dime *naayo*, Banna *nooqo*, Karo *nuḱo*.

## 1882 \*nufas- ‘‘blow. breathe’’

Sem \**nVpVš*- ‘‘blow, breathe’’: Akk *napāšu*, Soq *nefoš*.

WCh \**nufas*- ‘‘breathe’’: Hs *numfāsa*, *lumfasā*, DB *nafos*, Kul *nos*, Sha *lufwos*.

Agaw \**nVfVs*- ‘‘blow’’: Aun *nefes-əŋ*.

### 1883 \**nug*- ‘‘cry’’ (v. and n.)

Sem \**nug*- ‘‘cry’’: Akk *nagāgu* [-u-].

Eg *ngg* ‘‘cry (of a goose)’’ (pyr).

### 1884 \**num*- ‘‘lie’’ (v.)

Sem \**nim*-/\**num*- ‘‘lie, gossip’’: Arab *nm* [-i-, -u-].

WCh \**num*- ‘‘lie’’; Ang *nūm*.

### 1885 \**nuta*<sup>2</sup>- ‘‘go, run’’

Sem \**nVta*<sup>2</sup>- ‘‘go out’’: Arab *nt*<sup>2</sup> [-a-].

Eg *nt*<sup>2</sup> ‘‘run’’ (pyr).

WCh \**nuHVt*- ‘‘pass (by)’’: Ngz *nūtu*.

### 1886 \**numur*- ‘‘leopard, hyaena’’

Sem \**namir*- ‘‘leopard’’ < \* ‘‘spotted’’: Akk *nimru*, Hbr *nāmēr*,  
Aram (Syr) *nemrō*, Arab *nimr*-, *namir*-, Gz *namr*, Hss *nemr*.

WCh \**murum*- ‘‘hyaena’’: Bks *murum*, Sha *murum*, DB *murum*.

Assimilation of nasals. Metathesis.

An alternative reconstruction is \**nurum*-.

### 1887 \**nūs*- ‘‘woman’’

Sem \**nišw*- ‘‘woman’’: Hbr *nāšīm* (pl.), Aram *neššē*, Arab *nišw-at*.

WCh \**nus*- ‘‘woman’’<sup>1</sup>, ‘‘female’’ (adj.)<sup>2</sup>: Fyr *nusi*<sup>1</sup>, Sha *nisi*<sup>2</sup>.

CCh \**nus*- ‘‘woman’’: Tera *nušu*, Glv *nusa*, Gvo *nusa*.

LEC \**a-nVs*- ‘‘sister’’: Gel *anso*.

\**a-* is a prefix.

Connected with \**nūs*- ‘‘man’’.

### 1888 \**nūs*- ‘‘man’’

Sem \**niš*- ‘‘man’’: Akk *nišū*, (pl.) *niši*, Ug *nš-m*, Aram (Syr) *nōšō*,  
Arab *nās*- (coll.).

Eg *nswy.w* ‘‘servants’’ (MK).

WCh \**nusi*- ‘‘brother’’: Bks *nus*, DB *nis*.

Agaw \**nVs*- ‘‘male’’: Kem *nāsiyā*.

Omot \**nuš*- ‘‘husband’’: Nao *nuuše*.

### 1889 \**nVbir*- ‘‘increase’’

Sem \**nVbir*- ‘‘increase, grow’’: Arab *nbr* [-i-].

CCh \**mVbVr*- < \**nVbVr*- ‘‘increase’’: Glv *mbər*-, Nak *mbər*-.

Assimilation of the initial nasal.

### 1890 \**nVca*<sup>c</sup>- ‘‘tear out’’

Sem \**nVsa*<sup>c</sup>- ‘‘tear out’’: Ug *ns*<sup>c</sup>, Hbr *ns*<sup>c</sup>, Aram *ns*<sup>c</sup>, Arab *ns*<sup>c</sup> [-a-].

WCh \**nVca*<sup>c</sup>- ‘‘tear out, pull’’: Krk *nza*, Paa *ca*.

### 1891 \**nVču*w- ‘‘wolf, jackal’’

Eg *wnš* ‘‘wolf’’ (OK).

Metathesis.

WCh \**nVču*w- ‘‘wild dog’’: Sura *nčuwe*, Ang *čewe*.

Secondary development of the root vowel before \**w*. Assimilation of vowels in Ang.

Cf. Rift \**inča(n)w*- < \**ničaw*- ‘‘jackal’’ (Irq *inčagw*), Sem \**layt*- ‘‘lion’’ (Akk *nēšu*, Hbr *layiš*, Arab *layt*-) and Dhl *na’eele* ‘‘dog’’.

### 1892 \**nVĉa*ĝ- ‘‘inhale through the nose’’

Sem \**nVša*ĝ- ‘‘introduce a medicine through the nose’’: Arab *nšġ* [-a-], Tgy *ns*<sup>c</sup>.

Berb \**nVγVz*- ‘‘swallow mucus from the nose’’: Ghat *zu-nγəz*, Ayr *zə-nγəz*, Ahg *zu-nγəh*, Twl *zə-nγəz*.

Metathesis.

An alternative reconstruction is \**nVġa*ĉ-. Cf. also \**noĉa*<sup>c</sup>- id.

## 1893 \*nVdaw- “speak, call”

Sem \*nVdaw- “call”: Arab *ndw* [-a-].

WCh \*nVd- “speak, say”: Diri *nda*, Miya *and*-, Mbu *nd*-.  
Loss of the auslaut laryngeal.

CCh \*nVdVy- “ask”: Zgh *ndiy*<sup>a</sup>.

1894 \*nVfV<sup>c</sup>- “go”

Sem \*nVpV<sup>c</sup>- “go”: Akk *nepû*.

Eg *nf<sup>c</sup>* “go (from)” (MK).

## 1895 \*nVg- “shine; light”

Sem \*nVgVh- “shine”: Ug *ngh*, Hbr *ngh*, Aram *ngh*, Arab *ngh*, Gz *ngh*.

Based on biliteral \*nVg-.

CCh \*nVgya- < \*nVgVy- “light” (n.): Mnd *ɣɣya*, Mnd *egya*.

Cf. ECh \*nVg- “tomorrow”: Sok *nogo*.

## 1896 \*nVgil- “cut”

Sem \*nVgil- “mow, reap”: Arab *ngl* [-i-].

CCh \*nVgVl- “cut”: Mafa *ngəl*-.

## 1897 \*nVgol- “throw”

Sem \*nVgil- “throw”: Arab *ngl* [-i-].

WCh \*nVgwal- “throw”: Glm *ngwal*, Gera *ɣwal*.

## 1898 \*nVguf- “cut, break”

Sem \*nVgup- “hew, cut”: Arab *ngf* [-u-].

CCh \*nVguf- “break (pottery)”: Mofu *nguf*.

Derived from \*gif- “strike, pierce”?

1899 \*nVgV<sup>c</sup>- “break, strike”

Sem \*nVgV<sup>c</sup>- “strike, crack”: Hbr *ng<sup>c</sup>*, Gz *nagwa<sup>c</sup>*.

CCh \*nVg- “break”: Daba *nga*, Log *ggē*, Bud *gai*.

Derived from \*nig- “break”.

## 1900 \*nVḥa3- “pierce”

Sem \*nVḥaz- “pierce (with a weapon)”: Arab *nḥz* [-a-].

CCh \*nVḥV3- “throw (a spear)”: Mafa *ngəz*-.

Cf. \*naḥas- id.

## 1901 \*nVḥor- “snore”

Sem \*nVḥir-/ \*nVḥur- “snore”: Arab *nḥr* [-i-, -u-], Jib *ənḥerer*, *naḥar*,  
Hss *enḥērōr*, Mhr *enḥērōr*, Shh *enḥerer*.

WCh \*nVḥwar- “snore”: Krk *ngor*, Kry *ngər-an*, Cagu *ngwar*, Mbu  
*ngur-lə*.

ECh \*nVḥwar- “snore”: Sbn *ḡwəṛə*, Mobu *ongore*, Ngm *ongore*.

Derived from \*naḥūr- “nose”.

## 1902 \*nVkVl- “be evil”

Sem \*nVkVl- “have ill intentions, be perfidious”<sup>1</sup>, “teach a lesson”<sup>2</sup>: Akk *nakālu*<sup>1</sup>, Hbr *nkl*<sup>1</sup>, Aram *nkl*<sup>1</sup>, Arab *nkl*<sup>2</sup>.

Eg *nkn* “cause evil, harm, damage” (MK).

## 1903 \*nVmVs- “move”

Sem \*nVmVš- “move, start”: Akk *namāšu*.

Eg *nms* “come” (XIX).

## 1904 \*nVsog- “pull”

Sem \*nVšVg- “pull, pull out hair”: Jib *nīsəg*.

CCh \*nVsVγ- “pull”: Kap *nsxu-mte*, HF *nsəxu-so*, *sxu-nto*.

ECh \*swag- “pull”: Tob *sogē*.

ECh probably continues a root without prefix \*nV-.

## 1905 \*nVtVf- “spit, sprinkle”

Sem \*nVtVf- “spit out”: Arg *ntf*.Eg *ntf* “sprinkle” (OK).Derived from \**tuf*- “spit”.

## 1906 \*nVwur- “light” (n.)

Sem \**nūr*/\**nūr*- “light” (n.): Akk *nūru*, Ug *nr*, *nyr*, Hbr *nūr*.  
Contraction.CCh \**nVwur*- “light” (n.): Log *nūr*.

## 1907 \*nVwVq- “rest” (v.)

Sem \**nūḥ*- “rest, be still”: Akk *nāḥu*, Ug *nwh*, Hbr *nwh*.Cf. Arab *nwh* “put a camel on its knees”.WCh \**nVwVq*- “rest” (v.): Sura *nook*, Mpn *nook*.Cf. Ang *nyok* “life, rest”.1908 \*nVyV<sup>c</sup>- “turn”Sem \**nī<sup>c</sup>*- “turn”<sup>1</sup>, “be bent”<sup>2</sup>: Akk *nē<sup>u</sup>*<sup>1</sup>, Arab *ny<sup>c</sup>* [-i-]<sup>2</sup>.Eg *n<sup>c</sup>y* “turn” (OK).

Metathesis.

An alternative reconstruction is \**nV<sup>c</sup>Vy*-.

## 1909 \*nVzal- “flow, pour”

Sem \**nVzVl*- “flow”: Hbr *nzl*.WCh \**nVzal*- “pour”: Bol *nzolu*-, Krk *nzalu*, Ngm *nzal*, Kry *zal*.

## \*p

1910 \*pa<sup>2</sup>- “dig, bury”CCh \**paH*- “bury”: Mus *pa*, Mba *pā*, Log *fā*, Tera *pa-ra*, Hwn *pa-ŋ*.Cf. reduplication in Mofu *pāpa* “till land with a spade”.Rift \**po<sup>2</sup>*- “dig (hole)”: Kwz *po<sup>2</sup>-otis*.

Assimilation of vowels.

Cf. Dhl *p<sup>u</sup><sup>c</sup>-uδ*- “drill hole”?1911 \*pa<sup>2</sup>-/\*paw- “fly, jump”Eg *p<sup>2</sup>* “fly” (*pyr*).WCh \**paH*- “fly”: Klr *phaḥ*.CCh \**paw*- “jump quickly”: Mofu *paw*.Consonantal alternation \**-<sup>2</sup>*- ~ \*-*w*-.1912 \*pa<sup>2</sup>-/\*paw-/\*pay- “split, tear”Sem \**pV<sup>2</sup>ay*- “split”<sup>1</sup>, “pierce”<sup>2</sup>: Hbr *p<sup>2</sup>y*<sup>1</sup>, Arab *f<sup>2</sup>y* [-a-]<sup>1 2</sup>.Based on biconsonantal \**pV<sup>2</sup>*-.WCh \**pay*- “break in pieces”: Bol *poyy*-.Cf. Tng *pawa* “act of slaughtering”CCh \**puw*- < \**pawu*- “split, tear into pieces”: Mofu *puw* .Secondary \**u* before a labial.Consonantal alternation \**-<sup>2</sup>*- ~ \*-*w*- ~ \*-*y*-.1913 \*pa<sup>2</sup>ir- “mouse, rat”Sem \**pa<sup>2</sup>r* “rat”: Arab *fa<sup>2</sup>r*-.Cf. also reduplicated Akk *perūrūtu*.WCh \**pyar*- < \**pa<sup>2</sup>ir*- “mouse, rat”: Hs *berā*.Emphatic \**p̥*- continues \**p*- in contact with a laryngeal.1914 \*pa<sup>2</sup>uḲ-/payuḲ- “be thin”Sem \**pīk*- “be thin, be narrow”: Akk *piāqu*.Eg *p<sup>2</sup>k* “thin” (NK).WCh \**pak*- “broad and thin”: Hs *fakā*.Contraction of \**pa<sup>2</sup>Vk*-.CCh \**fuk*- “thin”: Msg *fuki*.

Contraction?

1915 \*pa<sup>3</sup>us- “axe”

Sem \*pa<sup>3</sup>s- “axe”: Akk *pāšu*, Arab *fa<sup>3</sup>s-*, Soq *fo<sup>3</sup>s*, Shh *fu<sup>3</sup>s*, Mhr *fos*.

ECh \*pa<sup>3</sup>as- “axe”: Jegu *fas*, Sok *pas*, Smr *bas*.

Borrowed from Sem?

HEC \*fa<sup>3</sup>as- “axe”: Sid *faase*.

Borrowed from Sem?

Dhl *fat'so* “axe”.

Phonological details are not quite clear.

## 1916 \*pac- “destroy, break”

Sem \*pV<sub>s</sub>- “destroy, break”: Akk *pasāsu*, Aram (Mand) *pss*.

ECh \*pac- “break”: Tum *paž*.

Voicing of the auslaut affricate in Tum.

## 1917 \*pač-/pič- “scrape, scrub”

WCh \*pVč- “pare”: Dera *peče*.

CCh \*pač- “sweep”: Mafa *pac-*.

LEC \*fa[č]- “scrape away”: Som *fač-*.

HEC \*fič- “comb” (v.): Kab *fiččo*.

Omot \*pič- “scrub”: Mch *pičča*.

Secondary emphatic *ḥ-* in Mch.

Alternation \*a ~ \*i.

## 1918 \*paĉ- “card, comb” (v.)

Sem \*nVpuš- “separate wool with fingers, card”: Arab *ṇfš* [-u-].

Secondary \*u. Prefix \*nV-

Berb \*fV<sub>s</sub>- “separate, card”: Kby *əfsi*.

WCh \*paĉ- “comb hair”: Mpn *paas*.

Related to \*pVč- “distribute, divide”?

## 1919 \*paĉ- “straddle, spread”

Eg *pšš* “straddle, spread” (*pyr*).

ECh \*paĉ- “bifurcate” (v.): Bid *paačo*.

## 1920 \*pag- “split, chop”

Sem \*pag- “strike”<sup>1</sup>, “split, furrow”<sup>2</sup>: Hbr *pg<sup>c</sup>*<sup>1</sup>, Arab *fgg* [-a-]<sup>2</sup>.  
-c- in Hbr seems to be an extension of a biconsonantal stem.

Eg *pg<sup>3</sup>* “kill (enemies)” (XVIII).

ECh \*pag- “chop”: Tum *pog*.

## 1921 \*pag- “open”

Sem \*pVg- “open”: Arab *fgw* [-u-].

Cf. Hss *feggēt* “broad spacing of the teeth”.

Eg *pg<sup>3</sup>* “open” (MK).

Vocalic -3.

## 1922 \*pagal- “vessel”

Sem \*pagal- “vessel (for libations)”: Akk *pagalu*.

Eg *pg<sup>3</sup>* “bowl” (MK).

-3 < HS \*-l-.

1923 \*pa<sup>c</sup>ur- “dove”

Eg *p<sup>c</sup>r.t* “dove” (NK).

WCh \*par- < \*paHVr- “quail”: Hs *ḥarwā*.

\*ḥ- < \*p- in contact with a laryngeal.

CCh \*puruw- < \*paruww- “turtle dove”: Mwl *puruwo*, Nza *puruwe*.

## 1924 \*paḥar- “dig”

Sem \*pVḥVr- “dig (earth)”: Arab *fḥr*, Gz *fḥr*, Amh *farā*.

WCh \*paHar- “making holes for seeds”: Ngz *paaru*.

Cf. SA \*fara<sup>c</sup>- “dig” (Saho *fara<sup>c</sup>*) with a different laryngeal.

## 1925 \*paḥoç- “scrape, cut”

Sem \*pVḥaš- “scratch earth, dig”: Arab *fḥš* [-a-].

WCh \*pVwaç- < \*paHwaç- “scrape, rub”: Ang *pos*, Mpn *pwās*,  
*pwēs*.

## 1926 \*paḥ- “close, lock”

Sem \*pVḥV<sup>2</sup>- “close, lock”: Akk *peḥû*.

Based on \*pVḥ-.

WCh \*paH- “close”: Sura *pā*, Ang *pō*, Bol *fa*, Krk *f*-, Fyer *pa*, Bks *vo*, Sha *vu*, Klr *fu*, DB *voh*.

## 1927 \*paḥ- “field”

Eg *phj.t* “field” (n).

Vocalic -j.

WCh \*paḥ- “cleared open space, farm”: Hs *fagē*.

## 1928 \*paḥal- “leg, thigh”

Sem \*paḥal- “thigh”: Akk *paḥallu*.

WCh \*pyal- < \*paHal- “thigh”: Ang *pyāl*.

CCh \*paχVl- “leg, thigh”: Daba *poχol*, Tera *boli*, Mus *bul*.

Related to \*paḥud- “leg, thigh”.

## 1929 \*paḥal- “break through, split”

Sem \*pVlaḥ- “split”: Hbr *plḥ*, Arab *flḥ* [-a-].

Metathesis.

Eg *phj* “split, break through” (MK).

-j < HS \*-l-.

WCh \*paHal- “break through”<sup>1</sup>, “strike”<sup>2</sup>: Hs *ḥalle*<sup>1</sup>, Tng *pāle*<sup>2</sup>, Pero *pāl*<sup>2</sup>.

CCh \*pal- “break”: Mafa *pal*-.

ECh \*palVw- “break”: Kera *palwe*.

From \*palVH-, metathesis from \*paHVL-.

## 1930 \*paḥid- “fall, throw”

Eg *phd* “throw down” (NK).

WCh \*paHid- “fall”: Hs *fāḍi*, Chip *pit*-, Ank *petta*.

## 1931 \*paḥud- “leg, thigh”

Sem \*paḥud- “thigh”: Hbr *paḥ<sup>a</sup>dayim* (dual.), Aram (Syr) *pūḥd*-, Mhr *faḥed*, Shh *fuḥud*.

Cf. Arab *faḥd*- id., Hss *efḥād* id.

Eg *ḥpd* “thigh” (pyr).

Metathesis.

CCh \*fVḤud- “thigh”: Gaa *fuḍ-ata*, Gbn *fəḍ-ətə*, Boka *fuḍ-ətə*.

Irregular \*f- instead of \*p-.

ECh \*paHud- “hip, thigh”: Jegu *paado*, Mubi *fūdi*, Brg *faadi*.

LEC \*ba<sup>2</sup>ud- “hip”: Som *ba<sup>2</sup>udo*.

Note initial voiced \*b-.

Omot \*paHad-al- “inside of the thigh”: Ome *paadaallaa*.

Assimilation of vowels. Suffix \*-al-.

Any connection with WCh \*pund- “thigh” (Bol *pundo*, Krk *fəntau*, Dera *pundo*, Ngm *hundo*, Krf *fonḍo*, Gera *pindi*, Glm *pənda*)?

## 1932 \*pak- “jaw, cheek”

Sem \*pakk- “jaw”: Arab *fakk*-.

WCh \*ka-pak- “cheek”: DB *ka-pak*.

Prefix \*ka-.

CCh \*pVk- “cheek”: HB *pəku*, HNk *pəki*.

## 1933 \*pakuḥ- “hand, arm”

Sem \*pakh- “palm”: Arab *fakh-at*-.

WCh \*paku- “wing, arm”: Tng *paka*, Wrj *pak-ai*, Kry *pak*, Miya *pak*, Paa *puka*.

Cf. partial reduplication in Hs *fuffuke*, *fiffike* “wing”.

## 1934 \*paḥ- “go (out)”

Sem \*pūḥ- “let out”: Hbr *pwq*.

Based on the earlier \*pVk-. Cf. \*nVpVk- “go out”: Ug *nfq*,

Aram *npq*, Arab *nfq* [-a-, -u-]

WCh \*paḥ- “follow”: Sha *pak*.

CCh \*pVk- “walk”: Mofu *pək*-.

1935 \*paḥV<sup>2</sup>- “bark, skin”

Sem \*paḥ<sup>2</sup>- “placenta”: Arab *faq<sup>2</sup>*-.

CCh \*paku- “husk”: Mofa *to-pokw*.

Dhl *pak'o* "tree bark, half beehive".

Cf. Kwz *pa<sup>3</sup>uko* "bark" with *-k-* < *\*-k-*?

### 1936 \*pal- "fall"

Sem *\*nVpVl-* "fall": Akk *napālu*, Ug *npl*, Hbr *npl*, Aram (Syr) *nfl*.

Prefix *\*nV-*.

WCh *\*pal-* "fall": Sura *pal*, Chip *pal*, Dera *yupele*.

Prefix *\*yu-* in Dera.

### 1937 \*pal- "break"

Sem *\*pVl-* "break, crush": Aram (Syr) *pll*.

CCh *\*pal-* "break (stone)": Mafa *pal*.

Connected with *\*pal-* "cut, divide"?

### 1938 \*pal- "cut, divide"

Sem *\*pVl-* "strike with a sword, behead, wean"<sup>1</sup>, "divide, separate"<sup>2</sup>, "cut, split"<sup>3</sup>: Arab *fly*, *flw*<sup>1</sup>, Gz *fly*<sup>2</sup>, Amh *fälläl*<sup>3</sup>.

WCh *\*pal-* "cut off": Hs *falle*.

CCh *\*pal-* "cut": Zime *fal*.

ECh *\*pal-* "carve, cut, peel": Tum *pāl*, Sok *fal*.

SA *\*fVl-* "separate": Saho *-ifli-*.

LEC *\*fil-* "separate, comb": Arb *fil-*.

Vocalism is not clear.

Agaw *\*fal-* "divide": Bil *fäl-*, Kwr *fäl-*, Dmb *fäl-*.

### 1939 \*palah- "earth, land"

CCh *\*palah-* "plain": Mofu *palah*, Gis *pala*.

Dhl *pa<sup>3</sup>la<sup>3</sup>-amo* "glade"

Cf. Sem *\*palah-* "land" (Arab *falah-at-*) if the latter is not derived from Arab *flh* "till" [-a-].

### 1940 \*palay- "cloth"

Eg *p<sup>3</sup>y* "cloth" (BD).

WCh *\*pāl-* < *\*payal-* "cloth": Wrij *pāla*.

Metathesis.

May be connected with a verb registered in Rift *\*pal-* "twist fibers into cord": Kwz *pal-*.

### 1941 \*pan- "drive away"

Sem *\*pun-* "drive (camels)"<sup>1</sup>, "let go"<sup>2</sup>: Arab *fnn* [-u-]<sup>1</sup>, Gz *fnw*<sup>2</sup>.

Secondary *\*-u-*.

WCh *\*pan-* "drive away": Ang *pan*.

### 1942 \*pan- "side, distance"

Sem *\*pVnV<sup>3</sup>-* "side, direction": Aram (Jud) *pānī-t-*.

Berb *\*fVn-* "opposite side": Sml *a-fna*.

SA *\*fan-* "interval": Saho *faan*, Afar *faan*.

Related to *\*pon-/pōnV<sup>c</sup>-* "turn, return".

### 1943 \*pan-/pin- "face"

Sem *\*pan-* "face": Akk *pānu* (pl.), Ug *pn*, Phn *pn*, Hbr *pānīm* (pl.).

ECh *\*pVn-* "temple": Kera *pən-ay*.

Suffix *-ay* in Kera.

Agaw *\*fin-* "forehead, face": Aun *fen*, *feni*.

Rift *\*pand-* "lump on the head"<sup>1</sup>, "forehead, brow"<sup>2</sup> (Irk *panda*<sup>1</sup>, Alg *paanda*<sup>2</sup>, Bur *paanda*<sup>2</sup>) may be also connected with this root if *\*-d-* is treated as a suffix. Note alternation *\*a* ~ *\*i*.

### 1944 \*paHand- "bow"

WCh *\*pand-* < *\*paHand-* "bow": Krk *panda*, Krf *fanda*, Glm *panda*.

Wrz *\*paHant-* "bow": Dul *pahante*.

### 1945 \*panek- "container"

Sem *\*panīk-* "big sack" (for earth)": Arab *fanīq-at-*.

Eg *pnk* "bucket" (OK).

WCh *\*pakyan-* "pot": Klr *fakyen*.



Metathesis. Klr *f*- < \**p*- is not regular.

Any connection with WCh \**pan*- ‘‘preserve, keep’’ (Ang *pan*)?

#### 1946 \**paq*- ‘‘tear’’

CCh \**pVqya*- ‘‘tear’’: HNK *pkya-xumte*, HF *pxya-xuntu*.

Agaw \**paχ*- ‘‘tear, split’’: Aun *pay-s*-, Dmt *pay-s*-.

#### 1947 \**paq*- ‘‘assemble, gather’’

Berb \**fVķ*- ‘‘pick together, assemble’’: Ahg *nə-fəķķi*.

WCh \**paq*- ‘‘put one thing on the top of another’’: Ang *pak*.

#### 1948 \**par*- ‘‘fetters’’

Berb \**far*- ‘‘fetters’’: Ahg *te-ffar-t*, Twl *te-ffār-t*.

Eg *prw.t* ‘‘fetters’’ (pyr).

Suffix *-w*.

#### 1949 \**par*- ‘‘house, enclosure’’

Berb \**far*(*r*)- ‘‘enclosure’’: Ahg *a-farra*, Twl *a-farra*.

Eg *pr* ‘‘house’’ (OK).

ECh \**par*- ‘‘hangar’’: Mig *para*.

#### 1950 \**par*- ‘‘cattle’’

Sem \**parr*- ‘‘(young) bull’’: Ug *pr-m*, Hbr *par*, Arab *farr*-.

Eg *pry* ‘‘bull-fight’’ (MK).

CCh \**par*- ‘‘cattle’’: Mba *far-ay*.

Suffix *-ay* in Mba.

#### 1951 \**par*- ‘‘break, thresh’’

Sem \**pVr*- ‘‘break’’: Akk *parāru*, Hbr *prr*, *pwr*, Aram (Jud) *prr*, Arab *fry* [-i-].

Reduplication in Amh *fārāfārā*, Hrr *fīrāfāra* ‘‘crumble’’.

Berb \**fVr*- ‘‘thresh, be threshed’’: Snus *frurī*, Sml *frurī*.

WCh \**par*- ‘‘smash’’<sup>1</sup>, ‘‘break into pieces’’<sup>2</sup>: Ang *par-p*<sup>1</sup>, Tng *puure*<sup>2</sup>.

#### 1952 \**par*- ‘‘jump’’

CCh \**par(ya)*- ‘‘jump’’: Bud *fer*, Msg *pər*, *bara*.

Bed *far* ‘‘jump’’.

Agaw \**pVr*- ‘‘jump’’: Aun *pərr-ij*.

SA \**pVr*- ‘‘jump’’: Saho *pərr*, Afar *pərr*.

#### 1953 \**par*- ‘‘finger’’

WCh \**par*- ‘‘finger, nail’’: Hs *far-čē*, Gwn *apir-ači*.

ECh \**pyar*- < \**pari*- ‘‘finger’’: Dng *pəer-me*, Mubi *fēri*.

SA \**fer*- ‘‘finger’’: Saho *fera*, Afar *fera*, *feera*.

Secondary vocalism?

LEC \**par*-/\**per*- ‘‘finger’’: Som *far*, Rnd *farro*, Bay *pər*, Arb *farro* (pl.).

HEC \**far*- ‘‘finger’’: Kmb *far*.

Omot \**par*- ‘‘finger’’: Ome *par-taa*, *har-čaa*.

#### 1954 \**par*- ‘‘look, seek’’

WCh \**par*- ‘‘look for, find’’: Bol *par*-, Tng *pari*.

CCh \**pVr*- ‘‘look, watch’’: Gis *pīr*, *pur*, *pr*.

Agaw \**par*- ‘‘be open (of eyes)’’: Aun *parr*-.

Cf. Sem \**pVHVr*- ‘‘seek’’ (Akk *pāru*) and Berb \**fVrVy*- ‘‘feel’’: Ahg *a-fri*?

#### 1955 \**par*-/\**pir*- ‘‘go out’’

Eg *pry* ‘‘go out’’ (MK).

Infinitive in *-y*.

Bed *fira* ‘‘go out’’.

SA \**far*- ‘‘go out’’: Saho *far*.

HEC \**fir*- ‘‘go out’’: Had *fir*.

Alternation \**a* ~ \**i*.

#### 1956 \**para*<sup>c</sup>- ‘‘knife, axe’’

Sem \**parā*<sup>c</sup>- ‘‘axe’’: Arab *farrā*<sup>c</sup>-*at*-.

Secondary formation.

Berb \**fVr*- ‘‘dagger, sharp tool, sword’’: Zng *te-feri*, Fgg *ta-fəru-t*,  
Izy *ta-flu-t*.

ECh \**paHar*- ‘‘knife’’: Mig *pēru*.  
Metathesis.

An alternative reconstruction is \**pa<sup>c</sup>ar*-.

### 1957 \**parVm*- ‘‘cut, split’’

Sem \**pVrim*- ‘‘cut’’: Arab *frm* [-i-].

ECh \**param*- ‘‘sickle’’: Kera *pāram*.  
Deverbative noun.

Rift \**param*- ‘‘split (wood)’’: Asa *param-es*.

### 1958 \**parok*- ‘‘tear, rip’’

Sem \**pVrVk*- ‘‘tear off’’<sup>1</sup>, ‘‘divide’’<sup>2</sup>: Hbr *prq*<sup>1</sup>, Mhr *ferōq*<sup>2</sup>.

WCh \**park*- < \**parVk*- ‘‘rip and remove’’: Hs *farkā*.

ECh \**parwak*- ‘‘tear, pluck feathers’’: Kera *parge*, Bid *porok*.

Cf. Dhl *poroh*- ‘‘pull apart’’.

### 1959 \**paruç*- ‘‘cut, break through’’

Sem \**pVruş*- ‘‘make a hole’’<sup>1</sup>, ‘‘break through (a wall)’’<sup>2</sup>, ‘‘cut, pierce’’<sup>3</sup>: Akk *parāšu*<sup>1</sup>, Hbr *prş*<sup>2</sup>, Aram (Jud) *prş*<sup>2</sup>, Arab *frş* [-u-]<sup>3</sup>.

CCh \**pVrVç*- ‘‘cut’’: Mofu *pərç*-.

### 1960 \**parüç*- ‘‘tear’’

CCh \**purs*- < \**parus*- ‘‘tear off’’: Mafa *purs*-.

Omot \**parič*- ‘‘be torn out’’: Mch *pariča*.

Mch *p*- < \**p*- under the influence of the following emphatic.

### 1961 \**parVd*- ‘‘equid’’

Sem \**pVrd*- ‘‘donkey’’<sup>1</sup>, ‘‘mule’’<sup>2</sup>: Akk *perdu*<sup>1</sup>, Hbr *pered*<sup>2</sup>.

Agaw \**par(V)d*- ‘‘horse’’: Bil *farda*.

LEC \**par(V)d*- ‘‘horse’’: Or *farda*.

LEC loanword in Agaw or Agaw loanword in LEC?

### 1962 \**pasuq*- ‘‘arrow’’

Sem \**pašh*- ‘‘spear’’: Akk *pašhu*.

WCh \**pasuq*- ‘‘arrow’’: Kr *fasku*, Pero *pužuk*, Dera *pek*.

### 1963 \**pasVk*- ‘‘piece of wood’’

Sem \**pašk*- ‘‘log, splinter’’: Akk *pašku*.

Berb \**fVsVk*- ‘‘stick (in bull’s nostrils)’’<sup>1</sup>, ‘‘furniture’’<sup>2</sup>: Twl *i-fəšk-ən*<sup>1</sup>, Sml *i-fəšk-ən*<sup>2</sup>.

### 1964 \**pat*- ‘‘skin’’

WCh \**pat*- ‘‘skin’’: Hs *fatā*, Gwn *patā*, Wrj *patai*.

CCh \**pVi*- ‘‘skin’’: HF *pta*, HGh *pta*, *wpta*.

Omot \**fat*- ‘‘skin’’<sup>1</sup>, ‘‘snake skin’’<sup>2</sup>: Ome *faata*<sup>1</sup>, Nao *fatu*<sup>1</sup>, Gll *footi*<sup>2</sup>.

### 1965 \**pay*- ‘‘go’’

Eg *py* ‘‘go’’ (pyr).

Prefix \**cV*-.

WCh \**pay*-/\**piy*- ‘‘return’’<sup>1</sup>, ‘‘go’’<sup>2</sup>: Wrj *pəyi*<sup>1</sup>, Kry *piy*<sup>1</sup>, Diri *piy*<sup>1</sup>, Sha *fay*<sup>2</sup>, Klr *pa*<sup>2</sup>.

CCh \**p[a]y*- ‘‘cross’’<sup>1</sup>, ‘‘go out’’<sup>2</sup>: Log *piya*<sup>1</sup>, Lame *-pa*<sup>2</sup>.

ECh \**paHaw*- ‘‘outrun’’: Tum *paaaw*.

Agaw \**fVy*- ‘‘go away, go out’’: Kwr *fee*-, Dmb *fee*-, *fii*-, Kem *fee*-,  
Aun *fi*-.

### 1966 \**pay*- ‘‘flea’’

Eg *py* ‘‘flea’’ (med).

ECh \**pay*- ‘‘flying termite’’: Mkk *peyyo*.

Cf. reduplication in WCh \**pi-pi*- ‘‘flea’’: Pero *pibi*.

### 1967 \**pa3*- ‘‘metal’’

Sem \**paz*- ‘‘pure gold’’: Hbr *paz*.

ECh \**pa3*- ‘‘iron’’: Tum *paa3*.

One more example of semantic syncretism in the early vocabulary of metallurgy.

## 1968 \*pec- “mosquito”

ECh \*pyas- “mosquito”: Mkk *presso*.

But cf. other ECh forms reflecting \*bis-: Jegu *bīso*, Mig *bīse*.

LEC \*pac- “mosquito”: Or *faaca*.

Assimilation of vowels in LEC.

Cf. also reduplicated Sem \*pas-pas- “bug” (Arab *fas-fas*-).

## 1969 \*ped- “call”

Sem \*pid- “shout, call”: Arab *fdd* [-i-].

WCh \*pyad- “call, speak”: Hs *faḏā*, Sura *pet*, *pit*, Mpn *pet*, Ang *pit*.

Cf. Dhl *puḏ-uḏ*- “tell”?

## 1970 \*peḥas- “wet, sprinkle”

Sem \*pVḥas- “wet, moisten”: Arab *fḥs* [-a-].

WCh \*pyaHVṣ- “spurt water from one’s mouth”: Hs *fēsa*.

ECh \*pyas- “(be) wet”: Sok *peso*.

## 1971 \*per- “bird”

Sem \*pirr- “quail”: Arab *firr-at*.

Reduplication in Gz *fərfer-t* id.

WCh \*pyar- “small bird”: Hs *fērū*.

## 1972 \*per- “refuse”

Sem \*pVr- “forbid, refuse”: Hbr *pr̥r*.

CCh \*pyar- “refuse”: Hil *pyeri*.

## 1973 \*piʔaḱ- “rain”

Eg *pʔḱ.t* “sky waters” (pyr).

CCh \*piʔaḱ- “rainy season”: Msg *pīaḱ*, Mofu *piya*, Mba *piya*.

## 1974 \*pic- “hand”

Sem \*pas-/\*pis- “palm”: Aram (Bibl) *pas*-, (Jud) *pis-t*-.

Berb \*fus- “hand”: Ahg *a-fus*, Ghat *a-fus*, Ghd *u-fəs*, Siwa *fuus*, Sml *a-fus*, Rif *a-fus*, Kby *a-fus*.

Irregular \*s < HS \*c. Secondary \*-u- < \*-i- after a labial.

ECh \*pis- “hand, arm”: Dng *pise*, Mig *pesse*, Bid *pese*, Mubi *foso*.

## 1975 \*pič- “cloth”

Sem \*pVḷ- “cloth”: Hbr *pešet*.

Eg *psṣ.t* “mat” (MK).

-sṣ is an orthographic representation of \*-č-.

WCh \*pič- “shroud”: DB *pis*.

ECh \*pVč- “apron”: Kera *pəsi*.

## 1976 \*pič- “spit”

Sem \*nVpiṭ- “spit”: Ug *nṯl*, Arab *nṯl* [-i-, -u-].

Prefix \*nV-.

Berb \*fVṣ- “spit”: Ntf *s-uṣs*, Izy *fs*, Snus *s-uṣs*.

WCh \*pič/s- “spit”: Krf *fiš*-, Gera *fiisii*-, Glm *pas*, Kry *pəcə*, Diri *pəža*, Paa *pəsu*, Cagu *pəč*, Jmb *fəs*.

CCh \*pič- “spew”: Tera *pəšə*, Bch *fīsə*.

ECh \*pič- “spit”: Mig *pisaw*.

## 1977 \*pig- “stretch”

Sem \*pVg- “draw (the bow)”: Arab *fgg*.

Eg *pḏ* “draw (the string)”.

Progressive palatalization of \*-g-.

WCh \*pig- “pluck out, draw out (sword)”: Hs *figā*.

## 1978 \*pil- “insect”

CCh \*pilu- “mosquito”: Mba *fulay*, Mus *afili*.

Agaw \*pil- “flea”: Kwr *peḷiya*, Kem *fāle*.

Omot \*pil- “flea”: Kaf *pillo*.

Cf. Rift \*paʔal- “flying termite”: Kwz *paʔal-iko*.

## 1979 \*pilaḱ- “knife”

Sem \*pilaḱ- “dagger” <sup>1</sup>, “axe, hoe” <sup>2</sup>: Akk *pilaqqu* <sup>1</sup>, Aram (Syr) *pelq* <sup>2</sup>.

Berb *\*bVlVk-* “blade”: Ahg *ta-bləq*.

Irregular *\*b-* < HS *\*p-*.

### 1980 *\*piliç-* “divide”

Sem *\*pVlVs-* “divide, split”: Gz *flš*, Tgr *flš*, Tgy *flš*, Amh *flš*.

Agaw *\*filiç-* “divide”: Aun *felec-*.

### 1981 *\*pir-* “fly, soar”

Sem *\*pVr-* “fly”<sup>1</sup>, “flee”<sup>2</sup>: Ug *pr*<sup>1</sup>, Aram *pr*<sup>1</sup>, Arab *frr*<sup>2</sup>, Hss *fer*<sup>1</sup>, Mhr *farr*<sup>1</sup>, Soq *fer*<sup>1</sup>, Tgy *frr*<sup>1</sup>.

Berb *\*fVr-* “fly”: Ahg *fəra-t*, Sml *firri*.

Eg *pry* “soar, rise” (pyr).

Related to *pry* “go out”.

WCh *\*pir-* “soar”<sup>1</sup>, “stretch the wings”<sup>2</sup>: Hs *fira*<sup>1</sup>, Ang *pīr*<sup>2</sup>.

CCh *\*pVr-* “bird’s flight”: Mafa *parr*, *perr*.

Bed *fir* “fly”.

Agaw *\*fir-* “fly”: Bil *fir y-*.

### 1982 *\*pir-* “lock” (n.)

Berb *\*fir-* “lock”<sup>1</sup>, “iron horse-lock”<sup>2</sup>: Zng *ti-fer-an*<sup>1</sup>, Izy *tay-ffər-t*<sup>2</sup>.

Eg *pɔy* “part of the doorlock”.

-ɔ- < HS *\*-r-*.

### 1983 *\*pir-* “fruit, corn”

Sem *\*pir-* “fruit”: Phn *pr*, Ug *pr*, Hbr *p<sup>o</sup> rī*, Aram (Syr) *pērā*, Gz *fəre*.

Cf. Hss *ferrāt* “unripe fruit”, Mhr *ferrāt* id., Shh *ferrot* id.

Berb *\*far-* “corn”: Gua *a-faro*.

The vocalism may reflect a different alternation grade.

Eg *pr.t* “fruit, crop, seed” (OK).

Agaw *\*fir-* “fruit”<sup>1</sup>, “corn”<sup>2</sup>: Bil *fir*<sup>1</sup>, Xmr *fira*<sup>1</sup>, Kwr *fira*<sup>1</sup>,

Dmb *fira*<sup>1</sup>, Kem *fir*<sup>2</sup>.

SA *\*fir-* “flowers, fruit”: Saho *fire*.

LEC *\*fir-* “fruit”: Or *firi*.

### 1984 *\*pirah-* “sprout, flower”

Sem *\*pirah-* “sprout”<sup>1</sup>, “flower”<sup>2</sup>: Akk *per<sup>u</sup>*<sup>1</sup>, Ug *prh*, Hbr *perah*, Aram (Syr) *parhō*<sup>2</sup>, Arab *farh-*<sup>1</sup>, Gz *farha*<sup>1</sup>.

Eg *prh* “flower” (n).

Derived from *\*pir-* “fruit, corn”.

### 1985 *\*pirat-* “break, split”

Sem *\*pVrVt-* “break”: Amh *färrätä*

WCh *\*pirVt-* “split (firewood)”: Hs *firde*.

Cf. irregular *-rḏ-* < *\*-rṭ-*. Cf. also Hs *farḏā*, *farḏo*, *furḏa* “crack (nuts)”.

ECh *\*pyarVt-* < *\*pirat-* “break, crack”: Kera *perte*.

HEC *\*fir(V)t-* “cut, prune”: Bmb *firt-*.

### 1986 *\*piric-* “break, grind”

Sem *\*pVris-* “break”<sup>1</sup>, “tear”<sup>2</sup>: Aram (Syr) *prs*<sup>1</sup>, Arab *fṛs* [-i-]<sup>1 2</sup>.

CCh *\*pVrVc-* “grind”: Mofu *pīrs-*.

ECh *\*pirVs-* “crush (grain)”: Mkk *pīrza*.

Agaw *\*firis-* “be destroyed”: Aun *feres-əṇ*.

### 1987 *\*pirig-* “separate”

Sem *\*pVrig-* “open, enlarge, separate”: Arab *fṛg* [-i-].

ECh *\*pirVg-* “separate”: Bid *pīrgay*.

### 1988 *\*pirVq-* “scratch”

Eg *pɔh* “scratch (eyes)”.

-ɔ- < HS *\*-r-*.

ECh *\*pirVk-* “scratch”: Kera *pīrki*.

### 1989 *\*pitaḥ-* “open”

Sem *\*pVtaḥ-* “open”: Akk *petū*, Ug *pṭh*, Hbr *pṭh*, Aram (Syr) *pṭh*,

Arab *fṭh* [-a-], Gz *fṭh*, Hss *fetōh*, Mhr *fōteh*, Shh *fetaḥ*.

CCh *\*pVtVH-* “open (of eyes or anus)”: Mofu *pəth-*.

ECh *\*pit-* ‘‘open’’: Bid *pit*, Sok *fitifiti*.  
Reduplication in Sok.

### 1990 *\*piṭ-* ‘‘bark’’ (n.)

CCh *\*piṭ-* ‘‘bark’’: Mofu *papət*, Mafa *pit-*.  
Partial reduplication in Mofu.  
ECh *\*pyat-* ‘‘bark’’: Kera *pete*.  
Wrz *\*feṭ-* ‘‘bark’’: Hrs *feṭe*.

### 1991 *\*poʔad-* ‘‘close, cover’’

Sem *\*pVʔVd-* ‘‘close’’: Akk *pādu*.  
CCh *\*pwaʔad-* ‘‘wrap up’’: Mofu *paḍ-*, Nza *paḍi*, Gis *foḍ*.  
ECh *\*pwaḍ-* ‘‘cover’’: Mobu *podde*.

### 1992 *\*poç-* ‘‘smear, scatter’’

Sem *\*pVç-* ‘‘spread’’<sup>1</sup>, ‘‘smear’’<sup>2</sup>, ‘‘scatter’’<sup>3</sup>: Akk *pašāšu*<sup>1 2</sup>,  
Hbr *pšy*<sup>1</sup>, Aram (Jud) *psy*<sup>1</sup>, Arab *fšw* [-u-]<sup>1 3</sup>, Soq *piši*<sup>1</sup>, Tgy  
*fss*<sup>1</sup>, Tgr *fss*<sup>1</sup>, Amh *fss*<sup>1</sup>.  
WCh *\*pwaçi-* ‘‘anoint’’<sup>1</sup>, ‘‘scatter’’<sup>2</sup>: Ang *pwis*<sup>1</sup>, Tng *peḍa*<sup>2</sup>.

Etymologically identical with *\*pVç-* ‘‘distribute, divide’’?

### 1993 *\*poç-* ‘‘give birth’’

Eg *pçpç* ‘‘give birth’’ (gr).  
Reduplication.  
CCh *\*pway-/pwaH-* ‘‘give birth’’: Gude *pwes-ik*, FM *pçyi*, FB *pwe*.

### 1994 *\*poḥaç-* ‘‘separate, split’’

Sem *\*pVḥaṣ-* ‘‘separate, split’’: Arab *fḥḍ* [-a-].  
Eg *pḥḍ* ‘‘separate, split open’’.  
LEC *\*foHoç-* ‘‘separate’’: Arb *foḍ-*.  
Assimilation of vowels.  
HEC *\*faʔaç-* ‘‘cut maize’’: Kmb *faaç-*.  
Assimilation of vowels.

### 1995 *\*pok-* ‘‘mug, bowl’’

Sem *\*pak-* ‘‘bottle, mug’’: Hbr *pak*.  
*\*u* > *\*a* after a labial.  
CCh *\*pwak-* ‘‘water pot’’: Gaa *pokə-ta*, Gbn *pokə-tə*.  
ECh *\*pV<sub>k</sub>-* ‘‘bowl’’: Kera *pəka*.

### 1996 *\*poḵ-* ‘‘peel, skin’’ (v.)

Sem *\*pV<sub>k</sub>Vʔ-* ‘‘peel, shell’’ (v.): Aram (Syr) *pqʔ*.  
WCh *\*pwaḵ-* ‘‘skin, peel’’: Ang *pok*.  
ECh *\*pwag-/pwaḵ-* ‘‘skin’’ (v.)<sup>1</sup>, ‘‘shell, pluck feathers’’<sup>2</sup>: Tum  
*pəg*<sup>1</sup>, Ndam *pə:gə*<sup>1</sup>, Kera *poke*<sup>2</sup>.

Connected with *\*paḵVʔ-* ‘‘bark, skin’’.

### 1997 *\*poḵa<sup>ç</sup>-* ‘‘beer, sauce’’

Sem *\*puḵā<sup>ç</sup>-* ‘‘beer, juice’’: Arab *fuqqā<sup>ç</sup>-*.  
WCh *\*pwaḵ-* ‘‘sauce’’: Sura *pok*, Ang *pwuk*, Mpn *puk*.

### 1998 *\*poḵV<sup>ç</sup>-* ‘‘cut, split’’

Sem *\*pV<sub>k</sub>V<sup>ç</sup>-* ‘‘split, break, wound’’: Gz *fq<sup>ç</sup>*.  
CCh *\*pok-* ‘‘chop’’: Msm *pok*.

### 1999 *\*poliḵ-* ‘‘split’’

Sem *\*pVliḵ-* ‘‘kill, slaughter’’<sup>1</sup>, ‘‘cut’’<sup>2</sup>: Akk *palāqu*<sup>1</sup>, Arab *flq*  
[-i-]<sup>2</sup>.  
LEC *\*folV<sub>k</sub>-* ‘‘break off’’: Or *folloqa*.  
Derived from *\*pal-* ‘‘cut, divide’’.

### 2000 *\*pon-/ponV<sup>ç</sup>-* ‘‘turn, return’’

Sem *\*pVn-* ‘‘turn’’: Ug *pnn*, Hbr *pny*, Aram (Syr) *pnʔ*, *pny*.  
Eg *pn<sup>ç</sup>* ‘‘turn’’ (pyr).  
CCh *\*fwan-H-* ‘‘return’’: Lame *fɔŋ*, LPe *faŋ*.

## 2001 \*puc- “burn”

Eg *wps* “burn” (NK).

*w-* stands for a rounded root vowel.

CCh \**pVc-* “roast”: FK*i wča*, HK *psa-*, HB *pceyo*, HG*h wsaže*, Mnd *pšapša*.

Reduplication in Mnd.

## 2002 \*puc- “tear into pieces”

Sem \**pVsa-* “tear into pieces”: Arab *fs* [-a-].

Based on \**pVs-*.

CCh \**puc-* “tear into pieces, pluck”: Mafa *puc-*.

## 2003 \*puč- “urine”

Sem \**paṭt-* “horse urine”: Arab *fazz-*.

Berb \**fVc-* “urine”: Ahg *ta-fəzz-a*.

Borrowed from Arab?

WCh \**puči-ar-* “urine”: Hs *fičārī*, Wrj *cəpr-ai*, Kry *cipir*, Diri *axəbəla*, Miya *cəpur*, Paa *cipura*, Siri *čipəri*, Pol *bəs*, Geji *hasi*, Brm *has*, Say *hes*, Dwot *huzari*, Buli *həs*.

ECh \**puči-* “urine”: Tum *bə:ʒər*, Ndam *buž*, Dng *pidye*, Mig *piži*, Brg *pidye*.

## 2004 \*puč- “break, crush”

Sem \**puš-* “break, crush”: Hbr *pšpš*, Arab *fḍḍ* [-u-].

Reduplication in Hbr.

CCh \**puš-* “break”: Kap *puše*, HNk *pše*, HF *pšo*.

## 2005 \*pudağ-/\*pudiğ- “break, split”

Sem \**pVdağ-* “break”: Arab *fḍḍ* [-a-].

CCh \**pudiğ-* “split”: Mofu *pəḍḍ-*, Gis *pudiğ*.

From \**pudiğ-* < \**pudiğ-*.

## 2006 \*puḥ- “strike”

Sem \**nVpaḥ-* “strike with a sabre”: Arab *nḥ* [-a-]

Prefix \**nV-*.

Dhl *puḥ-* “hit, strike (with sharp instrument)”.

Cf. also *paḥ-* “hit, shoot”.

Rift \**puḥ-* “hit”: Kww *puḥ-umis*.

## 2007 \*puḥar- “jump”

Eg *phrr* “run” (pyr).

Note double -rr.

WCh \**pura-* < \**puHar-* “jump”: Hs *burā*, Ang *pyar*, Ank *pār*, Mpn *paar*.

Emphatization of \**p-*.

ECh \**paHar-* “jump”: Smr *pār*.

## 2008 \*puk- “winnow”

Berb \**fVk-* “winnow, peel (corn)”: Ahg *fukk-ət-*.

WCh \**puk-* “winnow”: Tng *puk*.

## 2009 \*pur- “cut”

Sem \**pVrVy-* “cut”: Akk *parū*, Arab *fry* [-i-].

Reduplication in Arab *frr* “cut, split”.

Berb \**fVr-* “shave, cut hair”: Ahg *əfr-ən*.

WCh \**pur-* “prepare field by cutting trees”: Tng *pure*.

## 2010 \*pur- “container”

Sem \**parr-* “kind of vessel”<sup>1</sup>, “pot”<sup>2</sup>: Akk *parūtu*<sup>1</sup>, Hbr *pārur*<sup>2</sup>.

Derivatives of \**parr-* in Akk and Hbr.

Eg *pr* “box” (MK).

WCh \**pur-* “large beer-pot”: Tng *puuri*.

## 2011 \*pur- “tear”

Berb \**fVrVy-* “tear”: Kby *fri*.

Based on \**fVr-*.

CCh \**pur-* “tear”: Daba *pur*.

Rift \**puru<sup>c</sup>-* “strip off”: Irq *puru<sup>c</sup>-us-*, Alg *puru<sup>c</sup>-*.

Secondary laryngeal.

## 2012 \*pur- ‘‘flower, grass’’

Berb \*fVr- ‘‘kind of grass’’: Sml *a-fər*, Rif *friw*.

WCh \*pur- ‘‘tobacco flower’’<sup>1</sup>, ‘‘flower’’<sup>2</sup>, ‘‘grass’’<sup>3</sup>: Hs *furē*<sup>1</sup>,  
Paa *pure*<sup>2</sup>, Cagu *pəre*<sup>2</sup>, Pero *pure*<sup>3</sup>.

CCh \*fwar- ‘‘flower’’: Dgh *fəra*, Bud *phōrio*.

Bed *far* ‘‘flower’’ (pl.)

Note the modified vocalism of pl.

LEC \*fur- ‘‘kind of grass’’: Or *fura*.

Omot \*pur- ‘‘flower’’: Yam *furaa*.

Connected with \*pir- ‘‘fruit, corn’’.

## 2013 \*pur- ‘‘untie’’

Berb \*fVr- ‘‘untie’’: Kby *ə-fru*.

CCh \*pir-/ \*pur- ‘‘untie’’: Tera *pəra*, Wmd *piri*, Mtk *pər*, FBw *pir*,  
Bch *para*, Mwu *upuran*, Gude *pur-gič*.

ECh \*puwir- < \*pu<sup>2</sup>ir- ‘‘untie’’: Smr *ṣawər*, Nch *pure*, Lele *poor*, Kbl  
*puwər*, Kera *fere*, Kwan *apre*, Dng *i- pire*, Mig *ṣi-piro*, Mkk *ṣeppire*.

Secondary laryngeal in the inlaut.

LEC \*pur- ‘‘untie, disengage’’: Som *furayya*, Or *furra*.

\*u may reflect a different alternation grade.

## 2014 \*purVs- ‘‘cut, separate’’

Sem \*pVrVš- ‘‘separate’’: Aram (Syr) *prš*.

Berb \*fVrVs- ‘‘separate’’<sup>1</sup>, ‘‘cut’’<sup>2</sup>: Sml *fərs*<sup>1 2</sup>, Twl *əfrəs*<sup>2</sup>, Ahg  
*əfrəs*<sup>2</sup>.

ECh \*purVs- ‘‘split’’: Sok *purse*.

## 2015 \*putir- ‘‘mat’’

Sem \*putr- ‘‘mat’’: Arab *futr*.

Secondary \*u?

WCh \*ka-pVtir- ‘‘mat’’: Wnd *kaptir*, Dwot *kaptur*.

Prefix \*ka-.

## 2016 \*puwad- ‘‘heart’’

Sem \*pawād-/ \*pu<sup>2</sup>ād- ‘‘heart’’: Arab *fawād*-, *fu<sup>2</sup>ād*-.

WCh \*pūd- ‘‘heart’’: Sura *puut*, Ang *put*.

Contraction from \*puwad-.

ECh \*puwad-pwad- ‘‘lungs’’: Smr *pəḏəpəḏə*, Tum *podpod*, Ndam  
*pət-pət*.

Reduplication.

2017 \*pV<sup>2</sup>in- ‘‘break, grind’’

Sem \*pV<sup>2</sup>Vn- ‘‘grind’’: Akk *pēnu*.

WCh \*pVHin- ‘‘break’’: Ang *pīn*, Mpn *pīn*.

2018 \*pV<sup>2</sup>ud- ‘‘knee’’

Berb \*fud- ‘‘knee’’: Nfs *u-fed*, Siwa *fūd*, Ghat *a-fud*, Ahg *a-fud*, Zng  
*o-ffud*, Sml *a-fūd*, Ntf *a-fud*, Izy *a-fuḏ*, Rif *fud*, Mzb *fud*.

Eg *pṣḏ*, *pṣd* ‘‘knee’’ (med), *pd* (XVIII).

The ancient form of Eg seems to be preserved as *pṣḏ*. If so, the  
unusual correspondence Eg *ḏ* ~ Berb \**d* needs further analysis.

## 2019 \*pVê- ‘‘distribute, divide’’

Sem \*pVš- ‘‘distribute’’: Aram (Syr) *psš*, Arab *ḟšš*.

Eg *psš*, *pšš*, *pš* ‘‘divide’’ (MK).

Note *sš* and *šš* as graphic representations of a lateral.

## 2020 \*pVd- ‘‘move’’

Sem \*pid- ‘‘march, go (of cattle)’’: Arab *fdd* [-i-].

ECh \*pad-/ \*pud- ‘‘pass by’’: Tum *pəḏ*, Ndm *pada*, Lele *pudu*.

The root vocalism of Sem and ECh is contradictory. Cf. also  
Berb \*fVd- ‘‘let in’’ (Sha *s-ifəḏ*) and Eg *ṣpd* ‘‘run, hurry’’  
(XVIII).

## 2021 \*pVg- ‘‘take’’

Sem \*pūg- ‘‘take away’’: Akk *puāgu*.

Based on biconsonantal \*pVg-.

ECh \*pVg- ‘‘take’’: Tum *pəg*.

2022 \*pV<sup>c</sup>al- “work, make”

Sem \*pV<sup>c</sup>al- “work, do, make”: Phn *p<sup>c</sup>l*, Hbr *p<sup>c</sup>l*, Aram (Syr) *p<sup>c</sup>l*,  
Arab *f<sup>c</sup>l* [-a-], SAr *p<sup>c</sup>l*.

LEC \*pal- “make”: Som *fal*-, Boni *fal*-.

Ome \*pal- “create, make”: Kaf *hal*, Mch *palli*.

Dhl *fal*- “do”.

Contraction in all Cush forms.

## 2023 \*pVh- “exchange, sell”

Sem \*pVh- “exchange”: Akk *puhhu*.

CCh \*pV<sup>h</sup>wa- “sell”: HNk *pəxwi*, Kap *pəxwi*.

WCh \*pay- < \*paH(ē)- “commerce”: Tng *paya*.

Deverbative with modified vocalism.

## 2024 \*pVhVr- “gather”

Sem \*pVhVr- “assemble”: Akk *paḥāru*.

Cf. a nominal derivative \*puh(V)r- “assembly, gathering”:

Akk *puḥru*, Ug *pḥr*.

ECh \*pVr- “gather”: Kbl *pərrə*.

## 2025 \*pVlah- “split, cut”

Sem \*pVlah- “split”<sup>1</sup>, “till, cultivate”<sup>2</sup>: Hbr *plḥ*<sup>1</sup>, Aram *plḥ*<sup>2</sup>,  
Arab *flḥ* [-a-]<sup>1 2</sup>.

Berb \*fVIVh- “cut, split”: Ahg *ə-fləh*.

Irregular laryngeal.

Derived from \*pal- “cut”.

## 2026 \*pVIVs- “split, pierce”

Sem \*pVIVs- “pierce”: Akk *palāšu*.

Eg *pns* “cut” (pyr).

-n- < HS \*-l-.

The alternative reconstruction is \*pVsVL-.

## 2027 \*pVri3- “cut, separate”

Sem \*pVri3- “separate”: Arab *frz* [-i-], Mhr *ferōz*.

Berb \*fVrV3- “cut”: Snus *əfrəz*.

## 2028 \*pVt- “scorpion”

Eg *ptt* “scorpion” (l).

Partial reduplication.

CCh \*pVt- “scorpion”: HF *ptu*, HB *wto*, FKt *ti*.

## 2029 \*pVttis- “flatten”

Sem \*pVttis- “flatten, forge”: Arab *fīs* [-i-].

Cf. \*paṭiš- “hammer”: Hbr *paṭṭiš*, Aram (Jud) *paṭṭīs*-.

Eg *pds* “make flat, trample down”.

Regular -d- < \*-t-.

## 2030 \*pVtok- “split, cut”

Sem \*pVtok- “break, split, separate”: Arab *fīq* [-u-].

Berb \*fViVk- “open”<sup>1</sup>, “cut”<sup>2</sup>: Siwa *əftək*<sup>1</sup>, Ahg *əftək*<sup>1 2</sup>, Izy  
*frek*<sup>2</sup>, Izy *frek*<sup>1</sup>, Kby *eftek*<sup>1</sup>.

Unexpected \*k < HS \*k̄.

CCh \*pVtwak- “split”: Mofu *paṭkw*-.

-kw < \*-k- under the influence of \*-wa-.

LEC \*fotok- “chip” (v.): Or *fotoqa*.

Assimilation of vowels.

\*q

## 2031 \*qab- “kill”

Eg *ḥb* “kill” (gr).

WCh \*qab- “kill”: Tng *kabi*.

2032 \*qafV<sup>c</sup>- “hold”

Sem \*ḥVp- “pack”: Akk *ḥapū*.



Eg *ħf<sup>c</sup>* ‘‘catch, grasp, pack’’ (pyr).

Cf. also *ħf<sup>c</sup>* ‘‘fist’’ (pyr).

WCh *\*qaf-* ‘‘security of hold’’<sup>1</sup>, ‘‘grasp, seize’’<sup>2</sup>; Hs *kaf*<sup>1</sup>, Say *ngəp*<sup>1</sup>, Ngz *gafau*<sup>2</sup>, Bade *gaf*<sup>2</sup>.

Cf. Dhl *ħap-* ‘‘snatch quickly’’.

### 2033 \*qam- ‘‘possess’’

Eg *ħʒm* ‘‘possess, hold’’ (MK).

Vocalic -ʒ-.

WCh *\*qam-* ‘‘grasp’’: Hs *kāma*.

Dhl *kam-* ‘‘hold’’.

Rift *\*kom-* ‘‘hold, have’’: Irq *kom-*, Bur *kom-*, Asa *kom-*, Kwz *komos-*.

Secondary \*-o- before a labial.

### 2034 \*qapuĉ- ‘‘arm, shoulder’’

Eg *ħpš* ‘‘arm’’ (MK).

WCh *\*qapuĉ-* ‘‘shoulder’’: Bul *gapuša*.

### 2035 \*qatam- ‘‘ring, seal’’

Sem *\*ħatm-* ‘‘ring’’<sup>1</sup>, seal (on a ring)’’<sup>2</sup>; Hbr *ħotēm*<sup>1 2</sup>, Arab *ħatm-*<sup>1 2</sup>, Jib *ħotem*<sup>1</sup>, Hss *ħōtem*<sup>1</sup>, Shh *ħotem*<sup>1</sup>.

Eg *ħtm* ‘‘stamp, seal’’ (OK).

WCh *\*qatam-* ‘‘ring’’: Miya *katam*.

### 2036 \*qaway- ‘‘be empty’’

Sem *\*ħūy-* ‘‘be empty’’: Arab *ħwy* [-i-].

WCh *\*qāy-* < *\*qaway-* ‘‘empty’’: Tng *kaayi*, *gaye*.

### 2037 \*qet- ‘‘tear’’

Eg *ħtt* ‘‘tear off’’ (MK).

WCh *\*qyat-* ‘‘tear, rend’’: Hs *kēta*.

### 2038 \*qi<sup>2</sup>- ‘‘plaiting’’

Sem *\*ħi<sup>2</sup>-* ‘‘kind of clothes’’: Akk *ħi<sup>2</sup>u*.

Eg *ħʒ.t* ‘‘kind of plaiting’’ (NK).

### 2039 \*qirim- ‘‘separate, divide’’

Sem *\*ħVrim-* ‘‘separate, isolate’’<sup>1</sup>, ‘‘pierce’’<sup>2</sup>; Akk *ħarāmu*<sup>1</sup>, Arab *ħrm* [-i-]<sup>2</sup>.

WCh *\*qirVm-* ‘‘stub with a knife, cut or bite head off’’: Hs *kirma*, *kirme*.

### 2040 \*qiš- ‘‘grind, rub’’

WCh *\*qiš-* ‘‘thrash’’: Hs *kilā*.

CCh *\*qiš-* ‘‘thrash, beat’’: Mafa *kəž-*.

Rift *\*ħiš-* ‘‘rub’’: Alg *ħiš-*.

### 2041 \*qo<sup>2</sup>- ‘‘mix’’

Eg *ħʒw* ‘‘mix’’ (med).

Vocalic -ʒ-.

WCh *\*qwa<sup>2</sup>-* ‘‘mix’’: Fyer *goo*.

### 2042 \*qoĉ- ‘‘pierce’’

Sem *\*ħūs-* ‘‘pierce’’<sup>1</sup>, ‘‘penetrate, pierce camel’s nose with a stick’’<sup>2</sup>; Arab *ħwš* [-u-]<sup>1</sup>, Jib *ħešš*<sup>2</sup>.

Inlaut \*-w- reflects the original structure with \*-o-.

Omot *\*koč-* ‘‘pierce’’: Kaf *kočč-*.

Irregular \*-č-.

### 2043 \*qom- ‘‘gather, join’’

Sem *\*ħVm-* ‘‘gather’’: Akk *ħamāmu*.

WCh *\*qwam-* ‘‘join’’: Grk *kwom*.

### 2044 \*qor- ‘‘shout, say’’

Sem *\*ħūr-* ‘‘bellow’’: Arab *ħwr* [-u-].

Based ob biconsonantal *\*ħVr-*.

Berb *\*kur-* ‘‘call’’: Ahg *kur-ət*.

Eg *ħr* ‘‘say’’ (OK).

WCh *\*qwar-* ‘‘groan’’<sup>1</sup>, ‘‘shout, cry, call’’<sup>2</sup>: Ang *gwar*<sup>1</sup>, Kry *kwār*<sup>2</sup>, Miya *kwār*<sup>2</sup>, Jmb *gwar-al*<sup>2</sup>.

#### 2045 *\*qot-* ‘‘take (by force)’’

Sem *\*ḥVt-* ‘‘take somebody’s share’’: Arab *ḥtt*.

WCh *\*qwat-* ‘‘take thing by force’’: Hs *kwātā*, *kwāčē*.

#### 2046 *\*qot-* ‘‘elbow’’

Eg *ḥt* ‘‘elbow’’ (MK).

WCh *\*qu-qwat-* ‘‘elbow’’: Sha *kukwat*.

Partial reduplication.

#### 2047 *\*quʾab-* ‘‘knife, sickle’’

Eg *ḥʾb* ‘‘chisel’’ (BD).

WCh *\*quʾab-* ‘‘sword, knife’’: Hs *takōbī*, Sura *kəp*, Ang *kūp*.

Prefix *ta-* in Hs.

#### 2048 *\*qudam-* ‘‘pot’’

Sem *\*ḥadām-* ‘‘night pot’’: Arab *ḥaddām-at-*.

Assimilation of vowels.

WCh *\*qudam-* ‘‘pot’’: Bol *kudam*.

#### 2049 *\*qul-* ‘‘hoe’’ (n.)

Eg *ḥnn* ‘‘hoe’’ (pyr).

Irregular laryngeal.

CCh *\*qul-* ‘‘hoe’’: Wmd *kul*, Hld *kwulu*.

Cf. Rift *\*ḥwal-* ‘‘dig up, till’’: Alg *ḥwal-*, Kwz *ḥoḥwal-*.

#### 2050 *\*qur-* ‘‘voice, noise’’

Eg *ḥrw* ‘‘voice, noise’’ (pyr).

Vocalic *-w*.

WCh *\*qur-* ‘‘scream, cry’’ (n.): Hs *kurūruwa*.

Rift *\*ḥur-* ‘‘rumble, roar’’: Irq *ḥur-ay*.

Related to *\*qor-* ‘‘shout, say’’.

#### 2051 *\*qurap-* ‘‘beat’’

Sem *\*ḥVrVp-* ‘‘strike back’’: Akk *ḥarāpu*.

WCh *\*qurVp-* ‘‘whipping’’: Hs *kurfō*.

ECh *\*karap-* ‘‘kick, trample’’: Bid *ʾarap*, Dng *karpe*.

#### 2052 *\*qüz-* ‘‘be angry’’

Eg *ḥzy* ‘‘angry’’ (MK).

-y stands for a front vowel.

WCh *\*quz-* ‘‘be angry’’: Tng *kuz-*.

#### 2053 *\*qVbVʾ-* ‘‘break, destroy’’

Eg *ḥbʾ* ‘‘destroy’’ (pyr).

WCh *\*qVHVb-* ‘‘break’’: Tng *keeb*.

Metathesis.

Cf. *\*qab-* ‘‘kill’’.

### \*q

#### 2054 *\*qac-* ‘‘valley, river bed’’

Berb *\*γVɜ-* ‘‘river bed, wadi’’: Ahg *ta-γəzz-it*.

Rift *\*ḥas-* ‘‘valley or ravine without running water’’: Irq *ḥasa*.

#### 2055 *\*qac-/qVwVÇ-* ‘‘sand’’

Sem *\*ḥūs-/ḥīš-* ‘‘sand, gravel’’: Akk *ḥiṣṣu*, Gz *ḥoṣā*.

Secondary formation with inlaut *\*-w-/ḡ-*y-**. Cf. Agaw.

WCh *\*qas-* < *\*qac-* ‘‘earth, sand’’: Hs *ḥasā*.

Agaw *\*ḥūs-* < *\*ḥVwVš-* ‘‘sand’’: Bil *ḥūsā*.

Omot *\*ḥac-* ‘‘sand’’: Kaf *ḥāčō*, Nao *ḥasa*, Gim *ḥačay*, *ḥač*.

Cf., with a different anlaut laryngeal: Rift *\*ḥac-* ‘‘sand’’ (Irq *ḥas-aḡ*, Kwz *ḥas-inko*, Asa *ḥaj-at*).

## 2056 \*qac- ‘‘be friable’’

Sem \**hVṣ*- ‘‘be friable’’: Arab *ḥḍw*.

ECh \**kVṣ*- ‘‘crumble’’: Bid *kodyody*.

Partial reduplication.

LEC \**kaç*- ‘‘walk on grain and spoil it’’: Or *qaçaʿa*.

## 2057 \*qalüm- ‘‘boat’’

Sem \**halim*- ‘‘raft’’: Akk *hallimu*.

Eg *ḥmn.ty* ‘‘ship’’ (OK).

Metathesis.

CCh \**qwalum*- < \**qalum*- ‘‘boat’’: Msg *ḥolum*, Log *γʿoam*.

Log *γʿoam* < \**γʿwalam*.

## 2058 \*qam-/qayam- ‘‘tent, house’’

Sem \**ḥaym*- ‘‘tent’’<sup>1</sup>, ‘‘hut, cabin’’<sup>2</sup>: Ug *ḥm-t*<sup>1</sup>, Arab *ḥaym*- *at*<sup>1 2</sup>,  
SAr *ḥym*<sup>2</sup>, Gz *ḥaymat*<sup>1</sup>, Tgr *ḥaymāt*<sup>2</sup>, Amh *haym*- *āt*<sup>2</sup>, Jib *hom*  
(pl.)<sup>1</sup>, Hss *ḥīm-ēt*-<sup>1 2</sup>.

Berb \**γ(V)yam*- ‘‘tent’’<sup>1</sup>, ‘‘village’’<sup>2</sup>: Ayr *ta-γyam-t*<sup>1</sup>, Ahg *ta-ḥyam*-  
*t*<sup>1</sup>, Twl *ta-γyam-t*<sup>1</sup>, Ntf *ta-ḥyam-t*<sup>2</sup>, Kby *a-ḥḥam*<sup>1</sup>.

Eg *ḥm* ‘‘temple’’ (pyr).

ECh \**kam-kam*- ‘‘camp’’: Mig *kankama*, Bid *kamkama*.

Reduplication. Dissimilation of nasals in Mig.

## 2059 \*qan- ‘‘tent, house’’

Eg *ḥn* ‘‘tent’’ (pyr).

WCh \**qan*- ‘‘hut’’: Wrj *kan-na*, Cagu *kan*, Jmb *gan*.

Cf. \**qam*-/\**qayam*- id.

## 2060 \*qaniç-/quniç- ‘‘leg’’

Sem \**ḥanṣ*- ‘‘hip’’: Akk *ḥanṣātu*, Hbr *ḥalāšāyim* (dual.), Aram *ḥarṣ*  
*šim*.

Irregular sonants.

Eg *ḥnd* ‘‘part of the leg’’ (pyr).

CCh \**quniç*- ‘‘hip, knee’’: Gis *mit-kinža*, Glv *runža*, Zgh *gwuže*,

Gava *gwiza*.

Alternation \**a* ~ \**u*.

## 2061 \*qar- ‘‘fish’’

Eg *ḥṣ.t* ‘‘kind of fish’’ (a).

-ṣ < HS \*-r-.

WCh \**qar*- ‘‘fish with sharp fins’’: Hs *ḥarāyā*.

LEC \**kar*- ‘‘fish’’: Gel *kaara*.

Wrz \**ḥar*- ‘‘fish’’: Gaw *ḥaare*, Cam *ḥaar-ite*, Hrs *haar-icce*, Dob *haar-icce*, Gll *haare*.

Ome \**kar*- ‘‘fish’’: Hmr *kara*, *kaara*.

## 2062 \*qar-/qawar- ‘‘burn’’

Eg *ḥr.t* ‘‘flame’’ (reg).

Cf. also *ḥṣ* ‘‘roast’’ (n).

WCh \**qawVr*- ‘‘roast (without oil)’’: Hs *ḥaurarā*.

Secondary \*-w-?

Rift \**ḥwar*- ‘‘fry’’<sup>1</sup>, ‘‘hot’’<sup>2</sup>: Bur *ḥweraʿes*-<sup>1</sup>, Alg *ḥwereʿes*-<sup>1</sup>, Asa  
*hareta*<sup>2</sup>.

## 2063 \*qaraw- ‘‘war, fight’’

Eg *ḥrwyw* ‘‘war’’.

Partial reduplication.

WCh \**qar[a]w*- ‘‘fight’’: Hs *kārō*.

ECh \**kVraw*- ‘‘war’’: Tum *kəraw*.

Cf. Kera *kuuri* ‘‘fight’’ (v.).

## 2064 \*qayul- ‘‘equid’’

Sem \**ḥayl*- ‘‘horse’’<sup>1</sup>, ‘‘mare’’<sup>2</sup>: Arab *ḥayl*- (pl.)<sup>1</sup>, Soq *ḥayl*-<sup>2</sup>,  
Hss *ḥeyōl* (pl.)<sup>1</sup>.

Berb \**γayul*- ‘‘horse’’<sup>1</sup>, ‘‘mare’’<sup>2</sup>, ‘‘donkey’’<sup>3</sup>, ‘‘mule’’<sup>4</sup>: Jrb *tə-γalli-τ*<sup>4</sup>,  
Nfs *tə-γəll-ət*<sup>2</sup>, Skn *t-γall-ən*<sup>1</sup>, Sml *a-γyul*<sup>3</sup>, Sgr *a-γyul*<sup>3</sup>,  
Mzab *t-γalli-t*<sup>1</sup>, Wrg *a-γyul*<sup>3</sup>, Snd *a-γyul*<sup>3</sup>.

LEC \**ḥay(V)l*- ‘‘foal’’: Som *qayl*.

## 2065 \*qen- ‘‘go, walk’’

Eg *ḥny* ‘‘walk’’ (l).

WCh \**qyana*- ‘‘enter, go’’: Tng *kən*, Fycr *gan*.

ECh \**gin*- ‘‘go out’’: Sok *gine*.

## 2066 \*qof- ‘‘hoof’’

Sem \**hupp-* ‘‘hoof’’: Arab *huff-*, Hss *hef*, Mhr *hef*, Shh *haf*.  
 WCh \**qwaq-* ‘‘hoof’’: Hs *kwāfa*, Ang *kwēp*.

## 2067 \*qol- ‘‘testicles’’

WCh \**qwal-* ‘‘testicles’’: Hs *kwālātai*, Ang *gwal*.  
 CCh \**qwal-* ‘‘penis’’<sup>1</sup>, ‘‘testicles’’<sup>2</sup>: Bura *kwal*<sup>1</sup>, Klb *kwal*<sup>1</sup>, Mrg *kwal*<sup>1</sup>, FGH *kwəlaku*<sup>1</sup>, Bch *kwaley*<sup>2</sup>.  
 ECh \**kwal-* ‘‘testicles’’<sup>1</sup>, ‘‘penis’’<sup>2</sup>: Kera *kələŋ*<sup>1</sup>, Kwan *kalasa*<sup>1</sup>, Mkk *kole*<sup>2</sup>.  
 Agaw \**kwil-* ‘‘testicles’’: Bil *kwēlaa*.  
 Omot \**kull-* ‘‘testicles’’: Kaf *kuroo*.

Cf. Dhl *kʷall-iδ-* ‘‘have an erection’’.

## 2068 \*qon- ‘‘river’’

Eg *hñw* ‘‘rivulet’’ (XVIII).  
 Vocalic *-w*.  
 ECh \**kwan-* ‘‘river’’: Ndam *kwan*.

## 2069 \*qoq- ‘‘throat’’

Eg *hḥ* ‘‘throat’’ (MK).  
 WCh \**qwaq-* ‘‘throat’’: Hs *mākōko*, Grk *γγa*, Bgh *gway*.  
 Prefix in Hs.  
 CCh \**q[w]ay-* ‘‘throat’’: Log *γ’ayī*, Bud *wui*, Gul *uē*, Kus *uā*.  
 Dhl *k’ok’o* ‘‘throat’’.

Reduplication?

## 2070 \*qor- ‘‘tooth’’

WCh \**ha-qwar-* ‘‘tooth’’: Hs *hakōrī*, Fyer *hagor*, Bks *ʔagur*, Sha *ʔagaḥa*, Klr *ʔagwer*, DB *gur*.  
 Prefix \**ha-*.  
 Bed *kwir* ‘‘tooth’’.

## 2071 \*qor- ‘‘shell’’

WCh \**qwar-* ‘‘shell of tortoise’’: Hs *kwarya*.  
 Rift \**horor-* ‘‘cowry shell’’: Irq *xoror-ami*.  
 Partial reduplication.

## 2072 \*qor- ‘‘bird’’

Eg *hʔr* ‘‘goose’’ (BD).  
*-ʔ-* stand for a vowel.  
 HEC \**kur-* ‘‘crow’’: Ala *qura*, Tmb *qura*.  
 Descriptive root.

## 2073 \*qul- ‘‘vessel’’

Berb \**γVlal-* ‘‘wooden vase’’: Ghd *a-ylal*.  
 Partial reduplication.  
 Eg *hʔw* ‘‘vessel’’ (pyr).  
*-w* stand for HS \**u* in the root.  
 WCh \**kulul-* ‘‘big pot’’: Hs *kūlūlu*.  
 Assimilation of vowels. Partial reduplication.  
 Partial reduplication in Berb and WCh.

## 2074 \*qVyVb- ‘‘deceive’’

Sem \**hīb-* ‘‘deceive’’; Arab *hyb*.  
 CCh \**qVyVb-* ‘‘deceive’’: Daba *kīb*.  
 Contraction. Emphatization is caused by \**q*.

\*r

## 2075 \*ra²- ‘‘sing’’

ECh \**ra²-aw-/ra²-ay-* ‘‘sing’’: Mubi *rewa*, Brg *raaya*, Bid *raa-*.  
 Rift \**ra²-* ‘‘sing’’: Irq *da²-*, Alg *ra²-*, Bur *ra²-am-*, Asa *ra²-at-*.  
 Cf. a reduplication in WCh: Hs *raira* ‘‘sing’’, *rēra* id.

2076 \*ra<sup>2</sup>- “water level”

Berb \**Ha-ray*- “water level (in a vessel)”: Ahg *t-āray*- *t*.

Prefix \**Ha*-.

Eg *rj* “water-line” (MK).

2077 \*ra<sup>2</sup>-/\*raw-/\*ray- “be, become, make”

Eg *iry* “be, do, make” (OK), Copt \**iri*: Fym *ili*, Akh *eire*, Boh *iri*, Shd *eire*.

WCh \**ra*<sup>2</sup>-/\**raw*- “become”<sup>1</sup>, “work”<sup>2</sup>: Gwn *ra*<sup>1</sup>, Bks *ro*<sup>2</sup>.

CCh \**ray*- “become, build”: Lame *re*, *rey*.

ECh \**riy*- “become”<sup>1</sup>, “work, make”<sup>2</sup>: Dng *orriye*<sup>1</sup>, *riyo*<sup>2</sup>, Bid *riy*<sup>2</sup>.

Secondary \**i* before \**y*.

Rift \**ra*<sup>2</sup>- “stay, remain”: Asa *ra*<sup>2</sup>-.

Dhl *raw*- “stay, remain”.

Consonantal alternation \**-j*- ~ \**-w*- ~ \**-y*-.

2078 \*ra<sup>2</sup>ib- “dirt”

Sem \**rāib*- “dirty”: Arab *rāib*-.

WCh \**rāb*- < \**ra*<sup>2</sup>ib- “diarrhoetic excrement”: Hs *rābo*.

Contraction.

2079 \*ra<sup>2</sup>ob- “rain”

WCh \**ra*<sup>2</sup>Vb- “dew”: Hs *rābā*.

SA \**rVHob*- “rain”: Saho *rob*, Afar *roob*.

LEC \**rVHob*- “rain”: Som *roob*, Or *rooba*, Boni *roob*, Kon *roopa*, Gid *roop*.

Cf. Sem \**rVbīb*- “rain” (pl.): Hbr *r<sup>e</sup>bībīm*.

2080 \*ra<sup>2</sup>up- “finish” (v.)

CCh \**ruf*- < \**rafu*- “finish, end”: Mafa *ruf*-.

Irregular \**f*.

HEC \**raḫ*- < \**ra*<sup>2</sup>Vp- “be finished”: Sid *raaḫ*-.

Emphatic -ḫ- in contact with a laryngeal.

## 2081 \*raḫ- “go, run”

Sem \**rVwVṣ*- “run”: Akk *rāṣu*, Hbr *rwṣ*, Aram *rhṣ*, Gz *rwṣ*.

Secondary formation in \**-w*-.

WCh \**raḫ*-/\**riḫ*- “go”: Hs *rāḫe*, Dwot *ris*.

ECh \**a-ras*- “walk in large steps”: Bid *aras*.

Prefix \**a*-.

Dhl *rat*- “go, walk”.

## 2082 \*raḫ- “pour, soak”

Sem \**rVṣaḫ*- “leak”: Arab *rṣḫ* [-a-].

WCh \**rVḫ*- “moisten”: Ngz *rəḫu*.

ECh \**raḫ*- “wet, soak”: Mobu *rase*, Ngm *rasī*.

Cf. \**riḫ*- “sprinkle”.

## 2083 \*rad- “foot, trace”

Eg *rd* “foot” (pyr), Copt \**rat* “foot, trace”: Akh *ret*, *reet*, Boh *rat*-, Shd *rat*-.

LEC \**rad*- “footprint”: Som *raad*.

Cf. also SA \**radd*- “descendant” (Afar *raddi*) and, probably,

Omot \**rot*- “foot” (Hmr *roti*, *roti*).

## 2084 \*rad-/\*rid- “go, run”

Sem \**rVdVw*-/\**rVdVy*- “go”<sup>1</sup>, “walk, tread”<sup>2</sup>, “beat the ground in running”<sup>3</sup>: Akk *redū*<sup>1</sup>, Hbr *rdy*, *rdw*<sup>2</sup>, Aram (Syr) *rdy*, *rdw*<sup>2</sup>, Arab *rdy*<sup>3</sup>.

Cf. Arab *ruw* “run to and fro”.

SA \**rad*- “run”: Afar *rad*-, *-erd*-.

LEC \**rid*- “run”: Som *ord*-, Boni *-irid*-, Rnd *-irid*-.

Connected with \**rad*- “foot”. Alternation \**a* ~ \**i*.

2085 \*rado<sup>2</sup>- “be bad, be rotten”

Sem \**rVdu*<sup>2</sup>- “be spoiled, be bad”: Arab *rd<sup>2</sup>*, *rdw* [-u-].

WCh \**rad*- < \**radVH*- “rot”: Wrj *raḫ*, Kry *rad*-, Siri *raḫ*, Mbu *rad*-.

CCh \**rwad*- < \**radwa*(H)- “bad”: Nak *r<sup>w</sup>ad*.

## 2086 \*raf- ‘‘dwelling’’

Berb \**rVf*- ‘‘kind of room’’: Ghd *ə-rref*.

CCh \**raf*- ‘‘hut’’: Tera *rafa*.

## 2087 \*rag-/\*rug- ‘‘tremble’’

Sem \**rug*- ‘‘tremble’’: Arab *rgg* [-*u*].

ECh \**rag*- ‘‘tremble’’: Kwan *rake*, Mobu *lage*.

Irregular Kwan -*k*- < \**-g*-.

Alternation \**a* ~ \**u*.

2088 \*ra<sup>c</sup>- ‘‘sun, god’’

Eg *r<sup>c</sup>* ‘‘sun, Sun-god’’ (pyr), Copt \**rē*: Akh *ri*, Boh *rē*, Shd *rē*.

WCh \**rayi*- < \**raHi*- ‘‘sun’’: Geji *ri*, Sha *are*.

ECh \**raH*- ‘‘sun, god’’: Mkk *ra*, Bid *rāya*.

Any relation to Sem \**ray<sup>c</sup>*- ‘‘daylight’’ (Arab *ray<sup>c</sup>*-) and Eg *r<sup>c</sup>y* ‘‘sky’’ (gr)?

2089 \*ra<sup>c</sup>ad- ‘‘thunder’’

Sem \**ra<sup>c</sup>d*- ‘‘storm, thunder’’: Akk *rādu*, Arab *ra<sup>c</sup>d*-, Gz *ra<sup>c</sup>ād*.

Cf. also Hbr *r<sup>c</sup>d* ‘‘tremble’’, Arab *r<sup>c</sup>d* [-*a*-, -*u*-] ‘‘thunder’’ (v.).

WCh \**arad*- ‘‘thunder’’: Pol *haradu*, Miya *araduwa*.

Metathesis.

CCh \**raHad*- ‘‘thunder’’: Mnd *rade*, Log *rāde*.

## 2090 \*rahaw-/\*rahay- ‘‘bird’’

Sem \**rahw*- ‘‘crane’’: Arab *rahw*-.

WCh \**raHaw*-/\**raHay*- ‘‘bird’’: Bol *rayo*, Krk *rāyi*, Ngm *rāyi*, Bele *raawi*.

ECh \**rāy*- < \**raHay*- ‘‘vulture’’: Mig *rāya*.

LEC \**raHaw*- ‘‘large bird’’: Arb *raaw*.

## 2091 \*raḥ- ‘‘hand, arm’’

Sem \**rāḥ*-/\**rīḥ*- ‘‘hand, palm’’: Akk *rittu*, Ug *rḥt*, Aram (Syr) *lah<sup>ə</sup> tō*, Arab *rāḥ-at*-, Tgr *rāḥat*.

WCh \**raH*-/\**rīH*- ‘‘arm’’: Klr *riyaw*, Sha *riyaw*, Bks *ra*, DB *ra*.

CCh \**raH*- ‘‘arm’’: Mtk *ray*.

## 2092 \*raḥ-/\*rīḥ- ‘‘mix’’

Sem \**rīḥ*- ‘‘mix’’: Akk *raḥāḥu*, Arab *rḥḥ* [-*i*-].

WCh \**rVy*- < \**raHi*- ‘‘mix up’’: Bks *royi*.

ECh \**raHwa*- ‘‘mix’’: Mig *rawwo*.

Alternation \**a* ~ \**i*.

## 2093 \*raḥil- ‘‘sheep’’

Sem \**raḥil*- ‘‘sheep’’<sup>1</sup>, ‘‘lamb’’<sup>2</sup>: Akk *lahru*<sup>1</sup>, Hbr *rāḥēl*<sup>1</sup>, Aram (Jud) *rahl*-<sup>1</sup>, Arab *rīḥl*-, *raḥil*-<sup>1</sup>, Soq *rehl-oh*<sup>2</sup>.

Metathesis of liquids in Akk. In Hbr the word is attested as a proper name. Arab -*i*- may be a result of the assimilation of vowels.

Eg *rḥny* ‘‘Amon’s lamb’’ (NK).

Secondary *h* < \**ḥ* in Late Eg. Vocalic -*y*.

Probably, connected with SA \**reH*- ‘‘she-goat’’ (Afar *ree-ta*) and LEC \**reH*- id. (Som *rih*, Or *ree*, Rnd *riyyo*).

## 2094 \*rak-/\*rik- ‘‘be thin’’

Sem \**rik*- ‘‘be thin, be weak’’: Hbr *rak*, Arab *rkk* [-*i*-].

WCh \**rak*- ‘‘be thin’’: Hs *rāke*, Dera *rago*.

ECh \**rV<sub>k</sub>*- ‘‘become meager’’: Mkk *erk-iyo*.

Alternation \**a* ~ \**i*.

## 2095 \*raḥ- ‘‘bank, coast’’

Sem \**raḥḥ*- ‘‘bank, coast’’: Akk *raqqatu*.

Eg *rwḏ* ‘‘bank, coast’’ (n).

Palatalization and inlaut -*w*- reflect a secondary formation \**rVwV<sub>k</sub>*-.

## 2096 \*ram- ‘‘land, field’’

Eg *mrm.t* ‘‘kind of field’’ (pyr).

Reduplication.

WCh *\*ram-* ‘land, place’: DB *ram*.

### 2097 *\*ram-* ‘throw’

Sem *\*rVmVy-* ‘throw, shoot’: Akk *ramû*, Hbr *rmy*, Arab *rmy* [-i-].

Based on *\*rVm-*.

ECh *\*ram-* ‘throw’<sup>1</sup>, ‘shoot’<sup>2</sup>: Ngam *ram*<sup>1</sup>, Mobu *rame*<sup>1</sup>, Smr *ram*<sup>2</sup>.

### 2098 *\*ram-* ‘roar, speak’

Sem *\*rVm-* ‘roar’: Akk *ramāmu*, Arab *rmm* [-u-].

WCh *\*ram-* ‘tell’: Ngz *ramu*.

### 2099 *\*ramVk-* ‘(free) man’

Sem *\*ramk-* ‘priest’: Akk *ramku*.

Eg *rm̃t* ‘man’ (pyr).

Progressive palatalization of *\*k*.

### 2100 *\*rasVw-* ‘death, sleep’

Eg *rsw.t* ‘dream, sleep’ (n.) (MK).

WCh *\*ras-* ‘death’: Hs *rasūwa*.

### 2101 *\*raw-* ‘sky’

Eg *rw* ‘sky’ (pyr).

WCh *\*rVw-* ‘sky’: Krk *rəwi*, Fyer *ruruwe*.

Partial reduplication in Fyer. Cf. *\*ri²-* ‘cloud’: Bks *ri²*, DB *ri²*.

Rift *\*raw-* ‘sky’: Bur *raw*.

### 2102 *\*rawad-* ‘descend’

Sem *\*wVrVd-* ‘descend’<sup>1</sup>, ‘come’<sup>2</sup>: Akk *warādu*<sup>1</sup>, Hbr *yrd*<sup>1</sup>, Arab *wrđ*<sup>2</sup>, Gz *wrđ*<sup>1</sup>.

Metathesis.

SA *\*ra[w]jad-* ‘descend’: Saho *raad-*, Afar *raad-*.

### 2103 *\*rawah-* ‘move, walk’

Sem *\*rūh-* ‘go away’: Arab *rwh* [-u-].

Berb *\*rVwVH-* ‘come’: Izy *tułud*.

WCh *\*raw-/ray-* ‘enter’<sup>1</sup>, ‘run’<sup>2</sup>: Ank *ru*<sup>1</sup>, Grk *ru*<sup>1</sup>, Bol *rii-*<sup>1</sup>,

Krk *raa*<sup>1</sup>, Bele *rii-*<sup>1</sup>, Krf *rii-*<sup>1</sup>, Gera *rii-*<sup>1</sup>, Glm *ry-*<sup>1</sup>, Grm *rii-*<sup>1</sup>,

Dira *riya*<sup>2</sup>, Cagu *rey*<sup>2</sup>, Ngz *rəwə*<sup>2</sup>.

Loss of the auslaut laryngeal.

LEC *\*ra[w]ah-* ‘follow’: Rnd *raah-*.

### 2104 *\*re²-* ‘see’

Sem *\*rV²Vy-* ‘see’: Hbr *r²y*, Arab *r²y*, SAr *r²y*, Gz *r²y*.

Bed *reh-*, *erh-* ‘see’.

### 2105 *\*reb-* ‘all’

Eg *nb* ‘all, every’ (pyr), Copt *\*nib*: Fym *nibi*, Boh *nib-*, Shd *nim*.

Irregular *n-* < *\*r-*. Assimilation of consonants in Shd.

WCh *\*ryab-* ‘all’: Sha *ryap*.

### 2106 *\*reḥ-* ‘man’

Eg *rhy.t* ‘men’ (pyr).

Vocalic *-y*.

WCh *\*ryaH-* ‘male’ (adj.): Bks *re*.

Cf. CCh *\*raH-* ‘man’: LPe *ra²* (in a phrase *sum ra²* ‘person’  
← ‘man’s name’)

### 2107 *\*reḵ-* ‘pour, soak’

Sem *\*rVḵ-* ‘pour out’<sup>1</sup>, ‘sprinkle’<sup>2</sup>: Hbr *rwq*, *ryq*<sup>1</sup>, Gz *rqy*<sup>2</sup>.

WCh *\*ryaḵ-* ‘moisten’: Dera *reke*.

### 2108 *\*reḵ-/reḵay-* ‘climb’

Sem *\*rVḵay-* ‘climb, rise’: Arab *rqy* [-a-].

WCh *\*ryaḵVy-* ‘rise’: Klr *regy-*.

LEC *\*riḵ-* ‘climb’: Or *riqa*.

## 2109 \*rekid- ‘‘jump’’

Sem \**rVķVd-* ‘‘jump’’: Akk *raqādu*, Hbr *rqd*, Aram (Jud) *rqd*.

Cf. also Arab *raqad-ān-* ‘‘jump, leap’’.

ECh \**ryaḏik-* < \**ryadiḱ-* ‘‘jump’’: Dng *redike*.

Metathesis.

Derived from \**reḱ-/reḱay-* ‘‘climb’’?

## 2110 \*rib- ‘‘vessel’’

Sem \**rib-* ‘‘vessel’’: Akk *rību*.

Eg *rb.t* ‘‘copper pot’’.

CCh \**rVb-* ‘‘pot’’: Mrg *řřba*.

## 2111 \*rič- ‘‘sprinkle’’

Sem \**rVš-* ‘‘sprinkle’’: Arab *ršš*, Hss *reš*.

Agaw \**ᶞa-rič-* ‘‘sprinkle’’: Aun *areč-əḡ*.

Prefix \**ᶞa-*.

## 2112 \*ridaḡ- ‘‘dirt’’

Sem \**radaḡ-* ‘‘dirt’’: Arab *radaḡ-at-*.

Assimilation of vowels.

CCh \**ridaH-* ‘‘dirt’’: FG *řřḏa*, Kap *rrḏa*, HF *ᶞurḏa*, Gudu *ridē*.

Gudu reflects \**riday-* < \**ridaH-*.

## 2113 \*rigad- ‘‘foot, leg’’

WCh \**gVrVd-* ‘‘leg’’: Wrj *gərdai*, Cagu *gərdē*.

Metathesis.

Bed *ragad* ‘‘foot, leg’’.

Assimilation of vowels.

SA \**rigid-* ‘‘foot, leg’’: Saho *rigid*.

Assimilation of vowels.

Rift \**digir-* ‘‘foot trace’’: Irq *digir*.

Metathesis.

2114 \*ri<sup>c</sup>- ‘‘break’’

Sem \**rV<sup>c</sup>-* ‘‘break’’: Hbr *r<sup>c</sup>*.

CCh \**riy-* < \**riH-* ‘‘destroy’’: Gis *riye*.

2115 \*ri<sup>c</sup>- ‘‘drive, chase’’

Sem \**rV<sup>c</sup>ay-* ‘‘graze’’<sup>1</sup>, ‘‘herd’’ (v.)<sup>2</sup>: Akk *reᶞū*<sup>2</sup>, Ug *r<sup>c</sup>y*<sup>2</sup>, Hbr *r<sup>c</sup>y*<sup>1</sup>, Arab *r<sup>c</sup>y* [-a-]<sup>2</sup>, SAr *r<sup>c</sup>y*<sup>1</sup>, Gz *r<sup>c</sup>y*<sup>2</sup>, Hss *rō*<sup>2</sup>, Mhr *rō*<sup>2</sup>, Soq *re<sup>c</sup>e*<sup>2</sup>.

Based on \**rV<sup>c</sup>-*.

LEC \**ᶞa-ri<sup>ᶞ</sup>-* ‘‘chase’’: Or *ariᶞa*.

2116 \*ri<sup>c</sup>- ‘‘friend’’

Sem \**ri<sup>c</sup>-* ‘‘friend’’: Akk *rūᶞu*, Hbr *rē<sup>ac</sup>*.

ECh \**rVHi-* ‘‘friend’’<sup>1</sup>, ‘‘husband’’<sup>2</sup>: Dng *roya*, Mubi *ro*.

Secondary vocalism?

## 2117 \*rih- ‘‘evening’’

Eg *rwhᶞ* ‘‘evening’’ (n).

Reflects \**riwah-* based on \**rih-*.

CCh \**riH-* ‘‘evening’’: Lame *riya*, Zime *ria*.

Lame -y- < \*-H-.

## 2118 \*rihim- ‘‘uterus, pregnancy’’

Sem \**rahm-/rihm-* ‘‘uterus’’: Akk *rēmu*, Hbr *reḡem*, Aram (Jud) *raḡam-*, Arab *rihm-*, *rahim-*.

LEC \**riHim-* ‘‘pregnant’’: Or *riimaa*.

## 2119 \*rim- ‘‘insect’’

Sem \**rimm-* ‘‘ant, larva’’: Akk *rimmatu*, Arab *rimm-at-*.

ECh \**ᶞi-ri-rim-* ‘‘insect’’: Bid *ᶞiririmo*.

Partial reduplication.

SA \**rimm-* ‘‘worm’’: Saho *rimme*.

LEC \**rimm-* ‘‘ant, termite’’: Or *rimma*.

Cf. also Or *raammoo* ‘‘worm, parasite’’.

Cf. WCh \**ma-ryam-* ‘‘scorpion’’ (Hs *maryamu*)?



## 2120 \*rim- ‘‘rise’’

Sem \*rūm- ‘‘be high’’: Hbr *rw̄m*.

Based on \*rVm-.

WCh \*rim- ‘‘stand (on hind legs)’’: Hs *rīmī*.

## 2121 \*rim- ‘‘earth, clay’’

Sem \*rimm- ‘‘wet earth’’: Arab *rimm*-.

Eg *lm* ‘‘clay’’ (MK).

Note *i*- < \*r-, cf. \*rūwun- ‘‘wind’’.

## 2122 \*riman- ‘‘fruit’’

Sem \*rimān- ‘‘granate’’: Akk *lurmu*, Hbr *rimmōn*, Arab *rummān*-.

Assimilation of sonants and metathesis in Akk.

Eg *rrm.t* ‘‘fruit’’ (NK).

Assimilation of *liquida* and metathesis.

## 2123 \*ripan- ‘‘hair’’

Eg *nʾp* ‘‘hairlock’’ (pyr).

Metathesis \*nirap- from \*ripan-?

LEC \*rifan- ‘‘hair’’: Or *rifen-sa*, Arb *riyfan*, Gdl *riyfan-ta*, Arb *ruufan*.

Wrz \*rifan- ‘‘hair’’: War *rifo-ko*, Hrs *rifan-ko*, Dob *rifak-ko*.

## 2124 \*riw-/\*riy- ‘‘play’’

Eg *rw̄y.t* ‘‘kind of game’’ (MK).

WCh \*ri-riy- ‘‘children’s game’’: Hs *rīriya*.

Partial reduplication.

CCh \*riw- ‘‘play’’: Zime *riu*.

Consonantal alternation \*-w- ~ \*-y-.

## 2125 \*riw-/\*riy- ‘‘fire; burn’’

Eg *rw̄y* ‘‘flame’’ (n).

Vocalic -y.

CCh \*ray-/\*riy- ‘‘burn’’: Daba *ri*, Masa *raia*-.

Consonantal alternation \*-w- ~ \*-y-.

2126 \*riyV<sup>c</sup>- ‘‘grow’’

Sem \*rī<sup>c</sup>- ‘‘grow’’: Arab *ry<sup>c</sup>* [-i-].

WCh \*riy- ‘‘multiply’’: Tng *riy*.

2127 \*ro<sup>2</sup>- ‘‘snake’’

Eg *rʾ* ‘‘snake’’ (NK).

WCh \*rwa<sup>2</sup>- ‘‘cobra’’: DB *rwa*.

## 2128 \*rob- ‘‘rhinoceros, hyppopotamus’’

Eg *irbʾ* ‘‘kind of animal, rhinoceros (?)’’ (OK).

Prefix *i*-.

LEC \*rob- ‘‘hyppopotamus’’: Or *roobi*.

HEC \*rob- ‘‘hyppopotamus’’: Sid *robee*, Had *lobe*.

Irregular *l*- in Had.

## 2129 \*rog- ‘‘cereal’’

Eg *rdrd* ‘‘cereals’’ (gr).

Reduplication. Progressive palatalization of \*g.

WCh \*rwag- ‘‘cassawa’’: Hs *rōgo*.

## 2130 \*roq- ‘‘bird’’

Sem \*ruhḥ- ‘‘fabulous bird’’: Arab *ruhḥ*-.

Eg *rh̄y.t* ‘‘kind of bird’’ (OK).

Suffix -y.

CCh \*rug- ‘‘ostrich’’: Lame *ruko*.

ECh \*rwak- ‘‘heron’’: Mkk *rooke*.

## 2131 \*rubud- ‘‘ashes’’

Sem \*rubd- ‘‘colour of ash, ashen’’: Arab *rubd-at*-.

WCh \*rubud- ‘‘hot fine ash’’: Hs *rubudī*.

Secondary emphatic. Another variant is Hs *ribidī*.

## 2132 \*ruḥ- ‘‘breath, soul’’

Sem \*rūḥ- ‘‘blow, breath’’ <sup>1</sup>, ‘‘spirit’’ <sup>2</sup>: Hbr *rūḥ<sup>a</sup>* <sup>1</sup>, Aram (Syr)

*rūḥ*- <sup>2</sup>, Arab *rūḥ*- <sup>2</sup>.

SA \*roḥ- ‘‘breath, soul’’: Saho *roḥe*.  
 LEC \*ruḥ- ‘‘breath, soul’’: Som *ruuḥ*.

### 2133 \*rukub- ‘‘knee, thigh’’

Sem \*rukḅ- ‘‘knee’’: Arab *rukḅ-at-*.  
 Cf. also Aram ʔarkūbā id.  
 CCh \*rukub- ‘‘thigh’’: Zgh *rukufe*.  
 Zgh -f- < \*-b-?

### 2134 \*rum- ‘‘lion’’

Eg ʔm ‘‘lion’’ (gr).  
 WCh \*ʔirum- ‘‘leopard’’: Diri ʔirum, Pol ʔorum.  
 CCh \*lum- < \*HV-rum- ‘‘lion’’: Lame *lumu*, LPe *lumu*.

### 2135 \*rusup- ‘‘ash’’

Sem \*rVšp- ‘‘ashes, flame’’: Hbr *rešep*.  
 WCh \*ruṣus- ‘‘hot ashes’’: Hs *ruṣuṣi*.  
 Metathesis. Note emphatic \*ṣ.

### 2136 \*ruy- ‘‘tree’’

Eg *wry.t* ‘‘trees’’ (XXII).  
 Vocalic *w-*.  
 WCh \*ruy- ‘‘tree, forest’’: Krk *riya*, Ngm *royi*, Tng *riya*, Bele *ru*, Krf *ru*, Gera *ry*.

### 2137 \*rū- ‘‘intestine’’

Sem \*ri- ‘‘lungs’’: Hbr *rēʔā*, Arab *ri-at-*, *riyy-at-*, Hss *reyi*, Mhr *ḥe-ryi*, Shh *rōt*.  
 Berb \*rV- ‘‘lung(s)’’: Izy *tuḷin* (pl.), Kby *turəṭ*.  
 WCh \*ruy- < \*ruH- ‘‘intestine’’: Siri *ruya*.  
 Cf. \*raw- id.: Jmb *rawi*, Mbu *rawwi*, Cagu *roh-on*.

### 2138 \*rūk- ‘‘be thin’’

Sem \*riḵ- ‘‘be thin’’<sup>1</sup>, ‘‘be shallow’’<sup>2</sup>: Akk *raqāqu*<sup>1</sup>, Arab *rqq*

[-i-]<sup>1</sup>, Gz *rqq*<sup>1</sup>, Jib *rekḵ*<sup>2</sup>, Hss *req*<sup>2</sup>, Mhr *req*<sup>2</sup>, Shh *req*<sup>2</sup>.  
 WCh \*ruk- ‘‘become meager’’: Bol *rukḵ-*.

### 2139 \*rüm- ‘‘be bad, be rotten’’

Sem \*rim- ‘‘be rotten (of bones)’’<sup>1</sup>, ‘‘be worn, be frayed’’<sup>2</sup>: Hbr *rmm*<sup>1</sup>, Arab *rmm* [-i-]<sup>1</sup>, Hss *rem*<sup>2</sup>, Mhr *rem*<sup>2</sup>, Shh *rim*<sup>2</sup>.  
 WCh \*rVm- ‘‘bad’’: Bol *romo*.  
 ECh \*rum- ‘‘rot’’: Mkk *ruume*.

### 2140 \*rūw- ‘‘water’’

Sem \*riw-/\*riy- ‘‘moistening’’<sup>1</sup>, ‘‘abundant water’’<sup>2</sup>: Hbr *rī*<sup>1</sup>, Arab *riway*<sup>2</sup>.  
 Eg *wrw* ‘‘pond’’ (pyr).  
 Orthographic representation of \*rVw-.  
 WCh \*ruw- ‘‘water, rain’’: Hs *ruwā*.

Cf. Rift \*ra- ‘‘dew’’: Alg *raʔu*, Bur *raʔu*. Eg *wrrw* ‘‘pit filled with water, basin’’ (MK) may be a derivative.

### 2141 \*rūwun- ‘‘wind’’

Eg *lwn* ‘‘wind’’ (pyr).  
 Note *l-* < \*r-.  
 WCh \*ruwun- ‘‘wind’’: Kry *ruwun*, Miya *ruwun*, Mbu *ruwən*.

### 2142 \*rV-/\*rVw- ‘‘speak’’

Sem \*rūy- ‘‘render other person’s words’’: Arab *ruy* [-i-].  
 Eg *rʔ* ‘‘sentence, speech, language’’ (pyr).

Consonantal alternation \*-ʔ- ~ \*-w-.

### 2143 \*rVhob- ‘‘be hot’’

Eg *rhb* ‘‘hot ashes’’ (BD), Copt \*ʔelhōb: Akh *lhōb*, Boh *elhōb*, Shd *elhōb*.  
 ECh \*rVHwab- ‘‘hot ashes’’: Bid *roob*.

## 2144 \*rVhVn- ‘‘leave’’

Eg *rhn* ‘‘leave, lean’’ (MK).

CCh \*lVn- < \*rVHVn- ‘‘leave’’: Gid *lən*.

2145 \*rVsV<sup>c</sup>- ‘‘evil; be evil’’

Sem \*rVšV<sup>c</sup>- ‘‘treat severely’’<sup>1</sup>, ‘‘be evil, behave badly’’<sup>2</sup>, ‘‘be slack’’<sup>3</sup>, ‘‘forget, neglect’’<sup>4</sup>: Akk *ruššū*<sup>1</sup>, Hbr *rš<sup>c</sup>*<sup>2</sup>, Arab *rš<sup>c</sup>*<sup>3</sup>, Gz *rš<sup>c</sup>*<sup>4</sup>.

Eg *rš* ‘‘evil’’ (XVIII).

Metathesis. Irregular -š < \*-s-.

An alternative reconstruction is \*<sup>c</sup>VrVs-.

## \*S

## 2146 \*sa- ‘‘house’’

Eg *s.t* ‘‘dwelling, place’’ (pyr), Copt \**se* ‘‘house’’: Boh *se-*, Shd *se-*.

WCh \**sV-saw-* ‘‘hut’’: Ngz *səsau*.

Reduplication.

2147 \*sa<sup>2</sup>- ‘‘climb, stand up’’

Sem \*šV<sup>2</sup>Vw- ‘‘climb’’: Arab *s<sup>2</sup>w* [-u].

Based on \*šV<sup>2</sup>-.

CCh \*sa<sup>2</sup>- ‘‘stand up’’: Log *sa*.

ECh \**saw-/say-* ‘‘stand up’’: Smr *so*, Sbn *swā*, Tob *say*.

From \*sa<sup>2</sup>-.

Dhl *saa-d-* ‘‘stand’’.

2148 \*sa<sup>2</sup>-/\*saw- ‘‘tree’’

Sem \*ša<sup>2</sup>- ‘‘tree’’: Akk *šā<sup>2</sup>u*.

WCh \**saw-/say-* ‘‘tree with thorns’’: Tng *saawe*, *saaye*.

CCh \*ša<sup>2</sup>- < \*say- ‘‘wood’’: Gaa *še<sup>2</sup>a*.

ECh \**sVw-* < \**sV<sup>2</sup>-* ‘‘tree’’: Sok *səwi*.

Consonantal alternation \*-<sup>2</sup>- ~ \*-w-.

2149 \*sa<sup>2</sup>af- ‘‘snare’’

Berb \**saf-* ‘‘snare’’: Shn *a-saf*.

Contraction.

WCh \**sa<sup>2</sup>af-* ‘‘snare’’: Hs *safū*, *sahū*.

2150 \*sa<sup>2</sup>ap- ‘‘hair’’

Sem \*ša<sup>2</sup>ap- ‘‘horse mane’’: Arab *sa<sup>2</sup>af-*.

LEC \**sap-* ‘‘pubic hair’’: Or *safii*.

Or -*p-* reflects the influence of a lost inlaut laryngeal.

## 2151 \*sab- ‘‘bird’’

Sem \*šab-šab- ‘‘small bird’’: Tgr *säbsab*.

Reduplication.

Berb \**sVbib-* ‘‘small bird’’: Ahg *šəbib*.

Partial reduplication.

ECh \**syab-* < \**sabi-* ‘‘dove’’: Kbl *te-seba*.

Prefix *te-* in Kbl.

## 2152 \*sab- ‘‘be hot, burn’’

Eg *šsb* ‘‘burn’’ (BD).

Initial *š-* may reflect a prefix or indicate the root vowel \**a*.

ECh \**sab-* ‘‘burn’’: Tum *hab*.

## 2153 \*sab- ‘‘go, walk’’

Sem \*šVb- ‘‘walk slowly’’<sup>1</sup>, ‘‘come’’<sup>2</sup>: Arab *sbsb*<sup>1</sup>, Tgr *šbb*<sup>2</sup>.

Reduplication in Arab.

WCh \**sabVH-* ‘‘return’’<sup>1</sup>, ‘‘go out’’<sup>2</sup>: Hs *sabō*<sup>1</sup>, Diri *səbo*<sup>2</sup>.

Suffix \*-VH-.

CCh \**sVb-* ‘‘go out’’<sup>1</sup>, ‘‘drive’’<sup>2</sup>: Daba *subu*<sup>1</sup>, FBw *səbi*<sup>2</sup>.

ECh \**sab-* ‘‘walk’’ (n.): Sbn *saba*.

## 2154 \*sab- ‘‘wall’’

Eg *sb.t.y* ‘‘wall’’ (XVIII).

SA \**sab-sab-* ‘‘wall’’: Afar *sabsab*.

Reduplication.

2155 \*sabV<sup>3</sup>-/\*sabVy- “sin, lie”

Eg *shy* “rebellion” (MK).

WCh \**sab*- < \**sabV*<sup>3</sup>- “sin”<sup>1</sup>, “evil”<sup>2</sup>, “lie”<sup>3</sup>: Hs *sāḥō*<sup>1</sup>, Tng *sāḥyo*<sup>2</sup>, Pero *čaba*<sup>3</sup>.

Suffix \*-VH-?

LEC \**sob*- “lie” (v.): Or *soba*.

Secondary \*-o- before a labial.

Consonantal alternation \*-ᶛ- ~ \*-y-.

## 2156 \*sab-sib- “hairlock”

Sem \**šab-šib*- “dishevelled hair”: Arab (dial.) *sabāsib*- (pl.).

Berb \**sVb-sub*- “hairlock”: Kby *a-šəbšub*.

Secondary \*u?

Reduplication of the original \**sab*- “hair”, cf. \**sabib*- id.

## 2157 \*sabaḥ- “bird”

Eg *sbḥ* “kind of bird” (OK).

WCh \**saHab*- “guinea fowl”: Cagu *sāḥ-un*.

Metathesis.

## 2158 \*sabib- “hair”

Sem \**šabīb*- “mane, hair of the tail”: Arab *sabīb*-.

Berb \**sVbVb*- “eyebrow”<sup>1</sup>, “hair”<sup>2</sup>: Izd *a-šəpaβ*<sup>1</sup>, Kby *a-səbbub*<sup>2</sup>.

Partial reduplication. Related to \**sab-sib*- “hairlock”.

## 2159 \*sabil-/\*sabul- “iron, weapon”

Sem \**šabal*- “bunch of spears”: Arab *sabal*-.

Berb \**sVbul*- “long knife, dagger”<sup>1</sup>, “long needle”<sup>2</sup>: Ghd *a-ssəbul-ət*<sup>1</sup>, Sml *a-sbūl*<sup>2</sup>, Ahg *tə-subl-a*<sup>2</sup>, Snus *tī-ssubul-a*<sup>2</sup>, Nfs *tə-ssubul-a*<sup>2</sup>.

LEC \**sibil*- “iron”: Or *sibillaa*.

Assimilation of vowels from \**sabil*-.

HEC \**sibil*- “iron”: Sid *sibillaa*.

Assimilation of vowels, cf. LEC. A LEC loanword?

## 2160 \*sad- “rope”

Sem \**ma-šad*- “bast rope”: Arab *masad*-.

Prefix \**ma*-. Cf. denominative Arab *msd* [-u-] “plait”.

ECh \**sad*- “rope”: Smr *sādi*.

## 2161 \*saduf-/\*siduf- “container”

Sem \**šadup*- “box for tablets”: Akk *šaduppu*.

Eg *sdf* “measure (for figs)” (n).

CCh \**sidVf*- “pot”: Mtk *šidef*.

Secondary vowel of the second syllable.

Alternation \*a ~ \*i.

## 2162 \*saf- “bird”

Sem \**sVpV*<sup>c</sup>- “falcon”: Arab *ʿasfa*<sup>c</sup>-.

Derivative in \**a*-.

Berb \**saf*- “kind of bird”: Ayr *t-əssaf*.

Eg *sf.t* “kind of bird” (gr).

WCh \**saHaf*- “falcon, hawk”: Hs *šāfo*, *šāho*.

Metathesis.

Any relation to HS \**saf*/\**suf*- “soar, jump”? Note that Sem and WCh reflect a derivative: \**safa*<sup>c</sup>- “bird”.

## 2163 \*saf- “morning”

WCh \**saf*- “early morning”: Hs *sāfē*.

LEC \**saf*- “mid-morning”: Or *saafaa*.

## 2164 \*saf-/\*suf- “soar, jump”

Sem \**šup*- “soar”: Arab *šff* [-u-].

CCh \**saf*- “jump”: Mofu *safə*, Log *safə*.

Alternation \*a ~ \*u.

## 2165 \*safih- “fool”

Sem \**šafih*- “fool”: Arab *safih*-.

WCh *\*saf-* ‘‘fool’’: Hs *sāfā*.  
Loss of the auslaut laryngeal.

### 2166 *\*sag-* ‘‘bring’’

Eg *sḡ* ‘‘bring’’ (pyr).  
Progressive palatalization of *\*g*.  
ECh *\*sag-* ‘‘bring’’: Smr *sagə*, Mubi *sagu*.

### 2167 *\*sa<sup>c</sup>-* ‘‘do, make’’

Sem *\*šV<sup>c</sup>ay-* ‘‘do, act’’: Arab *s<sup>c</sup>y* [-a-].  
Based on an earlier *\*sV<sup>c</sup>-*.  
CCh *\*saH-* ‘‘do, make’’: Msg *sa*.

### 2168 *\*sa<sup>c</sup>ab-* ‘‘cut’’

Eg *s<sup>c</sup>b* ‘‘cut, castrate’’ (MK).  
WCh *\*saHVb-* ‘‘cut (hair)’’: Hs *saḫe*.  
ECh *\*saHab-* ‘‘carve’’: Kwn *sābe*.

Cf. ECh *\*samb-* ‘‘cut’’: Mobu *sāmbē*, Ngm *sambe*. Derived from *\*sib-* ‘‘cut’’.

### 2169 *\*saḫ-* ‘‘wind’’

Sem *\*šahāḫ-* ‘‘wind’’<sup>1</sup>, ‘‘air, atmosphere’’<sup>2</sup>: Akk *šēḫu*, Arab *saḫāḫ-*.  
Partial reduplication.  
Eg *swḫ* ‘‘wind’’ (XXII).  
Secondary formation with *C<sup>2</sup>* = -w- based on *\*sVḫ-*.

### 2170 *\*saḫan-* ‘‘break, cut’’

Sem *\*šVḫan-* ‘‘break’’: Arab *šḫn* [-a-].  
WCh *\*saHan-* ‘‘grind’’: DB *šon*.  
CCh *\*san-H-* ‘‘cut’’: Msg *saḡ*.  
Metathesis.

### 2171 *\*saḫ-* ‘‘bile, urine’’

Eg *šḫ* ‘‘bile’’ (med).  
Rift *\*saḫ-* ‘‘gall bladder’’<sup>1</sup>, ‘‘urine’’<sup>2</sup>: Irq *saḫi*<sup>1</sup>, Kwz *saha*<sup>2</sup>.  
Dhl *saḫaw-* ‘‘urinate’’.  
Verbal derivative.

### 2172 *\*saḫan-* ‘‘burn, be warm’’

Sem *\*šVḫan-* ‘‘be warm, be hot’’<sup>1</sup>, ‘‘be inflamed’’<sup>2</sup>, ‘‘warm’’ (v.)<sup>3</sup>: Akk *šahānu*<sup>1</sup>, Ug *šḫn*<sup>2</sup>, Arab *šḫn* [-a-, -u-]<sup>1</sup>, Gz *šḫn*<sup>1</sup>, Tgy *sāhanā*<sup>1</sup>, Jib *šḫan*<sup>3</sup>.  
WCh *\*saHan-* ‘‘warm (v.); be hot’’: Bks *san*, DB *san*, Peo *čeno*.

### 2173 *\*saḫim-* ‘‘bat’’

Eg *sḫm.w* ‘‘bat’’ (MK).  
-ḫ- may reflect *\*a*.  
CCh *\*sim-* ‘‘bat’’: Msg *šimašim-et*.  
Reduplication in Msg. *\*sim-* may reflect an earlier *\*sVḤim-*.

### 2174 *\*sak-* ‘‘row’’

Sem *\*šakk-* ‘‘row’’: Arab *sakk-*.  
WCh *\*sak-* ‘‘row’’: Sura *saak*.  
If not borrowed from Arab.

### 2175 *\*sak-* ‘‘ass’’

Eg *sk* ‘‘young of an ass’’ (n), Copt *\*sēh* id.: Boh *sēh*, Shd *sēh*.  
WCh *\*sak-* ‘‘ass’’: Pol *šaki*.

### 2176 *\*sak-* ‘‘pour, flow’’

Eg *stḡ* ‘‘flow’’ (XVIII).  
Palatalization of *\*k*.  
WCh *\*sak-* ‘‘filter’’ (v.)<sup>1</sup>, ‘‘pour’’<sup>2</sup>: Ang *šak*<sup>1</sup>, Diri *səka*<sup>2</sup>, Miya *səka*<sup>2</sup>, Jmb *səka*<sup>2</sup>.  
CCh *\*sV<sup>k</sup>-* ‘‘pour’’: HNk *ška-la*, FG *ška-mti*.

## 2177 \*sak-/suk- “hoe” (v.)

Sem \*šuk- “harrow” (v.): Akk *šakāku* [-u-].

Berb \*sVk- “plough, till”: Mzab *skka*.

Eg *skʔ* “hoe” (v.) (pyr), Copt \*skʾay: Boh *skʾai*, Shd *skai*.

Vocalic -ʔ.

WCh \*sak-/suk- “plough” (v.): Sura *sak*, Tng *suk*.

Alternation \*a ~ \*u.

## 2178 \*saḵ- “weave, plait”

WCh \*saḵ- “plait”: Hs *sāka*, Gwn *saka*, šaka, Ang *sak*, Brm *sake*.

CCh \*sa-sak- “weave”: Msg *sasaka*.

Partial reduplication.

Agaw \*saḵ- “plait, sew”<sup>1</sup>, “weave”<sup>2</sup>: Bil *saḵw*-<sup>1</sup>, Xmr *saḵ*-<sup>1</sup>,

Kwr *say*-<sup>1</sup>, Dmb *šay*-<sup>1</sup>, Kem *saax*-<sup>2</sup>, Aun *sax*-, *say*-<sup>1</sup>.

Dhl *sook*’- “twist”.

Cf. also *saka*’- “plait, twist”.

## 2179 \*saḵ- “leg”

Sem \*šāḵ- “leg”: Akk *sāqu*, Hbr *šōq*, Aram (Syr) *šōqō*, Arab *sāq*-.

WCh \*saḵu- “leg”: Bks *saku-r*, Sha *səka*’u, Bol *šeke*, Ngm *seke*.

CCh \*sak- “leg”: Mtk *sak*, Gude *səke*, Kus *msake*, Sok *saka-dum*.

## 2180 \*saḵ- “cut”

Eg *skk* “cut” (NK).

WCh \*saḵ- “cut (down)”<sup>1</sup>, “carpenter”<sup>2</sup>: Hs *sassaḵā*<sup>2</sup>, Gwn

*šešeke*<sup>1 2</sup>, Ang *sak*<sup>1</sup>, Sha *šak*<sup>1</sup>, Ngz *sasku*<sup>1 2</sup>.

2181 \*sala<sup>c</sup>- “tear, break”

Sem \*šVla<sup>c</sup>- “pierce, split”: Arab *sl<sup>c</sup>* [-a-].

Together with Hbr *sl<sup>c</sup>* may go back to \*sVla<sup>c</sup>-.

WCh \*sal- “cut”: Gera *šallə*-.

## 2182 \*salam- “tree”

Sem \*šalām- “kind of tree”: Arab *salām*-.

ECh \*sVlVm- “kind of tree”: Mig *solmo*.

## 2183 \*salap- “plant”

Sem \*šalap- “marsh plant”: Akk *šalapānu*.

Derivative in -ān-.

Eg *srp.t* “plant” (gr).

## 2184 \*salaq- “skin” (v.)

Sem \*šVlaḡ-/šVluḡ- “tear out”<sup>1</sup>, “skin” (v.)<sup>2</sup>, “change skin (of serpents)”<sup>3</sup>: Akk *šalāḡu*<sup>1</sup>, Hbr *šlh*<sup>2</sup>, Arab *slḡ* [-a-, -u-]<sup>3</sup>.

ECh \*salak- “skin” (v.): Mubi *sallaka*.

## 2185 \*sam- “poison”

Sem \*šamm- “poison”: Akk *šammu*, Arab *samm*-, *sim*-, *summ*-, Tgy *səmi*, Har *summi*, Soq *sam*, Hss *sem*, Mhr *sem*, Shh *sem*.

CCh \*sam- “poison”: Mba *sam*.

## 2186 \*sam- “be high”

Sem \*šVmVw- “be high, rise”: Arab *smw* [-u-].

Based on biconsonantal \*šVm-.

WCh \*sam- “lift (with both hands)”: Tng *sami*.

## 2187 \*sam-sam- “insect”

Sem \*šum-šum- “red ant”: Arab *sumsum*-.

Secondary vocalism.

ECh \*sam-sam- “flea”: Lele *samasama*.

Reduplication. Cf. a non-reduplicated form attested in Hs *šam* “kind of insect”.

2188 \*sama<sup>3</sup>- “sky”

Sem \*šamā<sup>3</sup>-/\*šamāy- “sky”: Akk *šamū*, Ug *šmm*, Hbr *šamayim*, Aram (Syr) *šamayyō*, Arab *samā<sup>3</sup>*-, Gz *šamāy*, Hss *semē*, Mhr *semē<sup>c</sup>*.

WCh \*sam- “sky”: Hs *sama*.

From Arab?

## 2189 \*saman- “be still, sit”

Eg *smn* “remain still” (XVIII).

CCh \**saman*- “sit”: Msg *samana*.

## 2190 \*sa(m)bir- “bird”

Berb \**sVbibir*- “butterfly; small bird”: Kby *i-mə-šbibir*.

Reduplication.

WCh \**sabir*- “kind of bird”: Hs *šābiri*.

Note the loss of the nasal element in the WCh reflex of \*-*mb*-.

ECh \**sabir*- “guinea fowl”: Smr *sibir*, Sok *sōir*.

Bed *šambar* “pelican”.

Assimilation of vowels.

LEC \**šimbir*- “kind of bird”: Som *šimbir*, Or *šimbira*, *simbira*.

Assimilation of vowels.

## 2191 \*samf- “basket”

WCh \**samf*- “basket made of grass”: Hs *samfo*.

LEC \**sumf*- “basket”: Or *suumfa*.

Secondary \**u* before a labial.

HEC \**samf*- “basket made of grass”: Had *samfo*.

Cf. also CCh “basket” \**zamf*- (Masa *zamfa*) with an unexpected \**z*-.

## 2192 \*san- “year”

Sem \**šan*- “year”: Akk *šattu*, Ug *šnt*, Hbr *šānā*, Aram (Syr) *šattō*, Arab *san-at*-, Hss *senet*, Mhr *senēt*, Soq *sanah*.

WCh \**sVn*- “rainy season”: Tng *sene*.

Cf. also a derivative \**wa-sVn*- “year, rainy season” (Wrj *wasən-na*, Kry *wasən*, Diri *ašen*, Miya *wasəsen*, Siri *wasənuwa*, Mbu *wasən*, Jmb *wasun*, Pol *wašin*, Geji *wašin*, Say *wašun*). Bol *soni* “year”, Ngm *sani* id. may be Arab loanwords.

## 2193 \*san-/\*sin- “brother”

Eg *sn* “brother” (pyr), Copt \**son*: Fym *san*, Akh *san*, Boh *son*, Shd *son*.

WCh \**sVn*- “brother”: Cagu *šan*.

Cf. Mpn *son* “relatives, clan”.

ECh \**sin*- “(elder) brother”: Tum *həna*, Kwan *sēni*, Bid *sin-te*, Sbn *syān*, Kera *seenə*, Dng *sin*, Jegu *šin*, Mubi *sin*, Sok *šin-tu*.

Bed *saan* “brother”.

Agaw \**šan*- “brothers” (pl.): Bil *šan*-, Kem *šan*.

Wrz \**a-šin*- “nephew”: Gaw *ašin-ko*.

Alternation \**a* ~ \**i* in which \**a* seems to be connected with pl., as in Agaw.

## 2194 \*san-/\*sin- “nose”

Agaw \**a-san*-/\**a-sin*- “nose”: Xmr *esij*, Xmt *asən*, Kem *əssan*.

SA \**san*- “nose”: Saho *san*, Afar *san*.

LEC \**san*-/\**sin*- “nose”: Som *san*, Boni *saga*, Rnd *sān*, Gel *soonə*, Kon *soona*, Bus *sino*, Gdl *sina*, Arb *soono*.

HEC \**san*- “nose”: Sid *sano*, Dar *sano*, Had *sane*, Ala *sano*, Bmb *sanna*, Kmb *sane*, Tmb *sana*.

Dhl *sina* “nose”.

Omot \**sin*- “nose”: Ome *siḡan*, Gim *sən*, Nao *sin-us*, Maji *sinu*.

Alternation \**a* ~ \**i*. Some forms reflect a laryngeal in the auslaut (HS \**san-H*-/\**sin-H*-). The stem is present only in Cush but its derivatives in other families prove its HS status. Cf. also Wrz \**sind*- id. (War *sindi*-, Gaw *sinde*, Gob *sənde*, Cam *sindi*-) and Omot \**sint*-/\**sind*- id. (Ome *sinḡaa*, Mch *šiḡto*, Anf *šinto*, Bwo *šinṭa*). Related to HS \**sin*- “smell” (v.).

## 2195 \*san-/\*sun- “be satisfied”

Sem \**šVnVy*- “be satisfied”: Arab *sny*.

WCh \**san-H*- “be glad”: Sura *šaḡ*.

CCh \**sVn*- “wish”: Lame *səna*.

Omot \**šun*- “love”: Yam *šun*-, Kaf *šun*-, Anf *šun*-, Bwo *šun*-, Mch *šunn*-, Gim *šun*-.

Alternation \**a* ~ \**u*.

## 2196 \*sanb- “lungs, breath”

Eg *snb* “breath” (gr).

Bed *samb-ut* ‘‘lungs’’.

Agaw *\*sanb-* ‘‘lungs’’: Bil *sānbii*, Xmr *sebbaa*, Kwr *sambaa*, Kem *sambii*, Aun *saambii*.

LEC *\*samb-* ‘‘lungs’’: Som *sambab*, Or *somba*, Arb *soñbot*.

HEC *\*šamb-* ‘‘lungs’’: Sid *šambo*, Dar *šoombu*, Kab *šombo*.

Omot *\*šomb-* ‘‘lungs’’: Kaf *šombo*, Mch *šombo*.

Assimilation *\*-nb-* > *\*-mb-* in most Cush languages.

### 2197 *\*sani*<sup>2</sup>- ‘‘go, run’’

Sem *\*šVnV*<sup>2</sup>- ‘‘trot’’ (v.): Akk *šanû*.

WCh *\*san-H-* ‘‘go out’’: Fyer *saŋ*.

LEC *\*seHen-* < *\*saHin-* ‘‘enter’’: Or *seena*.

Metathesis and contraction.

### 2198 *\*saniH-/siniH-* ‘‘know, remember’’

Berb *\*sin-* ‘‘know’’: Izy *isin*.

WCh *\*saniH-/siniH-* ‘‘know’’: Hs *sani*, šina, Wrj *sən*, Kry *sən*, Diri *čən*, Miya *sən*, Paa *sinə*, Cagu *sən*, Siri *səniwi*, Mbu *sin*, Jmb *sən*, Say *yisəŋ*, Fyer *šaŋ*, Bks *šaŋi*, Sha *syen*, Klr *syen*.

CCh *\*san-H-/sin-H-* ‘‘know’’<sup>1</sup>, ‘‘remember’’<sup>2</sup>: Hwn *sən*<sup>1</sup>, Mrg *sini*<sup>2</sup>, Hil *sini*<sup>1</sup>, Gis *san*, *sin*<sup>1</sup>, Bld *šig*<sup>1</sup>, Log *sən*<sup>1</sup>, Bud *hin*<sup>1</sup>.

ECh *\*sin-* ‘‘know’’: Ndam *asine*, Mobu *asəne*.

LEC *\*seHen-* ‘‘memory’’: Or *seena*.

Metathesis. LEC goes back to *\*saHin-* with assimilation of vowels.

Alternation *\*a* ~ *\*i*. Related to *\*sun-* ‘‘know’’.

### 2199 *\*san-sun-* ‘‘smell’’ (v.)

Eg *snsn* ‘‘breathe, smell’’ (MK).

WCh *\*san-sun-* ‘‘smell’’: Hs *sunsunā*, *sansanā*, Paa *sasun*.

Reduplication of *\*sin-* ‘‘smell’’.

### 2200 *\*saq-* ‘‘house’’

Sem *\*ʔašah-* ‘‘barn’’: Akk *ašahhu*.

Prefix *\*ʔa-*.

WCh *\*sVq-* ‘‘house’’: Krf *šoko*.

Cf. Berb *\*sVk-* ‘‘build’’: Ghd *u-sək*.

### 2201 *\*saqam-* ‘‘knife’’

Eg *šhm* ‘‘sword’’ (gr).

WCh *\*saqam-* ‘‘knife’’: Tng *sakam*.

### 2202 *\*sar-* ‘‘wind’’

Sem *\*šār-* ‘‘wind’’: Akk *šāru*.

WCh *\*sarar-* ‘‘cold wind’’: Hs *sarāra*.

Partial reduplication.

### 2203 *\*sar-/sayar-* ‘‘go’’

Sem *\*šir-* ‘‘go’’: Arab *syr* [-i-], Hss *seyōr*, Mhr *seyōr*.

Based on the original *\*šVr-*. Cf. Arab *sry* ‘‘travel at night’’ [-i-].

WCh *\*sayar-* ‘‘go’’: Sura *sor*.

CCh *\*sar-* ‘‘return’’: Hil *šāř*.

ECh *\*sar-* ‘‘arrive’’: Mig *saraw*.

### 2204 *\*sasog-* ‘‘tree’’

Sem *\*šašūg-* ‘‘fruit tree’’: Akk *šaššūgu*, *šaššūqu*.

Eg *ssd* ‘‘wood’’ (pyr).

Progressive assimilation of *\*-g-*.

Partial reduplication of *\*sog-* ‘‘tree, wood’’.

### 2205 *\*sataw-/satay-* ‘‘drink’’

Sem *\*šViVy-* ‘‘drink’’: Akk *šatû*, Ug *šty*, Hbr *šty*, Aram *šty*, Gz *satya*,

Tgr *sätäyā*, Har *sāčē*.

CCh *\*sawat-* ‘‘be thirsty’’: Mafa *sawat-*.

Metathesis.

Consonantal alternation *\*-w-* ~ *\*-y-*.



2206 \*saṭü<sup>c</sup>- “morning”

Sem \*šaṭi<sup>c</sup>- “dawn”: Arab *saṭi<sup>c</sup>*-.  
 WCh \*saHuṭ- “morning”: Bol *sato*, Buli *swidi*, Say *suta*, Dwot *soḍo*.  
 Metathesis.

2207 \*saw-/su<sup>2</sup>- “go, run”

Sem \*šV<sup>2</sup>Vw- “run”: Akk *ša<sup>2</sup>u*.  
 Based on \*šVw-?

Berb \*sV- “come”: Kby *as*.

WCh \*su<sup>2</sup>- “run”<sup>1</sup>, “enter”<sup>2</sup>, “go out”<sup>3</sup>: Sura *su*<sup>1</sup>, Ang *su*<sup>1</sup>,  
 Ank *su*<sup>1</sup>, Grk *tu*<sup>1</sup>, Pero *čü*<sup>1</sup>, Pol *sā*<sup>2</sup>, Fyer *sa*<sup>3</sup>.

CCh \*saw-/su<sup>2</sup>- “come”<sup>1</sup>, “return”<sup>2</sup>, “enter, go out”<sup>3</sup>: HF  
*šo*<sup>2</sup>, Dgh *sawa*<sup>1</sup>, Zgh *sawa*<sup>1</sup>, Mofu *sawa*<sup>2</sup>, Gis *sawa*<sup>1</sup>, Bld  
*sawa*<sup>1</sup>, Log *sa*-, *so*-.<sup>3</sup>

SA \*saH- “enter”: Saho *sau*, Afar *sau*.

LEC \*se<sup>2</sup>- “go”: Arb *se<sup>2</sup>-aq*-.  
 Secondary \*e.

## 2208 \*sawaḥ- “bowl, basin”

Sem \*šāḥ- < \*ša[w]aḥ- “washing basin”: Akk *šāḥu*.  
 Eg *swḥ.t* “bowl” (MK).

## 2209 \*sawis- “snake, worm”

Sem \*šūš- < \*šVwVš- “worm”: Arab *sūs*-.  
 Contraction.

LEC \*šawis- “snake”: Or *šawwisa*.

Cf. CCh \*sis- “snake”: Hnk *šiši*, FKi *šiši*, FG *šiši*, Kap *šiši*,  
 Zgh *šiši*.

2210 \*sawV<sub>H</sub>- “egg”

Eg *swḥ.t* “egg” (pyr).

WCh \*saHVw- “egg”: Wrj *cu-na*, Kry *šū*, Paa *asi*, Cagu *sohoyi*, Siri  
*šaw*, Mbu *čū*, Jmb *ašū*.  
 Metathesis.

Etymologically connected with \*sawaḥ- “bowl, basin”, cf. Skt  
*kośa*- “container, cup” → “egg”.

## 2211 \*sayab- “hair”

Sem \*šayb- “horse hair”: Arab *sayb*-.  
 Berb \*sVbV[y]- “tail”: Ayr *ta-sba-t*.  
 Metathesis.

ECh \*syab- < \*sVyab- “hair”: Kbl *ke-sebo*.  
 Prefix *ke*- in Kbl.

Cf. \*sabib- “hair”.

## 2212 \*sayaf- “knife, axe”

Sem \*šayp- “sword”: Arab *sayf*-, Hss *sēf*.

WCh \*sayaf- “axe”: Sura *sep*, Ang *sap*, *sep*, Mpn *səhəp*, Ank *s’ap*,  
 Chip *sep*, Mnt *sep*, Ank *sap*.

Omot \*šVyVf- “sword”: Kaf *seefoo*.  
 Arab loanword?

Cf. Eg *zf* “knife” (MK) with unexpected *z*-.

## 2213 \*sayal- “water flow”

Sem \*šayl- “current”: Arab *sayl*-.  
 Cf. also Arab *syl* “flow” [-i-].

ECh \*sēl- < \*sayal- “basin”: Mkk *seelo*.

## 2214 \*seb- “flow, pour”

Sem \*šVb- “flow”<sup>1</sup>, “draw (water)”<sup>2</sup>, “be poured”<sup>3</sup>: Hbr *šḇ*<sup>2</sup>,  
 Aram *šḇ*<sup>2</sup>, Arab *syb* [-i-]<sup>1</sup>, Gz *sbb*<sup>2</sup>.  
 Various formations based on \*šVb-.

ECh \*sVb- “pour”: Mok *zibbe*.

## 2215 \*sebit- “cut”

Sem \*šVbit-/šVbut- “cut, shave”: Arab *sbt* [-i-, -u-].  
 Secondary variant with \*-u- after a labial.

WCh \*syabVt- “strike with a knife”: Hs *šabta*.  
 Note Hs *ša*- < \*sya-.

Derived from \*sib- “cut, strike”.

## 2216 \*sef- “snake”

Sem \*šipp- “winged snake”<sup>1</sup>, “centipede”<sup>2</sup>: Arab *siff-*, *suff-*<sup>1</sup>,  
Tgr *səf*<sup>2</sup>.

Eg *sfy* “snake” (reg).

Vocalic -y.

ECh \*syap- “snake”: Kwan *sēpi*.

Omot \*šef- “snake, lizard”: Kaf *šef-ittoo*.

## 2217 \*seḥ-/\*seḥeḥ- “insect”

Eg *šyh.t* “kind of insect” (med).

Partial reduplication?

Bed *see*, *sʿee* “louse”.

Cf. ECh \*swaw- (< \*swaH- ?) “termite”: Mkk *soowo*.

## 2218 \*sek- “pull”

Eg *stʿ* “pull” (pyr).

Progressive reduplication of \*-k-.

Bed *seku*, *soku* “pull”.

Assimilation of vowels in *soku* < *seku*.

## 2219 \*seḵ- “walk, run”

WCh \*syak- “run away”: Hs *šēka*.

CCh \*suk- “come”: HF *sko*, HNk *skəy*, HGh *sugəy*, FKl *sku*, FG  
*suki*, Zgh *suyaya*.

From \*syaku-?

HEC \*šik- “approach”: Sid *šikḵi i-*, Had *šiika*<sup>2</sup>.

Related to \*saḵ- “leg”.

## 2220 \*seḵ- “drink, give a drink”

Sem \*šVḵ- “drink”<sup>1</sup>, “give a drink”<sup>2</sup>: Akk *šaḡu*<sup>2</sup>, Ug *šqy*<sup>1</sup>, Jib  
*šeke*<sup>2</sup>.

WCh \*syaku- “pour into vessel”<sup>1</sup>, “give water (to a baby)”<sup>2</sup>: Hs  
*šeka*<sup>1</sup>, Tng *sokē*<sup>2</sup>.

CCh \*syaxwa- “drink”: HNk *sexwi*, FG *segwi*, Kap *sexwu*.

Irregular \*-χ-.

## 2221 \*sen- “mug, pot”

Eg *sn.w* “mug” (MK).

CCh \*syān- “pot”: Gul *seni*.

## 2222 \*ser- “grind”

Eg *sʿy* “grind”.

-ʿ- < HS \*-r-.

CCh \*syar- “grind”: Mba *ser*, Msg *səra*.

## 2223 \*ser- “cough” (n.)

Eg *sry.t* “cough” (med).

-y stand for a front vowel.

CCh \*syar- “cough”: Daba *šēri*.

Cf. Arab *saʿr-* id.

## 2224 \*sew-/\*šew- “be dry”

Eg *šw* “dry” (med), *šwəy* “dry up” (pyr).

š- reflects an anlaut lateral.

WCh \*syaH(a)- “become dry”: Bol *saa*, Krk *saa*, Dera *sēe*, Ngm *sa*.

CCh \*sway- “become dry”: ZBt *soia*.

ECh \*sVw- “dry up”: Mobu *səwe*.

Irregular correspondence of sibilants. WCh and CCh display considerable morphological changes of the original stem:  
WCh \*syaH- < \*syaw- and CCh \*sway- < \*swaʿi-.

## 2225 \*si- “go, come”

Eg *sysy* “hurry, hasten” (sarc).

No traces of the laryngeal. Reduplication.

WCh \*siy- “return”: Tng *siy*.

CCh \*si- “come”: Chb *si*, Bura *si*, Klb *ši*, Wmd *ša*, Gude *ši*, Nza  
*ši*, FJ *si*, FMch *ši*, Bch *ši*, Bata *si*, *sa*.

Cf. Sem \*šVʿay- “go” (Arab *sʿy* [-a-], Soq *šēʿe*, Jib *šaʿe*) that may be a derivation based on \*šVʿy-.

2226 \*si<sup>2</sup>on-/ \*siwan- “sleep”

Sem \*wVšVn- “sleep”: Hbr yšn, Arab wsn.

Metathesis. Cf. also \*šin- “sleep” (n.): Akk šittu, Ug šnt, Hbr šēnā, Aram (Syr) šen<sup>e</sup>tō, Arab sin-at-.

WCh \*sVn- “sleep”: Bol sunu, Tng sine, Ngm sun, Krf šan-, Gera sin, Glm san, Wrj sən, Kry sənasan, Miya sən, Paa asin, Siri sun-suni, Mbu sən, Bks sun-at, DB sunan.

CCh \*si<sup>2</sup>wan- “dream”: Gbn sənā<sup>2</sup>-ata, Boka sin-ata, Bura suni, Chb sini, Klb šə<sup>2</sup>ūnyi, Mba saṭ, Mnd šine, Zgh suwana, Gvo suwana, Daba šini, Gude sənin, Gudu syon-cii, Nza so<sup>2</sup>oni, Log san, Lame syene, Bnn siyena.

ECh \*suwan- “sleep, dream”: Lele sōn, Kera soone, Kwan suwən, Mig suniyi, Jegu suun-, Mubi suno, Brg soona, Mkk suun-, Sok sonisoni.

SA \*son- “sleep” (n.): Saho sonoo, Afar sonoo.  
Contraction.

2227 \*si<sup>2</sup>ub- “worm”

Eg sɔb.t “motley snake” (pyr).

ECh \*sub- < \*sVHub- “worm”: Lele subo.

LEC \*siHib- “worm”: Or siiba.

Assimilation of vowels.

There exists a possibility of comparing the above forms with Sem \*tu<sup>c</sup>b- “big snake” (Arab tu<sup>c</sup>b-ān- (note, however, an irregular \*-<sup>c</sup>-). If this comparison is valid, one should reconstruct HS \*č- in the anlaut.

## 2228 \*sib- “rope”

Sem \*šibb- “belt” <sup>1</sup>, “rope, thin cloth” <sup>2</sup>: Akk šibbu <sup>1</sup>, Arab sibb- <sup>2</sup>.

ECh \*sib- “string, rope”: Mkk sibe.

LEC \*seb- “belt, leather strap”: Som seeb, Gel seeb.

HEC \*sib- “string, rope”: Sid sibo.

Cf. Cush words for “sandal”: Bed šib, Rift \*i<sup>2</sup>šib- (Asa išiba)?

## 2229 \*sib- “tree”

WCh \*sib- “tree”: Chip šip, Mnt šip.

ECh \*sub- < \*sibu- “tamarind”: Sbn subu.

LEC \*sib(b)- “kind of tree”: Or sibbee.

HEC \*sib(b)- “kind of tree”: Kmb sibbe-ta.

## 2230 \*sib- “cut”

Sem \*šVb- “cut”: Hbr šbb, Arab sbb.

Eg sby “cut, castrate” (OK).

Infinitive in -y.

Agaw \*sab-/ \*sib- “pierce, stab”: Bil sab, Xmr sib, Dmt siāb, Kwr sab, Dmb sab, Kem sīb.

## 2231 \*sib- “be angry”

Sem \*šub- “insult” (v.): Arab sbb [-u-], Mhr seb, Jib sebb.

Secondary labialized vowel.

WCh \*sib- “be angry”: Wrj šib-, Diri šubu.

Assimilation in Diri.

Bed sebib “punish, reprimand”.

Partial reduplication.

## 2232 \*sibin- “oil, butter”

WCh \*sibVn- “oil”: Wrj šivəna.

LEC \*sibin- “butter”: Arb siibin.

Derived from a root preserved in WCh \*sib- “oil”: Kry šiv, Miya šu, Diri subu. Cf. \*siman- “oil, fat”.

2233 \*siga<sup>c</sup>- “speak, moan”

Sem \*šVga<sup>c</sup>- “moan” (v.): Arab sg<sup>c</sup> [-a-].

WCh \*siHVg- “talk”: Ang šeuk.

Metathesis.

## 2234 \*sigul- “stamp, seal”

Sem \*šigil- “roll, scroll, register”: Arab sigill-.

If not from Lat sigillum.

Eg sɔɔw.t “stamp, seal” (OK).

Palatalization of \*-g-.

A cultural term, probably, a Sem loanword in Eg.

### 2235 \*si<sup>c</sup>üm- “cereal”

Eg šm<sup>c</sup>y “barley” (OK).

Metathesis. Vocalic -y.

CCh \*siHum- “seed”<sup>1</sup>, “millet”<sup>2</sup>, “corn”<sup>3</sup>; Mba siyom<sup>1</sup>, Bata sūme<sup>2</sup>, Bud šimo<sup>3</sup>.

Mba -y- < \*-H-.

ECh \*siHVm- “sorghum”: Bid sīma.

Contraction.

### 2236 \*siḥaf- “shave”

Sem \*šVḥap- “shave (head)”: Arab šhf [-a-].

WCh \*syaf- < \*siHaf- “take off a thin shaving”: Hs šēfe.

Contraction.

### 2237 \*siḥaṭ- “cut, slaughter”

Sem \*šVḥaṭ- “slaughter”: Hbr šḥt, Aram šḥt, Arab šḥt [-a-], Soq šḥaṭ, Hss seḥāṭ, Mhr seḥāṭ.

CCh \*syat- < \*siHat- “cut”: Mafa šet.

ECh \*sēt- < \*siHat- “cut”: Bid seet.

Cf. WCh \*siṭaṭ- “cut, sharpen”: Hs šittā, Bol sott, Ngz sētu.

### 2238 \*siḥ- “milk”

Eg šḥ.w “milk” (gr).

ECh \*siH- “milk”: Dor sī.

### 2239 \*sik- “boat, ship”

Eg sk.ty “kind of ship” (n).

WCh \*sik- “boat”: Ank šik.

### 2240 \*sikun- “‘dwell, sit’”

Sem \*šVkun- “place, impose”<sup>1</sup>, “stay, dwell”<sup>2</sup>; Akk šakā-nu<sup>1</sup>, Hbr škn<sup>2</sup>, Arab skn [-u-]<sup>2</sup>, Jib skun<sup>1</sup>, Hss sekōn<sup>2</sup>.

WCh \*sikun- “sit”<sup>1</sup>, “rest”<sup>2</sup>; Jmb šinkə<sup>1</sup>, Pol šəyən<sup>1</sup>, Bgh sāgəne<sup>2</sup>.

Rift \*sukunun- “squat”: Irq sukununu-<sup>2</sup>at-.

Partial reduplication and assimilation of vowels.

Cf. Dhl sukk-eem- “remain still”.

### 2241 \*silah- “sharp weapon”

Sem \*šilāḥ- “weapon”<sup>1</sup>, “javelin”<sup>2</sup>; Ug šlh<sup>2</sup>, Hbr šelah<sup>2</sup>, Aram šilhā<sup>1</sup>, Arab silāḥ-<sup>1</sup>.

Eg sḥ.t “knife” (gr).

Irregular laryngeal in a late Eg form.

WCh \*sil- “axe”: Paa šila.

Loss of the auslaut laryngeal.

CCh \*sil- < \*siHVL- “arrow”: Gul sīl.

Agaw \*sil- “knife”: Xmr sil.

### 2242 \*sim- “meet”

WCh \*sim- “meet”: Tng sim-, simb-.

Secondary -mb-.

LEC \*sim- “meet”: Or sima.

### 2243 \*sim- “suck”

Berb \*sVm- “suck”: Kby summ.

ECh \*sim- “suck”: Smr šišom, Sbn sisəm, Sok ʔasime.

Rift \*se<sup>2</sup>em- “suck in air”: Kwz se<sup>2</sup>em-.

Based on \*sem-.

### 2244 \*sim- “call, speak”

Sem \*šVmVw-/šVmVy- “call, give name”: Arab smw, smy [-u-], Hss hēm, Mhr hmō, Shh šmi.

Based on \*šVm-.

Berb \*sVm- “call, name” (v.): Kby səmmi.

Eg *smy* ‘‘tell’’ (n).

Infinitive in -y.

CCh \**syam-sim-* ‘‘whisper’’: Bid *sēsem*, Mig *semsimo*.

An onomatopoeia?

LEC \**sim-* ‘‘welcome’’ (v.): Or *sima*.

## 2245 \**sim-/sima*<sup>c</sup> ‘‘hear; ear’’

Sem \**šVma*<sup>c</sup> ‘‘hear’’: Akk *šemū*, Ug *šm*<sup>c</sup>, Hbr *šm*<sup>c</sup>, Aram (Syr) *šm*<sup>c</sup>, Arab *sm*<sup>c</sup> [-a-], SAR *šm*<sup>c</sup>, Mand *šma*, Gz *sm*<sup>c</sup>, Tgr *sām*<sup>c</sup>a, Tgy *sām*<sup>c</sup>e, Har *sāma*<sup>a</sup>, Amh *sāmma*, Arg *sāmma*, Gaf *sāmmā*, Gur *sāma*, Hss *hōma*, Mhr *hēma*, Shh *ši*<sup>c</sup>, Soq *hyema*<sup>c</sup>.

Eg *sm.t* ‘‘ears’’ (n).

CCh \**šim-* ‘‘ear’’: Tera *šim*, Bura *šim*, Chb *šəma*, Klb *himi*, Hil *χimi*, Mba *šumo*, HB *šəmə*, Hwn *šəmə*, FKl *šimu*, FG *šimuwu*, Kap *šiməy*, Mnd *šima*, Zgh *šime*, Glv *χimiye*, Gdf *šima*, Nak *šimiya*, Mofu *šumay*, Bld *šəmay*, Muk *šum*, Mnj *šimay*, Daba *šimi*, Gudu *šim*, Log *šim*, Kus *šmē*, Msg *šimē*.

Irregular \**š-*, hypothetically, continuing \**H-s-*. Several forms may reflect \**šimay-* < \**šimaH-*.

ECh \**sim-/sum-* ‘‘ear’’: Smr *sumi*, Tum *hīm*, Ndam *ham*, Nch *semang*, Lele *suma*, Gbr *suma-in*, Kbl *sami*, Dor *sumami*, Mubi *somāmu*.

Partial reduplication in Dor and Mubi. Forms with -u- are secondary. The ECh word is contaminated with \**šVm-* ‘‘name’’ < HS \**sūm-*, cf. full neutralization of these meanings in Ndam *ham* ‘‘name, ear’’ and the like.

## 2246 \**simah*- ‘‘tree, bush’’

Sem \**šimāḥ*- ‘‘thorny bush’’: Akk *šimāḥu*, *šemāḥu*.

HEC \**sim-* ‘‘young ensete tree’’: Sid *sima*, Gel *sima*, Kab *sima*.

Loss of the auslaut laryngeal.

## 2247 \**siman-* ‘‘oil, fat’’

Sem \**šamn-* ‘‘oil’’<sup>1</sup>, ‘‘fat, grease’’<sup>2</sup>, ‘‘fatness’’<sup>3</sup>, ‘‘melting butter’’<sup>4</sup>: Akk *šamanu*, *šamnu*<sup>1</sup>, Hbr *šemen*<sup>2</sup>, Aram (Syr) *šumnō*<sup>3</sup>, Arab *samn-*<sup>4</sup>, Jib *šəmnun*<sup>2</sup>.

Assimilation of vowels.

WCh \**sinam-* ‘‘oil’’: Diri *sinama*.

Metathesis.

CCh \**šVmVn-* ‘‘thick, fat’’: Log *s’amən*.

ECh \**siwan-* ‘‘oil’’: Smr *swānē*, Ndam *swān*, Kwan *suwāne*, Bid *seweḡ*, Mig *sewen*, Brg *sewen*, Sok *sunne*.

Note transformation of intervocalic \*-m- > \*-w-.

Presumably, derived from \**sim-* id. preserved in Berb \**šVm-* ‘‘fat’’ (Kby *ṛassəmr*).

## 2248 \**sin-* ‘‘tongue’’

Eg *sn.w* ‘‘tongue’’ (gr).

WCh \**sin-* ‘‘tongue’’: Diri *šin-ḡu*.

CCh \**sin-* ‘‘tongue’’: Hwn *šene-wura*, Masa *sinano*, Bnn *sin-da*.

Partial reduplication in Masa.

## 2249 \**sin-* ‘‘earth, clay’’

Eg *syn* ‘‘clay’’ (OK).

Vocalic -y.

WCh \**sin-* ‘‘field’’: Wrj *sənan*, Kry *sin*, Diri *səna*, Siri *sinawi*, Paa *sina*, Cagu *sinan*.

CCh \**sin-* ‘‘field’’: Lame *šini*, LPe *šine*, Masa *senena*.

ECh \**sinya-* ‘‘earth’’<sup>1</sup>, ‘‘sand’’<sup>2</sup>: Smr *sinya*<sup>1</sup>, Ndam *həny*<sup>1</sup>, Tum *həḡ*<sup>1</sup>, Jegu *šeny-*<sup>2</sup>, Mubi *sin-ok*<sup>2</sup>, Brg *sanyo*<sup>2</sup>, Sok *sinē*<sup>2</sup>.

## 2250 \**sin-* ‘‘tooth’’

Sem \**šinn-* ‘‘tooth’’: Akk *šinnu*, Ug *šn*, Hbr *šēn*, Aram (Syr) *šennō*, Arab *sinn-*, Gz *sənn*, Tgy *sənni*, Arg *sən*, Har *sən*, Gur *sən*, Gaf *sənä*.

Berb \**sin-* ‘‘tooth’’: Ahg *esin*.

WCh \**sin-* ‘‘tooth’’: Pol *šin*, Geji *šiḡ*, Zem *šan*, *šin*, Brw *šen*, Say *šin*, Dwot *šin*, Bol *šin*.

CCh \**šin-* < \**ḥa-sin-* ‘‘tooth’’: Gaa *šena*, Gbn *šene*, Hwn *šana*, Mba *šəḡ*, HNK *šine*, FG *šəini*, Kap *šəne*, Gis *šəḡ*, Bld *sluḡ*, Mtk *šenne*, Bnn *sina*.

Note the secondary lateralization of \*-s- preceded by a laryngeal.

ECh \**siHan-* < \**Ha-sin-* ‘‘tooth’’: Smr *san-dē*, Tum *hiin*, Ndam *han*,

Gbr *k-song*, Dor *ga-sena*, Dng *saajo*, Mig *sa:nu*, Jegu *sajo*, Bid *seenō*, Mubi *siḡaju*, Brg *sajo*, Sok *sən*.

Rift *\*siḡin-* ‘tooth’: Irq *siḡino*, Alg *siḡino*, Bur *siḡino*.

Metathesis from *\*ḡV-sin-*.

### 2251 *\*sin-* ‘smell’ (v.)

Eg *sn* ‘smell’ (pyr).

ECh *\*sunVn-* ‘smell’: Tum *hunən*.

Partial reduplication with modified vocalism.

SA *\*sin-* ‘smell’: Saho *siin-*.

Related to *\*san-/\*sin-* ‘nose’.

### 2252 *\*sinak-/\*sinaḡ-* ‘tongue’

Eg *snk* ‘tongue’ (XVIII).

WCh *\*sinaḡ-* ‘tongue’: Wrj *šinḡə-*, Kry *sinakə*, Miya *šinaki*, Paa *šinḡi*, Cagu *šinḡ-an*, Siri *šənaḡi*, Mbu *šinako*, Jmb *sənakə-lan*.

Irregular correspondence Eg *k* ~ WCh *\*ḡ*. Derived from *\*sin-* ‘tongue’.

### 2253 *\*sip-* ‘river, river-bed’

Sem *\*šip-* ‘bank, coast’: Arab *sīf-*, Jib *sif-t*.

Verb *\*sif-/\*suf-* ‘valley’<sup>1</sup>, ‘river, rivulet’<sup>2</sup>: Ahg *a-suf*<sup>1</sup>, Sml *a-sif*<sup>2</sup>, Mzab *suf*<sup>2</sup>, Snd *suf*<sup>2</sup>, Shau *suf*<sup>2</sup>, Kby *ta-sif-t*, *a-sif*<sup>2</sup>.

-u- < \*-i- before a labial.

WCh *\*sip-* ‘river’: Ank *šip*.

### 2254 *\*sip-* ‘blow’

Sem *\*šVpVy-* ‘raise dust (of the wind)’: Arab *sfy* [-i-].

Based on *\*šVp-*.

CCh *\*sip-* ‘blow’: Gaa *šipənči*, Gbn *sipenči*, Boka *šipa-da*.

Cf. Dgh *safa* ‘breathe’, Mafa *saf-* id.?

Any connection with Sem *\*nVšVp-* ‘blow’ (Akk *našāpu*, Hbr *nšp*, Aram *nšp*) and Eg *nšp* ‘breathe’ (gr)?

### 2255 *\*sip-* ‘rope’

Eg *sp* ‘ropes for ship building’ (OK).

ECh *\*sip-* ‘string, rope’: Mig *sippu*, Sok *sipo*, šifi.

LEC *\*šep-* ‘leather strap’: Som *šēep-ako*, Or *seep-ani*.

### 2256 *\*siq-* ‘knife’

Sem *\*ših-* ‘big knife’: Arab *sīh-*.

WCh *\*siq-* ‘knife’: Mnt *šik*, Ank *šik*.

### 2257 *\*sir-* ‘kite’

Eg *syʔ.w* ‘kite’ (gr).

-y- stands for a front vowel.

WCh *\*sirwa-* ‘kite’: Hs *širwā*.

### has *\*sir-/\*sur-* ‘sing’

Sem *\*šir-* ‘sing’: Ug *šyr*, Hbr *šyr*, Aram *šyr*.

Based on biconsonantal *\*šVr-* < *\*sir-*.

ECh *\*sir-* ‘sing’: Kwan *sire*.

Omot *\*sur-* ‘sing’: Yam *sur*.

Alternation *\*i* ~ *\*u*.

### 2259 *\*sirVf-* ‘warm’

Eg *srʔ* ‘warm’ (pyr).

CCh *\*sirVf-* ‘covered with sweat’: Mafa *širf-eʔe*.

For the semantic development, cf. HS *\*daf-* ‘heat, sweat’.

### 2260 *\*sireḡ-* ‘river’

Eg *šrh* ‘rivulet’ (gr).

WCh *\*sirya-* ‘river, spring’: Siri *səṛə-ngi*, Jmb *sirya*.

### 2261 *\*sisa<sup>2</sup>-* ‘night, darkness’

Eg *šsʔ.t* ‘night’ (pyr).

š- < \*s- before a front vowel.

WCh \**sis*- ‘‘shadow’’: Zaar *šis*.

CCh \**sis*a<sup>2</sup>- ‘‘evening’’<sup>1</sup>, ‘‘shadow’’<sup>2</sup>: Gul *saassa*<sup>1</sup>, Msg *šēšē*<sup>2</sup>,  
Nza *furi-šiši*<sup>2</sup>.

Metathesis and assimilation of vowels in Gul.

## 2262 \**sisim*- ‘‘cloth’’

Eg *ssmy* ‘‘cloth’’ (gr).

Vocalic -y.

CCh \**sisVm*- ‘‘woman’s bodycloth’’: Hwn *šisəm-ař*.

## 2263 \**sitay*- ‘‘vessel’’

Eg *styy* ‘‘bottle’’ (n).

ECh \**a-sVtay*- ‘‘pot’’: Kwan *aste*.

## 2264 \**siṭ*- ‘‘go, come’’

Sem \**šVṭVw*- ‘‘make large steps’’: Arab *stw* [-u-].

Based on biconsonantal \**šVṭ*-.

WCh \**siṭ*- ‘‘enter’’: Ang *sīt*.

CCh \**sVt*- ‘‘pass by’’: Log *sto*.

## 2265 \**so*<sup>2</sup>- ‘‘back’’

Eg *sɔ* ‘‘back’’ (pyr).

CCh \**swa*<sup>2</sup>- ‘‘back’’: Gdf *so*.

Cf. also \**suxwa*- id. (Glv *suxa*, Nak *suxwa*).

## 2266 \**so*<sup>2</sup>- ‘‘barn’’

Eg *sɔ* ‘‘barn’’ (gr).

WCh \**sway*- < \**swaH*- ‘‘house, barn’’: DB *swey*, Glm *soo*, Grm *soo*.

CCh \**sy*a<sup>2</sup>/\**swa*<sup>2</sup>- ‘‘compound’’<sup>1</sup>, ‘‘house’’<sup>2</sup>: Fmb *seḍi*<sup>1</sup>, Lame  
*sy*<sup>2</sup>, LPe *sy*<sup>2</sup>, *so*<sup>2</sup>, Zime *sō*, *uso*<sup>2</sup>.

## 2267 \**so*<sup>2</sup>it- ‘‘dirt, be dirty’’

Eg *sɔt* ‘‘dirt’’ (NK).

CCh \**swat*- ‘‘dirt’’: Bnn *sɔtɔ*, BM *sotiya*.

Metathesis.

ECh \**sit*- ‘‘be dirty’’: Sok *šita*.

Contraction.

## 2268 \**sof*- ‘‘cut wood’’

Eg *sfɪf* ‘‘cut with a knife’’ (XVIII).

Reduplication.

LEC \**sof*- ‘‘plane wood’’: Or *sof*.

HEC \**sof*- ‘‘plane wood’’: Sid *sof*.

## 2269 \**sog*- ‘‘tree, wood’’

CCh \**swag*- ‘‘firewood’’: Mafa *soegwe*.

LEC \**sog-sog*- ‘‘kind of acacia’’: Som *sogsog*.

Reduplication.

## 2270 \**so*<sup>c</sup>- ‘‘cereal’’

Sem \**š*u<sup>cc</sup>- ‘‘cereal’’<sup>1</sup>, ‘‘corn’’<sup>2</sup>, ‘‘wild wheat’’<sup>3</sup>: Akk *šūu*<sup>1</sup>, Ug  
*s<sup>c</sup>-t*<sup>2</sup>, Arab *su*<sup>cc</sup>-<sup>3</sup>.

HEC \**so*<sup>2</sup>- ‘‘barley’’: Had *so*<sup>2</sup>*o*, Gel *so*<sup>2</sup>*a*, Kab *so*<sup>2</sup>*a*.

Note HS \**-<sup>c</sup>*- > HEC \**-<sup>2</sup>*- in the intervocalic position.

## 2271 \**so*<sup>c</sup>ar- ‘‘set fire, burn’’

Sem \**šV<sup>c</sup>ar*- ‘‘set fire’’: Arab *s<sup>c</sup>r* [-a-].

WCh \**sawar*- < \**swaHar*- ‘‘roast’’<sup>1</sup>, ‘‘burn’’<sup>2</sup>: Hs *sōya*<sup>1</sup>, Ang  
*sūr*<sup>1</sup>, Bol *surru*<sup>1</sup>, Krk *surū*<sup>1</sup>, Ngm *sur*<sup>1</sup>, Krf *šuru*<sup>1</sup>, Pero *čuuuro*<sup>1</sup>,  
Dera *wuri*<sup>1</sup>, Gera *sur*-<sup>1</sup>, Glm *sər*-<sup>1</sup>, Brm *sure*<sup>2</sup>.

CCh \**sawar*- < \**swaHar*- ‘‘roast’’: Tera *zurr*, Hwn *sər-aṣ*, Boka  
*sura-ḍa*, Kap *suř-ke*, Mafa *sawar*, Gudu *sərā*, Fmb *šir*, Bch *sərā*.

Unexpected -i- in Fmb. Note voiced anlaut in Tera.

ECh \**sur*- ‘‘roast’’: Mkk *zuriye*.

Cf. Eg *wsr* ‘‘fire’’ going back to \**sor*-.

## 2272 \**soh*- ‘‘pit, hole’’

Sem \**šūh*- ‘‘pit, hole’’: Ug *šh*, Hbr *šūhā*.

WCh \**sway*- < \**swaH*- ‘‘hole, spring’’: Bks *swey*, DB *swey*.

## 2273 \*sol- ‘‘be quiet’’

Sem \*šVl- ‘‘be quiet’’<sup>1</sup>, ‘‘be careless’’<sup>2</sup>: Hbr šly<sup>1</sup>, Aram šlh<sup>2</sup>.  
 ECh \*swal- ‘‘keep silence’’: Sok sōlē.

## 2274 \*sol- ‘‘pull’’

Sem \*šul- ‘‘pull, draw’’<sup>1</sup>, ‘‘drag away’’<sup>2</sup>: Hbr šly<sup>1</sup>, Arab sll [-u]<sup>1</sup>, Jib sell<sup>2</sup>.  
 WCh \*sol- ‘‘pull’’: Ang šwal, Tng sol, Krf šollu.  
 CCh \*sVl- ‘‘pull’’: Mofu səl-.

Partial reduplication in Mba sisal id.

## 2275 \*so(m)b- ‘‘pubic hair’’

Sem \*ʔiʃb- ‘‘pubic hair’’: Arab ʔiʃb-.  
 Derived from \*šVb-.  
 HEC \*šomb- ‘‘pubic hair’’: Sid šoobba, Had šoomba, Kab šäbbä, Kmb šobba-ta.

One of the cases in which prenasalized clusters appear as voiced stops in Sem.

## 2276 \*son- ‘‘river’’

Eg swn.w ‘‘waters’’ (BD).  
 Vocalic -w-.  
 Dhl sooni ‘‘river’’.  
 Rift \*soʔon- ‘‘river’’: Asa soʔon-k.  
 Secondary inlaut -ʔ-.

Cf. CCh \*sin- ‘‘river’’: Mrg sina.

## 2277 \*sop- ‘‘speak, ask’’

Sem \*šVpVH- ‘‘ask’’: Akk šepû.  
 Based on \*šVp-.

WCh \*swap- ‘‘speak’’: Tng sɔp.

## 2278 \*soq- ‘‘pull’’

Sem \*šVhVw- ‘‘pull’’: Jib šxe.  
 Derived from biconsonantal \*šVh-.

CCh \*sVq- ‘‘pull’’: HNk askəy, Kap nsxu-mte, HF sɣu-nto.  
 ECh \*swag- ‘‘pull’’: Tob sogē.  
 Note \*-g- < \*-q-.

## 2279 \*soyam- ‘‘grass’’

ECh \*swawam- < \*swayam- ‘‘grass’’: Bid sooma.  
 LEC \*soyam- ‘‘kind of plant’’: Or sooyama.

## 2280 \*suʔim- ‘‘hair’’

Eg smʔ ‘‘hair’’ (pyr), Copt \*smau ‘‘temple’’: OCopt smau, Boh smau, Shd smau, smaau.  
 Metathesis.  
 WCh \*suHim- ‘‘growth of hair’’<sup>1</sup>, ‘‘hair’’<sup>2</sup>, ‘‘pubic hair’’<sup>3</sup>: Hs sūmā<sup>1</sup>, Ngm som<sup>2</sup>, Tng simī-ne<sup>3</sup>.  
 Omot \*som(m)- ‘‘hair’’: Yam somme.  
 Contraction.  
 Rift \*sVʔVm- ‘‘hair’’<sup>1</sup>, ‘‘hairdress’’<sup>2</sup>: Irq seʔemi<sup>1</sup>, Asa sem-ug<sup>2</sup>.

## 2281 \*suʔum- ‘‘sell, buy’’

Sem \*šVʔVm- ‘‘buy’’<sup>1</sup>, ‘‘sell’’<sup>2</sup>: Akk šāmu<sup>1</sup>, Jib šē:m<sup>2</sup>, Soq sʔm<sup>2</sup>.  
 CCh \*sum- ‘‘buy’’: Mafa sum.  
 Contraction.  
 ECh \*suʔum- ‘‘sell’’: Dng suumiye, Brg suumi.

## 2282 \*suf- ‘‘smell’’ (v.)

Sem \*šūp- ‘‘smell, sniff (around)’’ (v.): Arab swf [-u-].  
 Based on \*šūp-.

LEC \*suf- ‘‘smell’’ (v.): Or suf-.

2283 \*su<sup>c</sup>VR- ‘‘tree, forest’’

Eg s<sup>c</sup>r ‘‘forest’’ (n).  
 WCh \*sur- ‘‘kind of tree’’: Ang sur, Mpn sur.



**2284 \*suh-/suhay- ‘shout’**

Eg *sw̥hy* ‘shout’ (XVIII).

CCh *\*suw-* < *\*suH-* ‘shout, cry’<sup>1</sup>, ‘answer’<sup>2</sup>: Log *suwe*<sup>1</sup>, Hld *š̥uwa*<sup>2</sup>.

ECh *\*sway-* < *\*suHay-* ‘shout’: Smr *swōy*, Jegu *soy*.

**2285 \*suh- ‘flow’**

Sem *\*šuh-* ‘flow, pour’: Arab *sh̥h* [-u-].

Cf. *syh* [-i-] ‘flow, spread upon the surface’.

WCh *\*suHi-* ‘pour’: Bks *šu*, DB *šin*, Fyer *ši*.

ECh *\*saHay-* ‘wet’: Kera *saaye*.

**2286 \*suk- ‘spear’**

Eg *sk* ‘spear’ (MK).

CCh *\*suk-* ‘spear’: Gaa *šuk-ta*, Gbn *suk-te*.

Connected with *\*suk-* ‘slaughter’?

**2287 \*suk- ‘slaughter’**

Sem *\*šuk-* ‘cut (ears)’: Arab *skk* [-u-].

WCh *\*suk-* ‘slaughtering (a camel)’: Hs *suka*.

Agaw *\*suk-* ‘slaughter cattle (after funeral)’: Bil *suuk-*.

**2288 \*suk- ‘push, pull’**

Sem *\*šūk-* ‘push’: Arab *swq* [-u-].

Based on *\*šVḱ-*.

WCh *\*sa-suk-* ‘drive away’: Hs *sāsuḱa*.

Partial reduplication.

ECh *\*swak-* ‘push’: Kera *sok̥e*.

Dhl *š̥uuk-* ‘pull, draw’.

**2289 \*suka<sup>c</sup>- ‘beat’**

Sem *\*šVḱa<sup>c</sup>-* ‘knock’: Arab *sq<sup>c</sup>* [-a-].

HEC *\*suk̥(k)-* ‘beat, hit’: Had *suk̥k-*.

Wrz *\*šok-* ‘hit’: Gaw *š̥oq*.

Related to *\*suk-* ‘push, pull’? The auslaut laryngeal is lost in Cush.

**2290 \*sukul- ‘foot, leg’**

ECh *\*sugul-* ‘thigh’: Sok *sugul*.

Omot *\*sukul-* ‘foot’: Ome *sukule*.

Assimilation of vowels. No traces of the emphatic.

Derived from *\*saḱ-* ‘leg’.

**2291 \*sulak- ‘bird’**

Sem *\*šulak-* ‘chicken (of a partridge)’: Arab *sulak-*.

ECh *\*sulVḱ-* ‘guinea fowl’: Kera *sulku*, Kwan *sulkō*.

**2292 \*sulVh- ‘wall’**

Sem *\*šalh-/šulh-* ‘wall’: Akk *šalḫu*, *šulḫu*.

Eg *swḫ.t* ‘fortified site’ (MK).

-w- stands for a rounded vowels.

**2293 \*su(m)bVI- ‘band, plait’**

Sem *\*šubl-* ‘hem’: Hbr *šōbel*.

Eg *sbn* ‘band, bandage’ (I).

ECh *\*sVmbVI-* ‘plait’: Mobu *səmbəle*.

HS cluster \*-mb-?

**2294 \*sun- ‘know’**

Eg *swn* ‘know’ (I), Copt *\*sow(u)n*: Boh *sōoun*, Shd *sooun*.

Berb *\*sVn-* ‘know’: Tua *essen*, Sgh *-sən*, Kby *issin*.

CCh *\*sun-* ‘know’: Daba *sun-*.

**2295 \*sunaḥ- ‘know, imagine’**

Sem *\*šVnaḥ-* ‘appear in somebody’s mind’: Arab *snḥ* [-a-].

ECh *\*suHan-* ‘know’: Tum *han*, Mkk *suun-*.

Metathesis.

Derived from \**sun-* ‘‘know’’.

## 2296 \**sunb-* ‘‘cloud, sky’’

Eg *sbn.t* ‘‘sky’’ (gr).

Metathesis.

CCh \**ḫa-semb-* ‘‘cloud’’: Gbn *ḫusamba*, Hwn *hašumbē*.

Prefix \**ḫa-*.

## 2297 \**supay-* ‘‘spear’’

Sem \**šVpāy-* ‘‘sharp driving stick’’: Aram (Syr) *špāi-*.

WCh \**suyap-* ‘‘spear’’: Mnt *šuyep*.

Metathesis.

Cf. CCh \**sap-* ‘‘spear’’: Bnn *sappa*.

## 2298 \**sur-* ‘‘rope’’

Sem \**šurr-* ‘‘umbilical cord’’: Hbr *šor*, Arab *surr-*.

Eg *wsr.t* ‘‘rope’’ (XX).

Vocalic *w-*.

Wrz \**sur-* ‘‘rope’’: Gaw *surre*.

An alternative parallel for Eg *wsr.t* is Sem \**watal-* id. (Arab *waṭal-*) from \**wačal-*.

## 2299 \**surV-* ‘‘eye’’

Sem \**šurV-* ‘‘eyelid’’: Akk *šurV*.

Eg *wsr.t* ‘‘eye’’ (gr).

Vocalic *w-*. Loss of the laryngeal in late Eg.

## 2300 \**susan-* ‘‘grass, lotus’’

Sem \**šūsān-* ‘‘grass’’ <sup>1</sup>, ‘‘lotus, lily’’ <sup>2</sup>: Akk *šišnu* <sup>1</sup>, Hbr *šōšān* <sup>2</sup>, Arab *sūsān-* <sup>2</sup>.

Borrowed from Eg?

Eg *ššn* ‘‘lotus’’ (pyr), *ššn* id. (MK).

Dissimilation.

## 2301 \**suwak-* ‘‘go, come’’

Sem \**šūk-* ‘‘march and stumble’’: Arab *swk* [-*u-*].

WCh \**suk-* ‘‘galloping’’: Hs *suka*.

Contraction.

ECh \**suk-* ‘‘come’’: Mubi *suk*.

LEC \**sok(k)-* ‘‘go away’’: Or *sokka*.

Cf. also reduplication in Or *suksuka* ‘‘run, trot’’.

Cf. \**sek-* ‘‘walk, run’’. Cf. also Bed *sak-* ‘‘go’’; Agaw \**sVḱ-* ‘‘approach’’ (Bil *sak<sup>w-r-</sup>*), LEC \**sok(k)-* ‘‘leave’’ (Or *sokka*), Omot \**šak-/šik-* ‘‘approach, come’’ (Ome *šik-*, Kaf *šakk-*).

## 2302 \**süf-* ‘‘wool, cotton’’

Sem \**šip-* ‘‘wool’’: Akk *šipātu*.

WCh \**suf-* ‘‘wool cloth’’: Hs *süfi*.

Bed *suf* ‘‘cotton’’.

## 2303 \**sük-* ‘‘sow’’

Eg *sty* ‘‘sow’’ (pyr).

From \**sik-*, with palatalization of \**-k-*.

WCh \**suk-* ‘‘sow’’: Hs *šuka*.

Omot \**šok-* ‘‘sow’’: Kaf *šok*, Bwo *šok*.

## 2304 \**süm-* ‘‘name’’

Sem \**šim-* ‘‘name’’: Akk *šumu*, Ug *šm*, Hbr *šēm*, Aram (Syr) *šēmō*, Arab (dial.) *sim-*, SAr *s<sup>1</sup>m*, Shr *šum*, Gz *səm*, Tgr *səm*, Tgy *səm*, Amh *səm*, Arg *səm*, Gur *səm*, Gaf *səm<sup>wä</sup>*.

WCh \**sumi-* ‘‘name’’: Hs *sünā*, Sura *sum*, Ang *süm*, Mnt *sum*, Ank *sum*, Grk *təm*, Bol *sun*, Krk *səm*, Tng *sumə*, Ngm *sun*, Maha *sum*, Bele *hin-ti*, Krf *šimi*, Gera *səma*, Glm *šim*, Grm *šimi*, Diri *šin*, Paa *sim*, *sun*, Cagu *siman*, Mbu *šin*, Pol *sum*, *səm*, Geji *šin*, Brw *šim*, *šin*, Bgh *isum*, Kir *wusum*, *wusəm*, Tala *sum*, *səm*, Klr *sim*, DB *sum*.

CCh \**šim(ya)-* ‘‘name’’: Tera *lim*, Gaa *šima*, Gbn *šima*, Hwn *šima*, Chb *šima*, Mig *šim*, Mba *šim*, FKl *šəm*, Daba *šimi*, Gude *ləma*, Gudu *lim*, FJ *žimu*, Log *šemi*, Bud *hemi*, LPe *šem-de*, Masa *šema*, Msm *sem*.

Irregular lateral resulting from the contamination with the word for ‘‘ear’’.

ECh \*sVm- ‘‘name’’: Smr *sumi*, Tum *hīm*, Ndam *ham*, Mig *seme*,  
Mubi *same*, Mkk *suma*.

Connected with \*sim- ‘‘call, speak’’.

### 2305 \*süp- ‘‘pole, beam’’

Sem \*šip- ‘‘beam’’: Akk *šipu*.

WCh \*sup- ‘‘pole, support’’: Mpn *sup*, Tng *suup*.

### 2306 \*süt- ‘‘woman’’

Sem \*šitt- ‘‘lady’’: Ug *št*, Arab *sitt*.

Berb \*sut- ‘‘women’’: Kby *sur*.

WCh \*sut- ‘‘sister’’: Tng *sut*.

CCh \*sul- ‘‘girl’’: Mwu *suti*.

### 2307 \*sVf- ‘‘break’’

Sem \*šūp- ‘‘grind’’: Hbr *šwf*, Aram *šwf*.

Based on \*šVp-.

Ef *sfsf* ‘‘break’’ (XVIII).

Reduplication.

### 2308 \*sVfif- ‘‘snake’’

Sem \*šVpīp- ‘‘kind of snake’’: Hbr *šē pīp-ōn*.

Berb \*sVfuf- ‘‘snake’’: Zng *te-sfuf-əh*.

\*-u- < \*-i- between labials.

Partial reduplication of \*sef- ‘‘snake’’.

### 2309 \*sVhal- ‘‘weave’’

Sem \*šVhal- ‘‘make a cloth (of separate threads)’’: Arab *šhl* [-a-].

WCh \*sVHVI- ‘‘mat’’: Ang *sō:l*.

### 2310 \*sV<sub>K</sub>- ‘‘smell’’ (v.)

Sem \*šVhV<sub>K</sub>- ‘‘blow’’: Arab *shk* [-a-].

Based on \*šV<sub>K</sub>-.

Eg *sty* ‘‘smell’’ (n.) (pyr).

Suffix -y.

CCh \*sV<sub>K</sub>- ‘‘smell’’: Gbn *sək-tə*.

### 2311 \*sV<sub>K</sub>Vr- ‘‘strike, pierce’’

Sem \*šV<sub>K</sub>Vr- ‘‘pierce’’: Akk *šaqāru*, Gz *sq<sup>w</sup>r*, Tgy *sāq<sup>w</sup>ärü*.

Eg *skr* ‘‘strike’’ (pyr).

### 2312 \*sVp- ‘‘plait, sew’’

Sem \*šup- ‘‘tie’’<sup>1</sup>, ‘‘plait’’<sup>1</sup>, ‘‘sew’’<sup>3</sup>: Akk *sepū*<sup>1</sup>, Arab *sff* [-u-]<sup>2</sup>,  
Gz *sfy*<sup>2</sup>, Hrr *sāfa*<sup>3</sup>, Gur *sefä*<sup>3</sup>.

Eg *spy* ‘‘bind up (a ship)’’ (pyr).

Suffix -y.

ECh \*sVp- ‘‘spin, twist’’: Mig *sipiyo*.

LEC \*sup(p)- ‘‘darn’’: Or *suppa*.

Wrz \*šap- ‘‘tie, sew’’: Gaw *šap*-, *šapp*-.

Omot \*šip(p)- ‘‘plait, sew’’: Kaf *šipp*-, Mch *šippi*-, Gim *sif*-.

Chaotic correspondences of vowels. Derived from \*šip- ‘‘rope’’.

### 2313 \*sVtVp- ‘‘cut, slaughter’’

Sem \*šVtVp- ‘‘cut out’’: Akk *šatāpu*.

Eg *stp* ‘‘slaughter’’ (pyr).

\*š

### 2314 \*šA<sup>2</sup>-/\*šAW- ‘‘wish, like’’

Sem \*šA<sup>2</sup>- ‘‘wish’’: Arab *šy*<sup>2</sup> [-a-].

Based on \*šV<sup>2</sup>-.

Dhl *hlaw*- ‘‘love, like’’.

Rift \*šA<sup>2</sup>- ‘‘like’’: Irq *šaa*<sup>2</sup>-, Alg *šaa*<sup>2</sup>-, Bur *šaa*<sup>2</sup>-.

For the semantic development, cf. Sp *querer* ‘‘wish’’ → ‘‘love’’.

Note a consonantal alternation \*-<sup>2</sup>- ~ \*-w-.

## 2315 \*šab- “mix, knead”

Sem \*šūb- “mix”: Arab šwb [-u-].

Based on \*šVb-.

Eg šbb “mix, knead” (OK).

Partial reduplication.

WCh \*šab-/šamb- “mix, knead”: Bol lomb-, Tng lamb-, Wrj laḥə,

Kry laḥə, Miya laḥ, Paa šaḥu, Siri šaḥa.

Secondary emphatization. Note a nasal infix in Bol and Tng.

Bed šaawi “mix, collect”.

-w- < \*-b- in the intervocalic position.

## 2316 \*šab- “rib”

ECh \*šVb- “rib”: Kbl ka-səba.

Prefix \*ka-.

Rift \*šab- “diaphragm”<sup>1</sup>, “rib”<sup>2</sup>: Irq šawi<sup>1</sup>, Bur šabi<sup>2</sup>.

Cf. Som laab id. with l- as a reflex of the lateral?

## 2317 \*šab- “axe, sword”

Sem \*šabaw- “blade (of a sword)”: Arab šabā-t-.

Derived from \*šab-.

WCh \*šab- “sword”<sup>1</sup>, “axe”<sup>2</sup>: Hs zābō<sup>1</sup>, zābi<sup>2</sup>.

Cf. CCh \*šamb-/šimb- “axe”: HNK šimbwe, Mofu šamba, Gis šimbe.

## 2318 \*šab- “plant”

Eg šḃb “kind of plant” (pyr).

Vocalic -ḃ-.

WCh \*šab- “grass”: Tng laba.

Dhl hlaaḃ-une “leaf”.

Irq \*šab- “bush”: Ala šaba.

## 2319 \*šabab- “reed flute”

Sem \*šabab- “reed flute”: Arab šabbab-at-.

Cf. Akk šabt-t- “musical instrument”.

Berb \*sab(V)b- “flute”: Mns ta-sabbut.

Eg šbb “reed, reed tube” (med).

Partial reduplication of \*šab- “plant”?

## 2320 \*šabaḥ- “cut”

Sem \*šVbaḥ- “split”: Arab šbh [-a-].

WCh \*šabVḥ- “wound, stab (with a knife)”: Hs zabga.

Connected with \*šab- “axe, sword”.

## 2321 \*šabVb- “tie, weave”

Sem \*šVbVb- “bind, tie”: Arab šbb.

WCh \*šabVb- “weave”: Bol loḥḥ-.

Secondary emphatization.

Partial reduplication of unattested \*šab-.

2322 \*šado<sup>2</sup>-/\*šadoy- “pull out”

Eg šdy “pull out” (med).

WCh \*ša-šadwa<sup>2</sup>- “draw out”: Hs zazzaḏō.

Partial reduplication.

Consonantal alternation \*-ḏ- ~ \*-y-.

2323 \*ša<sup>c</sup>- “cow, bull”

WCh \*šaH- “bull”<sup>1</sup>, “cow”<sup>2</sup>: Dera la<sup>2</sup>, Pol ša<sup>1 2</sup>, Geji ša<sup>2</sup>, Dwot ša<sup>2</sup>, Ngz ša<sup>2</sup>.

CCh \*ša- “cow, bull, cattle”: Tera ša, HG ša, Glv ša, Gis ša, Msg še, Gul ša, FJ ša-ḡ, Mtk še, Mrg ša, Gbn ša-ta, Boka la-tə, Ksr sā, Bud hā.

Bed ša<sup>2</sup> “cow”.

SA \*ša<sup>c</sup>- “cattle”: Saho sa<sup>c</sup>a, Afar saa<sup>c</sup>.

LEC \*ša<sup>c</sup>- “cow”: Som sa<sup>c</sup>, Or saa<sup>2</sup>aa, Arb se<sup>2</sup>.

HEC \*ša<sup>2</sup>- “cow”: Sid sa<sup>2</sup>aa, Had sayya, Kmb sayaa.

Rift \*šeH-/šaHe- “cow”: Irq šee, Alg šee, Bur šee, Asa še-ok, Kwz šae-ko.

Cf. an isolated form in Berb: Kby rištan “kine”.

## 2324 \*šak- “feather, wing”

Sem \*šūk- “become fully fledged”: Arab šwk.  
 Derived from a noun. Secondary inlaut \*-w-.  
 CCh \*žakwa- “feather”: Glv žākwa, Gdf žakwa.

## 2325 \*šam- “plant, flower”

Sem \*šamm- “plant”: Akk šammu.  
 Eg šm<sup>šw</sup> “flower” (med).  
 Vocalic -j- and suffix -w.

## 2326 \*šam- “bird”

Eg šm “kind of bird” (XXII).  
 CCh \*<sup>š</sup>a-žam- “falcon”: Gis <sup>š</sup>ažam.  
 Prefix \*<sup>š</sup>a-.

## 2327 \*šam- “be possible, be able”

WCh \*šam- “do, make, be possible”: Ngz žamu.  
 CCh \*žam- “can”: Log žəm.  
 Rift \*šam- “allow”: Asa šam-.  
 Semantically, “allow” ← “make possible”.

## 2328 \*šam- “burn; lightning”

Eg šm, šmm “be hot, be burning” (OK).  
 Berb \*sam- “lightning”: Ahg e-ssam, Ndir i-ssim, Fgg u-səm.  
 Secondary -i- in Ndir.

## 2329 \*šam- “sun”

Sem \*šamš- “sun”<sup>1</sup>, “sun-heat”<sup>2</sup>: Akk šamšu<sup>1</sup>, Hbr šemeš<sup>1</sup>,  
 Aram (Syr) šemš-<sup>1</sup>, Arab šams-<sup>1</sup>, SAr šmš<sup>1</sup>, Tgr šāmš<sup>1</sup>, Soq  
 šam<sup>1</sup>, Jib šum<sup>2</sup>.  
 Partial reduplication and dissimilation from \*šamš-.  
 Eg šm.t “moon-disc” (gr).  
 šš- reflects \*š-.  
 WCh \*šam- “sun”: Ang lem.  
 Related to \*šam- “burn; lightning”.

## 2330 \*šap- “receive”

Eg šzp “receive” (pyr).  
 šz- may reflect a lateral.  
 WCh \*šap- “receive”: Sura lap, Ank lāp, Grk lāp, Mpn lap.  
 Cf. Rift \*ša[p]- “get”: Irq šaw-, Bur šaw-?

## 2331 \*šar- “clothes”

Eg šr.t “clothes” (gr).  
 WCh \*šarar- “rags”: Hs zarāra.  
 Partial reduplication.  
 SA \*sar- “clothes”: Saho sara, Afar sara.

## 2332 \*šat- “tie, weave”

Sem \*šVt- “tie, weave”: Akk šatū, Jib seṭṭ.  
 WCh \*šat- “spin”: Bks lat.

## 2333 \*šeb- “wind”

Sem \*šib- “wind”: Akk šub-tu, Soq šiboh.  
 CCh \*šVb- “storm”: FKī žəva.  
 ECh \*šyab- “wind”: Kera ke-seba.  
 Prefix \*kya-.

## 2334 \*šihar- “open”

Sem \*šVhar- “be open, open (mouth)”: Arab šḥr [-a-].  
 Cf. Arab šrh “open”, šr<sup>c</sup> id.  
 WCh \*šiHar- “open”: Cagu žar, Mbu žir.

## 2335 \*šimar- “green plant”

Sem \*šimār- “dill”: Akk šimru, Arab šamār-.  
 Assimilation in Arab.  
 HEC \*šimar- “cabbage”: Had simmaro<sup>o</sup>, Kab simmara.

## 2336 \*šip- “light, day”

Eg ššp “light” (MK).

Note šš- &lt; \*š-.

Berb \*šVf- “day”: Ghd *a-sef*, Ahg *essef*.WCh \*šip- “light”: Ang *mege-lap*, Pero *lip*.

Related to \*šVp- “shine, be light”.

## 2337 \*šob- “set fire”

Sem \*šub- “burn, be hot”<sup>1</sup>, “set fire”<sup>2</sup>, “warm” (v.)<sup>3</sup>: Akk *šabābu*<sup>1</sup>, Arab *šbb* [-u-]<sup>2</sup>, Soq *šbb*<sup>3</sup>.WCh \*ša(m)b- “take fire”<sup>1</sup>, “set fire”<sup>2</sup>: Ang *lap lap*<sup>1</sup>, Tng *lamb*<sup>2</sup>.

Secondary \*-a- &lt; \*-wa-.

ECh \*šwab- “flame” (v.): Bid *ʔolob*.

## 2338 \*šuf- “heat, boil”

WCh \*šafaf- “heat up, make hot”: Hs *zāfafā*.

Partial reduplication with modified vocalism.

Rift \*šuf- “boil”: Asa *šuf*.

## 2339 \*šur- “pour”

Sem \*šur- “pour”: Arab *šrr* [-u-].WCh \*šur- “pour”: Paa *šur*.CCh \*šVr- “pour out”: Mofu *šər*.

## 2340 \*šVp- “shine, be light”

Eg ššp “be light” (pyr).

šš- reflects \*š-.

WCh \*šVp- “shine”: Sura *lap*.

## 2341 \*šVw- “light, lightning”

Eg šw “light, sun” (NK).

CCh \*šVw- “lightning”: Daba *ašəw*.

Prefix \*šV-.

## \*t

## 2342 \*ta²- “gate, house”

Eg tʃ “gate” (XIX).

CCh \*ʔi-ta²- “hut”: Daba *ita*.

Prefix \*ʔi-.

ECh \*ʔa-ta²-ay- “kitchen”: Kera *ataaya*.

Prefix \*ʔa- &lt; \*ʔi-, cf. CCh.

## 2343 \*ta²- “eat”

Sem \*tV²-/tVw- “eat”: Akk *ta²u*, Jib *te*, Sok *te²* (imp.), Hss *tewō*, Mhr *tewō*, Shh *te²*.WCh \*ta²-/ti²- “eat”: Hs *čī*, Gera *tii*, Bol *tii-*, Maha *tī*, Krf *tii-*, Glm *č-*, Dera *twi*, Krk *tu*, Ngm *ta*, Wrj *ta*, *tau*, Diri *ču*, Mbu *tī*, Jim *tī*, *tā*, Siri *tū*, Cagu *čū*, DB *čuh*, Sha *ci*, Klr *ci*, Ngz *ta*.CCh \*ti- < \*ta²i- “eat”: Lame *tī*, LPe *tī*, Msm *tī*.ECh \*ta(y)-/\*ti(y)- “eat”: Jegu *t-*, Mig *tiyaw*, Bid *taa*, Mubi *tuwa*, *tiya*, Dng *tē*, Brg *taya*.

## 2344 \*ta²-/taw- “ash”

Eg tʃ.w “ash” (med).

Cf. tʃ “be hot” (OK).

WCh \*taw-taw- “ash”: Klr *atoto*.

Reduplication.

Consonantal alternation \*-ʔ- ~ \*-w-.

## 2345 \*ta²-/taw-/tay- “go, run”

Sem \*ʔtVw-/ʔtVy- “arrive, come”<sup>1</sup>, “return”<sup>2</sup>: Ug *ʔtw*<sup>1</sup>, Aram *ʔty*<sup>1</sup>, Arab *ʔty* [-i-]<sup>1</sup>, SAr *ʔtw*<sup>1</sup>, Gz *ʔtw*<sup>2</sup>.

Prefix \*ʔV-.

WCh \*ta-/taw- “enter”<sup>1</sup>, “go”<sup>2</sup>: Ang *te*<sup>1</sup>, Geji *tewi*<sup>1</sup>, Dwot *təx*<sup>1</sup>, Dera *tawi*<sup>2</sup>.CCh \*ta²-/tay- “follow”<sup>1</sup>, “go”<sup>2</sup>: Bud *tea*<sup>1</sup>, Zime *ta*<sup>2</sup>, Msm *ta*<sup>2</sup>.ECh \*ta²-/tay- “drive”<sup>1</sup>, “go”<sup>2</sup>: Lele *tee*<sup>1</sup>, Kbl *tayi*<sup>1</sup>, Mkk *taa²e*<sup>2</sup>.

Agaw \*tu<sup>2</sup>- ‘enter’: Aun *tu-ŋ*.

LEC \*ti<sup>2</sup>- ‘run’: Bay *ti-*.

A different alternation grade or a case of phonetic development from \*iVj-.

Consonantal alternation \*-<sup>2</sup>- ~ \*-w- ~ \*-y-.

### 2346 \*ta<sup>2</sup>ay-/taway- ‘cloth’

Eg *tjy.t.t* ‘cloth’ (pyr).

ECh \*taway- ‘kerchief’: Jegu *tawaaye*.

Consonantal alternation \*-<sup>2</sup>- ~ \*-w-.

### 2347 \*tab-/tib- ‘foot, heel’

WCh \*tab- ‘palm or sole’: Bks *taba*.

ECh \*tab- ‘foot’: Kbl *taba*, Mobu *taba*.

SA \*tibi<sup>c</sup>- ‘foot, heel’: Afar *tibi<sup>c</sup>*.

Unexpected \*-<sup>c</sup>-.

LEC \*teb- ‘foot’: Arb *teb*.

Alternation \*a ~ \*i.

### 2348 \*taba<sup>c</sup>- ‘follow’

Sem \*tVba<sup>c</sup>- ‘follow’: Hbr *tb<sup>c</sup>*, Arab *tb<sup>c</sup>* [-a-], Jib *te<sup>c</sup>*, Hss *tōba*, Mhr *tōba*, Shh *tē<sup>c</sup>*.

ECh \*taHab- ‘follow’: Lele *tāb*, Kbl *ta:bi ka:si*.

Metathesis.

### 2349 \*taf- ‘hand’

WCh \*taf- ‘hand, palm’: Hs *tāfi*, Bol *tafi*, DB *taf*.

CCh \*tufi- ‘hand’: Nza *tivi*, Bch *tufa*, *tufey*.

Contamination with \*tuf- ‘five’.

ECh \*taf- ‘hand’: Sok *tafa*.

Agaw \*taf- ‘hand’: Aun *taf-*.

### 2350 \*taf- ‘clap’

WCh \*taf- ‘clap (the hands)’<sup>1</sup>, ‘take a handful’<sup>2</sup>: Hs *tāfa*<sup>1</sup>, *tafē*<sup>2</sup>.

Omot \*taf- ‘clap’: Kaf *tap*.

Derived from \*taf- ‘hand, arm’.

### 2351 \*taf- ‘go’

Eg *tŋy* ‘move away’ (n).

Suffix -y.

WCh \*taf- ‘go, go out’<sup>1</sup>, ‘follow’<sup>2</sup>: Hs *tafi*<sup>1</sup>, Gwn *tafi*<sup>1</sup>, Bol *taf*<sup>1</sup>, Krk *taf*<sup>1</sup>, Dera *tai*<sup>1</sup>, Wrj *taw*<sup>2</sup>, Paa *taf*<sup>2</sup>, Siri *taf*<sup>2</sup>, Ngz *tafu*<sup>1</sup>.

Alternation \*a ~ \*i. Cf. Dhl *tipp-eem*- ‘come from’?

### 2352 \*taf-taf- ‘henna’

Eg *tŋf* ‘henna’.

WCh \*taf-taf- ‘henna’<sup>1</sup>, ‘Cochlospermum tinctorium’<sup>2</sup>: Hs *taftaf*<sup>1</sup>, Ngz *taftaf*<sup>2</sup>.

Reduplication.

### 2353 \*tag- ‘go, run’

WCh \*tag- ‘run away’: Glm *tāg-*.

LEC \*tag- ‘go’: Som *tag*.

Omot \*teg- ‘go’: Nao *teg*, Shk *tag*.

Secondary \*-e-?

### 2354 \*ta<sup>c</sup>- ‘flow’

Sem \*tī<sup>c</sup>- ‘flow’<sup>1</sup>, ‘pour (of rain)’<sup>2</sup>: Arab *ty<sup>c</sup>* [-i-]<sup>1</sup>, Tgr *ṭā-twa*<sup>2</sup>.

Based on \*ta<sup>c</sup>-.

WCh \*ta-/ti- ‘ooze’<sup>1</sup>, ‘rain’ (v.)<sup>2</sup>: Ang *ta*<sup>1</sup>, Tng *ti*<sup>2</sup>.

LEC \*to<sup>2</sup>- ‘draw water’: Or *to<sup>2</sup>a*.

The source of \*o is not clear.

Dhl *t’a-δ-* ‘wet’ (v.).

Is *t’*- a regular reflex of \*t-?

2355 \*ta<sup>c</sup>ab- ‘‘be tired, be ill’’

Sem \*tV<sup>c</sup>ab- ‘‘be tired’’: Arab t<sup>c</sup>b [-a-].

WCh \*taHab- ‘‘be ill’’: Hs ta<sup>h</sup>u.

ECh \*ta<sup>2</sup>ab- ‘‘become tired’’: Mubi ta<sup>2</sup>aba.

Cf. SA \*tib- ‘‘be still’’: Saho tib, Afar tib?

2356 \*ta<sup>h</sup>-/\*tu<sup>h</sup>- ‘‘belly’’

Sem \*iā<sup>h</sup>- ‘‘inside, intestines’’: Akk tā<sup>h</sup>u.

WCh \*tuH-/\*tuH-ki- ‘‘belly, inside’’<sup>1</sup>, ‘‘body’’<sup>2</sup>: Hs čiki<sup>1</sup>, Cagu cuke<sup>2</sup>, Kir tuwok<sup>1</sup>, Geji tuki<sup>1</sup>, Pol tu<sup>1</sup>, Zem tuko<sup>1</sup>, Brw tu<sup>1</sup>, Say tu<sup>1</sup>, Brm tuk<sup>1</sup>, Dwot tu<sup>1</sup>, Ngz tōka<sup>2</sup>.

\*-ki is a morpheme of parts of the body.

Alternation \*a ~ \*u.

## 2357 \*tak- ‘‘fly, moth’’

Sem \*takk- ‘‘moth’’: Aram (Jud) takk-.

Eg tkk.t ‘‘ichneumon fly’’.

Dhl takkwa<sup>2</sup>e ‘‘dung beetle’’.

## 2358 \*takoc- ‘‘trample, pound’’

Sem \*tV<sup>c</sup>kVs- ‘‘trample’’: Aram (Jud) tks.

WCh \*takwac- ‘‘pound’’: Ngz takwsu.

Derived from \*tuk- ‘‘beat, press’’.

## 2359 \*takon- ‘‘suck blood’’

WCh \*takwan- ‘‘bleed (smb.)’’: Mbu takwana, Diri takwan, Miya takwam, Siri takwana.

Agaw \*tV<sup>c</sup>kwan- ‘‘bugs’’: Bil təx<sup>w</sup>an, Xmr təx<sup>w</sup>an, Kwr tuukaan, Kem tuxaanaa.

SA \*tV<sup>c</sup>kwan- ‘‘bugs’’: Saho tək<sup>w</sup>an, Afar tək<sup>w</sup>an.

LEC \*tukan- ‘‘bug’’: Or tukana.

Metathesis of vowels. An Agaw loanword?

Note nominal forms in Cush. Derived from \*tak- ‘‘fly, moth’’?

2360 \*ta<sup>c</sup>k- ‘‘lizard, chameleon’’

Berb \*tV<sup>c</sup>k-tV<sup>c</sup>k- ‘‘lizard’’: Ahg e-mə-təytəy.

Reduplication.

WCh \*ta<sup>c</sup>k- ‘‘chameleon’’: Siri tā<sup>c</sup>ki, Jmb ataya.

Prefix a- in Jmb.

2361 \*ta<sup>c</sup>kar- ‘‘stick, pole’’

Sem \*ta<sup>c</sup>kr- ‘‘stick, sceptre’’: Aram (Syr) taqr-.

WCh \*ta<sup>c</sup>kar- ‘‘long bamboo pole’’: Ngz takarwa.

## 2362 \*tal-/\*tul- ‘‘speak’’

Sem \*tul- ‘‘pronounce distinctly’’<sup>1</sup>, ‘‘recite’’<sup>2</sup>: Akk tēlu<sup>1</sup>, Arab tlw [-u-]<sup>2</sup>.

WCh \*tal- ‘‘ask’’: Sura tal, Ank tal-.

Alternation \*a ~ \*u. Cf. also ECh \*tulul- ‘‘cry’’ (n.): Kera tulul.

## 2363 \*talim- ‘‘brother’’

Sem \*talīm- ‘‘privileged brother’’: Akk talīmu.

CCh \*twalim- < \*talim- ‘‘brother’’: Msg tollimma.

## 2364 \*tam-tam- ‘‘strike, press’’

Sem \*tVm-tVm- ‘‘strike, knock’’: Tgy tämtāma.

Eg tmlm ‘‘press, grind’’.

CCh \*tam-tam- ‘‘slap’’: Mafa tamtam.

Reduplication of \*tum- ‘‘break, beat’’.

2365 \*tamu<sup>2</sup>- ‘‘speak, shout’’

Sem \*tVmV<sup>2</sup>- ‘‘swear’’: Akk tamū.

WCh \*tamu(H)- ‘‘tell’’: Ank tum, Krk tam.

Rift \*ta<sup>2</sup>am- ‘‘shout’’: Kwz ta<sup>2</sup>am-.

Metathesis and assimilation of \*tamu<sup>2</sup>- or secondary development of \*tam-.



## 2366 \*tamVs- “pound, squeeze”

Sem \**tVmVš*- “squeeze”: Tgr *tāmsā*.

WCh \**tamVs*- “pound”: Hs *tamsa*.

LEC \**tamVs*- “spread out, scatter”: Or *tamsa*<sup>2</sup>*a*.

Derived from \**tum*-.

## 2367 \*tan- “snake, worm”

Sem \**tannn̄n*- “big serpent, crocodile”: Hbr *tannn̄n*, Arab *tinnn̄n*-.

Partial reduplication.

WCh \**tan*- “earth worm”: Hs *tānā*.

## 2368 \*tan- “container”

Sem \**tann*- “wooden bowl”: Akk *tannu*.

Eg *tn.w* “basket” (gr).

## 2369 \*tanhal-/\*tanhil- “container”

Eg *tnhr* “box” (sarc).

Note -*r* < \**-l*-.

WCh \**tanHal*- “pot”: Bgh *taḡal*.

CCh \**tinHil*- < \**tanHil*- “pot”: Gis *tingile*.

Assimilation of vowels.

An old compound? Cf. a similar morphonological structure in \**dawḡal*- “vessel” and \**tuḡal*- “container”.

## 2370 \*taq-/\*tiq- “strike”

Sem \**tīḡ*- “strike (with a stick)”: Arab *tyḡ* [-i-].

Based on \**tVḡ*-.

WCh \**taq*-/\**tiq*- “strike, kick”: Hs *tīka*, Ngz *təku*.

## 2371 \*tar- “collect, mix”

WCh \**tar*- “collect”: Hs *tāra*, Krk *taru*, Say *tarə*.

Dhl *tar*- “mix”.

## 2372 \*tar- “tear, cut”

Sem \**mVtur*- “cut”: Arab *mtr* [-u-].

Prefix \**mV*-. Modified vocalism.

WCh \**tar*-/\**tur*- “tear”<sup>1</sup>, “break”<sup>2</sup>: Glm *tar*<sup>1</sup>, Klr *tur*<sup>2</sup>, DB *tar*<sup>2</sup>.

LEC \**tarar*- “cut, scratch”: Or *tarara*.

Partial reduplication.

## 2373 \*tar- “pull, draw”

Sem \**mVtur*- “pull”: Arab *mtr* [-u-].

Prefix \**mV*- in Arab. Modified vocalism. Cf. Jib *terr* “drag, lead away”.

CCh \**tyar*- < \**tari*- “draw”: Bud *teri*.

ECh \**tar*- “be stretched”: Tob *tārē*.

## 2374 \*tarah- “hole, pit”

Sem \**tarah*- “slope of a mine”: Akk *tarahḡu*.

CCh \**taray*- “hole”: Bud *taragā*.

## 2375 \*taruw- “kind of tree”

Berb \**tVrVw*- “kind of pole”: Aks *a-tru*.

WCh \**taru*- “kind of tree”: Hs *taruwā*.

## 2376 \*tarVc- “break, tear”

Sem \**tVrVs*- “break”: Gz *tārāsā*, Gur *tārrāsā*.

WCh \**tarVc*- “break into pieces”: Hs *tarḡe*.

LEC \**tarVs*- “be torn”: Or *tarsa*<sup>2</sup>*a*.

Derived from \**tar*- “tear, cut”.

## 2377 \*tat- “sow, plant”

CCh \**tVt*- “sow”: Tera *təta*.

Rift \**tat*- “plant” (v.): Kwz *tat*-.

Reduplication.

## 2378 \*taw- “hip, thigh”

Eg *twɔ.t* “hip, thigh” (gr).

Vocalic -ɔ.

ECh \*taw- “hip, thigh”: Kera *tawa*.

## 2379 \*taw- “forget”

Berb \*tVw- “forget”: Izy *ettu*, *əttu*.WCh \*taw- “forget”: Wrj *taw*, Diri *tawa*, Ngz *tuwaye*.Cf. Eg *thy* “be forgetful (of heart)” (MK).

## 2380 \*taw-/tay- “hoe”

Berb \*taw- “spade, hoe”: Ghat *ta-law-t*, Ahg *tallawt*.WCh \*tVɣ- “hoe”: Miya *tiyi*.

Consonantal alternation \*-w- ~ \*-y-.

## 2381 \*taw-/tay- “hunger”

Sem \*tawan- “hunger”: Arab *tawan*.

Derivative in -an-?

ECh \*tay- “hunger”: Kera *tay*.

Consonantal alternation \*-w- ~ \*-y-.

## 2382 \*taw-/tay- “speak, shout, call”

Eg *tyɔ* “shout (of pain)” (med).

Vocalic -ɔ.

WCh \*tay- “greet”: Tng *tay*.CCh \*taʔ-/taw- “speak”<sup>1</sup>, “shout”<sup>2</sup>: Heba *atau*<sup>1</sup>, Glv *ta*-<sup>1</sup>, Kus *to*<sup>2</sup>.ECh \*tay- “call”: Lele *tey*, Tob *te*.Omot \*taw- “tell, speak”: Kaf *taw*-, Bwo *tau* (imper.).

Consonantal alternation \*-w- ~ \*-y-.

## 2383 \*tawar-/tayar- “pole, stick”

Sem \*tVwVr- “crossbeam”: Tgr *tor*.Eg *twr* “reed” (med).WCh \*tayar- “stick”: Gera *teera*.

Consonantal alternation \*-w- ~ \*-y-.

## 2384 \*tayaʒ- “pierce, break”

Sem \*tāz- “pierce and tremble (of arrow)”: Arab *tyz* [-i-].Berb \*tVɣVʒ- “notch”: Izd *tizi*.WCh \*taʒ- “split”: Hs *tazge*.

Suffix -ge?

ECh \*ta[y]aʒ- “break”: Tum *tāʒ*.Agaw \*tayVz- “strike, hit”: Xmr *tays*-, Xmt *taz*, Aun *tas*-, Dmt *taš*-.

## 2385 \*tayVs- “goat”

Sem \*tayaš- “goat”: Hbr *tayiš*, Aram (Syr) *tayšā*, Arab *tays*-, Soq *teš*,Jib *tuš*, *teš*, Hss *tāyeh*, Mhr *tāyeh*, Shh *tuš*.Cf. Akk *dašsu* id.ECh \*tVɣVs- “goat”: Mubi *tēs*.

If not an Arab loanword.

## 2386 \*teʔ- “earth”

Eg *tɔ* “earth” (pyr), Copt \*to: Boh *t'o*, Shd *to*.CCh \*tyaʔ-/tyay- “sand”: Mwu *teo*, Bch *tiyey*.ECh \*tyaw-/tyay- “earth”<sup>1</sup>, “clay”<sup>2</sup>: Lele *tēy*<sup>1</sup>, Kera *tiuwə*<sup>2</sup>.LEC \*taʔ- “fertile soil”: Or *taaʔoo*.

From \*teʔ-?

## 2387 \*teħal- “spleen, liver”

Sem \*tiħāl- “spleen”: Hbr *ṭḥōl*, Arab *ṭiħāl*.

Emphatization of HS \*t- or an old emphatic.

ECh \*tyaHal- “liver”: Tum *telu*, Ndam *ta:lū*.

## 2388 \*tek- “take”

Eg *tkk* “grasp, seize” (MK).

Partial reduplication.

WCh \*tyak- “take”: Sha *tək*, DB *tyek*.CCh \*tyak- “take”: Msg *taka*, *lega*.

## 2389 \*ter- “weapon”

Sem \*tir- “stick with a hook”: Tgr *tir*.

Eg *ti* “kind of weapon” (NK).

Graphic representation of \*tir-.

ECh \*iVr- “knife”: Kera *tər-tə*.

LEC \*ter- “spear”: Som *teeri*.

Cf. a corresponding verb in Dhl *taar*- “pierce”.

## 2390 \*ti-/\*tiw- “bread, flour”

Eg *t* “bread” (pyr).

WCh \*tuw- < \*tiw- “food made of flour, tuwo”: Hs *tuwō*.

ECh \*ti- “flour”: Tob *ti*.

## 2391 \*tiʔ-/\*tVy- “dominate”

Berb \*iVy- “excel”: Sml *äti*.

WCh \*tiʔ- “dominate, possess”: Tng *ti*.

Rift \*tiʔ- “be prominent, emerge”: Ir *tiʔ-it*-, Alg *tiʔ-itis*-.

Connected with \*iVy- “father, chief”? Note the consonantal alternation \*-ʔ- ~ \*-y-.

## 2392 \*tiʔin- “tree”

Sem \*tiʔn- “fig tree”: Akk *tittu*, Hbr *ṭēnā*, Aram (Syr) *tēttā*.

CCh \*tiʔin- < \*tiʔin- “mahogany”: Hwn *tinə*, Gaa *tin-da*, Gbr *tiyin-da*.

## 2393 \*tibin- “brain, marrow”

Eg *tbn* “marrow” (med).

CCh \*tiḫin- “brain”: Gbn *tiḫin-de*.

Secondary emphatic.

## 2394 \*tič- “break”

Eg *tyšš* “grind” (OK).

Note -šš < \*-č-.

WCh \*tič- “thresh”<sup>1</sup>, “squeeze”<sup>2</sup>: Hs *tisa*<sup>1</sup>, Bks *tis*<sup>2</sup>.

Omot \*tič- “break”: Kaf *tičč-*, *tiš-*, Mch *tiččü*, Bwo *tič*.

## 2395 \*tihin- “strike”

Sem \*hVim- “strike”: Arab *htm* [-i-].

Metathesis.

Eg *thm* “push, pierce” (med).

WCh \*tiHim- “strike”: Hs *tīmā*.

## 2396 \*tahir- “warrior, courtier”

Sem \*ti[h]ir- “courtier”: Akk *tiru*.

Eg *thr* “Asiatic warrior” (XVIII).

A cultural loanword?

## 2397 \*tihur- “tear”

Sem \*hVtur- “tear, rip”: Arab *ht* [-u-].

Metathesis.

WCh \*tiHur- “tear, pluck”: Ang *tūr*, Gera *tūr*.

## 2398 \*tik-/\*tiyak- “neck, occiput”

Sem \*tik- “neck, occiput”: Akk *tikku*, *tiku*.

WCh \*tiyak- “occiput”<sup>1</sup>, “neck”<sup>2</sup>: Sura *tō:k*<sup>1</sup>, Ang *tok*<sup>2</sup>, Chip *tōk*<sup>2</sup>, Mnt *tok*<sup>2</sup>, Ank *tiyak*<sup>2</sup>.

## 2399 \*tuḫ- “strike, break”

Berb \*iVḫ-tVḫ- “break, be broken”: Ahg *təytəy*.

Reduplication.

LEC \*tuḫ- “strike”: Or *tuq-*.

## 2400 \*ti(m)b- “navel”

WCh \*timb- “navel”: Bol *tumb-*, Krk *timbi*, Ngm *timbo*.

Agaw \*i-tib- “navel”: Bil *itibaa*.

Cf. Bed *teefa* “navel” and ECh \*dif- (Sok *diff-in*)?

## 2401 \*tin- “tendon, muscle”

Sem \**waṭin*- “aorta”: Arab *waṭin*-.

Prefix \**wa*-.

Agaw \**tin*- “kind of muscle”: Kem *tināa*.

## 2402 \*tinuq- “stay, dwell”

Sem \**tVnuḥ*- “stay, dwell”: Arab *tnḥ* [-u-].

WCh \**tinuq*- “stay, dwell”<sup>1</sup>, “sit”<sup>2</sup>: Sura *ṭon*<sup>1</sup>, Ang *tong*<sup>1 2</sup>, Ank *tong*<sup>2</sup>, Grk *tung*<sup>2</sup>, Krk *tiṅg*-<sup>2</sup>, Krf *tingu*<sup>2</sup>, Glm *tungw*-<sup>2</sup>.

Agaw \**tinu[x]*- “dwell”: Kwr *tānkw*, Dmb *tenku*, Kem *tānkə*.

## 2403 \*tir- “liver, vein”

WCh \**tir*- “liver”<sup>1</sup>, “kidney”<sup>2</sup>, “vein”<sup>3</sup>: Pol *wa-tera*<sup>2e</sup><sup>1</sup>, Paa *tir-kwasa*<sup>2</sup>, Miya *tir*<sup>3</sup>.

SA \**tiraw*- “liver”: Saho *tiraw*, Afar *tiroo*.

Suffix \**-aw*-.

LEC \**tir(aw)*- “liver”: Som *tiro*, *traw*, Or *tiruu*, Gel *čira*, Kon *tira*, Gat *tira*, Gdl *šira*, Arb *tira*.

Suffix \**-aw*-.

Wrz \**tir*- “liver”: War *čira*, *čire*, Gaw *tire*, *cire*, Gob *čir*-, Hrs *ciire*, Dob *ciire*.

Omot \**tir*/\**tur*- “liver”: Ome *tire*, Gll *tu<sup>2</sup>ri*, Ari *turi*.

Cf. a derivative in \**tiro[w]*- “liver”: Hmr *tiirooboo*.

## 2404 \*tir- “building”

Sem \**tir*- “part of the building”<sup>1</sup>, “wall, fence”<sup>2</sup>: Akk *tēru*<sup>1</sup>, Hbr *tīrā*<sup>2</sup>.

Eg *lir.t* “temple” (OK).

*l-* is a prefix or a sign for a root vowel.

ECh \**tir*- “house”: Smr *čire*, Kwn *tər*.

## 2405 \*tir- “run”

Sem \**tir*/\**tur*- “run fast”<sup>1</sup>, “hurry, hasten”<sup>2</sup>: Arab *trr* [-i-, -u-]<sup>1</sup>, Tgy *trr*<sup>2</sup>.

Secondary \**-u*-.

Berb \**tVr-tVr*- “drive, make run”: Ahg *tərtər*.

Reduplication.

ECh \**tVr*- “run”: Kera *təra*, Kwan *tara*.

## 2406 \*tir- “sew, plait”

WCh \**tir*- “sew”: Kry *tər*, Miya *tir*, Fyer *tōr*.

Fyer may go back to \**taru*- or \**tiwar*-.

CCh \**tir*- “plait”: Daba *tir*, Mofu *tər-d*.

SA \**tar-tar*- “sew”: Saho *tartar*-, Afar *tartar*-.

Reduplication with modified vocalism.

## 2407 \*tis- “sit”

Eg *tys* “sit” (l).

Vocalic *-y-*.

WCh \**tVs*- “sit”: Tala *təsu*.

Cf. Sha *təs* “put down”.

2408 \*tiya<sup>2</sup>/\*tiyaw- “be true, be right”

Eg *tyw* “true” (MK).

WCh \**tV<sub>y</sub>V<sup>2</sup>*- “right” (adj.): Kry *atey*, Miya *te<sup>2e</sup>*, Mbu *tehu*.

ECh \**tiyaw*- “right” (adj.): Mig *tiyawa*.

Consonantal alternation \**-<sup>2</sup>*- ~ \**-w*-.

## 2409 \*tof- “tie”

Eg *ntf* “untie” (n).

Prefix \**nV*-.

WCh \**twaf*- “tie up”: Sha *tof*, Klr *tof*.

Cf. Sura *te:p* “plait”, Chip *te:p-ka* id.

CCh \**twaf*- “sew”<sup>1</sup>, “tie”<sup>2</sup>: Gis *tof*<sup>1</sup>, Mofu *tef*-<sup>1 2</sup>.

## 2410 \*tok- “speak, ask”

Berb \**tVk*- “inquire”: Ayr *sə-təkk-ət*, Twl *sə-təkk-ət*.

WCh \**twak*- “talk”<sup>1</sup>, “ask”<sup>2</sup>: Ang *tok*<sup>1</sup>, Paa *taku*<sup>2</sup>.

## 2411 \*tor- “clean (v.)

Eg *twr* “clean” (MK).Vocalic *-w-*.CCh *\*twar-* “sweep”: Masa *twr-amo*, Msm *twr*.

## 2412 \*tuč- “spit”

Berb *\*tuc-* “cough”: Sml *ttusu*.Eg *ntš* “sprinkle” (med).Prefix *\*nV-*.WCh *\*tuči-* “spit”: Sura *tus*, Ang *tis*.

## 2413 \*tuf- “spit”

Sem *\*tup-* “spit”<sup>1</sup>, “spit blood”<sup>2</sup>: Aram (Jud) *tp̄p*<sup>1</sup>, Arab *tff* [-u-]<sup>2</sup>, Gz *tʃ*<sup>1</sup>, Tgy *tʃ*<sup>1</sup>, Amh *tff*<sup>1</sup>, Gaf *tff*<sup>1</sup>, Hrr *tʃ*<sup>1</sup>, Gur *tʃ*<sup>1</sup>.Eg *tʃ* “spit” (pyr).WCh *\*tuf-* “spit”: Hs *tōfā*, Bol *tuf*, Dera *tuvi*, Ngm *tup*, Fyer *tuf*, Sha *tuf*, DB *tuf*, Ngz *təpku*.CCh *\*tuf-* “spit”: Mba *tuf*, Zgh *tfa*, Glv *taf-*, Mofu *-taf-*, Daba *tif*, Bch *tufa*, Log *tufi*, Zime *tufu*, Masa *tuf- nā*.ECh *\*tuf-* “spit”: Kera *tufi*, Kwan *atəpē*, Mubi *tuffa*, Brg *čifi*.Brg *čifi* < *\*tufi-*.Agaw *\*tif-* “spit”: Bil *tif*, Xmr *tif y-*, Kem *təff y-*.Secondary *-i-*? Unexpected *t-* in Bil.Bed *tuf* “spit”.LEC *\*tuf-* “spit”: Som *tuf*, Or *tufe*, Arb *tuf-*.HEC *\*tuf-* “spit”: Sid *tufi*.

## 2414 \*tug- “strike”

WCh *\*tug-* “pound, thresh”: Tng *tuge*.CCh *\*twagVy-* “strike”: BM *togiya*, Masa *toia*.ECh *\*twaga-* “strike”: Nch *tagi*, Gbr *togoi*.Omot *\*tug-* “strike”: Kaf *tuug*, *tuuge*.

## 2415 \*tuhal- “container”

Sem *\*tuhal-* “basket”: Akk *tuhallu*.WCh *\*tuHal-* “pot”: Sura *tugul*, Ang *tūl*, Mpn *tūl*, Kry *n-dul*, Miya *duwal*, Siri *n-duli*.ECh *\*tVHVl-* “pot”: Mkk *toolo*.Agaw *\*tul-* “kind of earthenware”: Kem *tolaa*.

## 2416 \*tuk- “beat, press”

Sem *\*tuk-* “press”<sup>1</sup>, “destroy, cut”<sup>2</sup>: Akk *takāku*<sup>1</sup>, Arab *tkk* [-u-]<sup>2</sup>.Berb *\*tVḱ-* “knock”: Ahg *tək-ət*.WCh *\*tak-/tḱ-* “trample, step on”<sup>1</sup>, “beat”<sup>2</sup>, “push”<sup>3</sup>: Hs *tāka*<sup>1</sup>, Ngm *tako*<sup>2</sup>, Bks *tuk*<sup>3</sup>, DB *tuk*<sup>3</sup>, Ngz *tak-du*<sup>1</sup>.CCh *\*tukwa-* “clap”<sup>1</sup>, “strike”<sup>2</sup>: Gis *tukwa-*<sup>1</sup>, Log *tku*<sup>2</sup>.SA *\*tak-/tḱ-* “strike”: Afar *tak-*, *-ootok-*.Omot *\*tuk-* “hit, strike”: Kaf *tuk-*.

## 2417 \*tukaʔ- “burn; ash”

Eg *tkʔ* “burn” (reg), Copt *\*tōk*: Boh *t'ōk*, Shd *tōk*.WCh *\*tuʔak-* “ash”: Hs *tōkā*.

Metathesis.

## 2418 \*tuḱ- “go, run”

Sem *\*tVḱ-tVḱ-* “advance quickly”: Arab *tqtq*.

Reduplication.

Berb *\*tVḱVy-* “mend one's pace”: Ahg *təyiy-ət*.WCh *\*tuḱwa-* “go away”<sup>1</sup>, “run”<sup>2</sup>: Hs *tūka*<sup>1</sup>, Dera *tako*<sup>1</sup>, DB *tok*<sup>2</sup>.CCh *\*tVḱwa-* “follow”: Hwn *təḱwa*.HEC *\*tḱ-* “run away”: Sid *tḱ-*.Initial *\*t-* < *\*t-* under the influence of *\*-ḱ-*.

## 2419 \*tul- “pierce”

Eg *wtn* “pierce” (n).Vocalic *w-*.CCh *\*tul-* “pierce”: Chb *ntəli*, Nza *təl-*, FJ *tula-*, Mwu *utulo*.Rift *\*tul-* “split into two”: Kwz *tul-as-*.

## 2420 \*tul- ‘‘hang’’

Sem \*tVlVy- ‘‘hang’’: Akk *tullû*, Hbr *tly*.

Based on \*tVl-.

ECh \*tul- ‘‘hang’’: Ndam *tula*, Lele *tuul*.

## 2421 \*tum- ‘‘break, beat’’

WCh \*tumi- ‘‘destroy’’<sup>1</sup>, ‘‘break’’<sup>2</sup>: Mnt *tam*, *tum*<sup>1</sup>, Wrj *təm*<sup>2</sup>,

Kry *tum*<sup>2</sup>, Cagu *tam*<sup>2</sup>, Mbu *tīm*<sup>2</sup>, Jmb *tuma*<sup>2</sup>.

CCh \*tum- ‘‘hit’’: Msm *tum*, Mafa *tvm*.

LEC \*tum- ‘‘beat, pound’’: Som *tum-*, Or *tuma*, Rnd *tum*, Arb *tum-*.

## 2422 \*tupaḥ- ‘‘apple’’

Sem \*tupāḥ- ‘‘apple’’: Hbr *tappūḥ*, Arab *tuffaḥ*.

Berb \*tVfaḥ- ‘‘apples’’: Izy *etteffah*.

From Arab?

## 2423 \*tuq- ‘‘pour’’

Sem \*tuḥ- ‘‘pour, pour too much’’: Akk *taḥāḥu* [-u-].

WCh \*taq- < \*tuqa- ‘‘pour’’: Sura *tak*.

CCh \*tuqa- ‘‘pour out’’: Bud *tuka-*.

## 2424 \*tur- ‘‘push’’

Sem \*tVr- ‘‘push gently’’: Soq *ter*.

Cf. \*tar- ‘‘blow’’ (n.): Arab *tār-*.

WCh \*turi- ‘‘push’’: Hs *tūra*, Gwn *tūraa*, Grk *tir*, Krf *tuuru-*, Gera *tuurə-*, Say *turi*.

ECh \*tur- ‘‘push’’: Dng *ture*.

## 2425 \*tur- ‘‘lift’’

Sem \*tVrV<sup>2</sup>- ‘‘lift’’: Akk *tarû*.

Based on biliteral \*tVr-.

Eg *twj* ‘‘lift’’ (pyr).

Vocalic -w-.

CCh \*turi- ‘‘lift’’: Gaa *itiri*, Gab *tiri*, Boka *tiri*, Hwo *turaḡ*.

Cf. also Tera dial. *dīra* id.

## 2426 \*turVb- ‘‘earth, sand’’

Sem \*turb- ‘‘earth, dust’’: Akk *tarbu<sup>2</sup>tu*, Arab *turb-*, *turb-at-*, *turāb-*.

Cf. Hss *terōb* ‘‘do the ritual ablutions with sand’’.

WCh \*turVb- ‘‘sandy soil’’: Hs *turḫāyā*.

Secondary emphatic.

## 2427 \*tuwur- ‘‘turn’’

Sem \*tūr- ‘‘turn’’: Akk *tāru*, Arab *twr* [-u-].

CCh \*tuwur- ‘‘turn’’: Daba *tuwur*.

2428 \*tü<sup>2</sup>al- ‘‘tree, bush’’

Sem \*ti<sup>2</sup>al- ‘‘white cedar’’: Akk *ti<sup>2</sup>alu*.

CCh \*tuwal- < \*tu<sup>2</sup>al- ‘‘sheanut tree’’: Hwn *tūwala*.

ECh \*twal- < \*tu<sup>2</sup>al- ‘‘bush’’: Kwan *tolā*.

## 2429 \*tül- ‘‘hill’’

Sem \*tall-/till- ‘‘hill’’: Akk *tīlu*, Ug *tl*, Hbr *tēl*, Aram (Syr) *tellō*, Arab *tall-*.

WCh \*tul- ‘‘hill-top’’: Hs *tull-uwā*.

LEC \*tul- ‘‘hill’’: Or *tuluu*.

HEC \*tul- ‘‘hill’’: Sid *tullo*.

## 2430 \*t[ü]m- ‘‘fish’’

Eg *tm.t* ‘‘kind of fish’’ (med).

CCh \*tum- ‘‘fish’’: Msg *tum*.

\*ü is reconstructed on the basis of forms appearing in HS compound \*tüm-meḥas-. This root serves as a second component of a Cush composite for ‘‘fish’’: LEC \*ḱur-tum- (Or *qurtummi*, Gdl *kurtum-et*) and HEC \*ḱir-tum-/ḱur-tum- (Sid *kilti<sup>2</sup>mī*, Dar *ḱultu<sup>2</sup>me*, Had *ḱurṭume*, Ala *ḱurṭum-et*, Bmb *ḱur-ṭume*, Kmb *ḱurtum*).

## 2431 \*tüm-meḥas- ‘‘crocodile, snake’’

Sem \*timšāḥ- ‘‘crocodile’’: Arab *timsāḥ-*.

Haplology and metathesis.

Eg *tšmm* ‘‘crocodile’’ (gr).

Metathesis and loss of the laryngeal in Late Eg. Note irregular  
-š- < \*-s-.

CCh *\*iimyas-* < *\*tumyaHas-* ‘‘horned viper’’: Mofu *timeš*.

ECh *\*tumVs-* ‘‘crocodile’’: Mubi *tumsa*, Mkk *tumsa*.

Borrowed from Arab?

Compound with the original meaning ‘‘snake-fish’’ of *\*i[ü]m-*  
‘‘fish’’ and *\*meḥas-* ‘‘big snake, crocodile’’.

#### 2432 \*tVb- ‘‘move upwards’’

Sem *\*tVb-* ‘‘rise’’: Akk *tebû*.

Berb *\*tVb-* ‘‘lay off, raise’’: Ahg *a-təb*.

Eg *ibtb* ‘‘pull up, raise’’.

Reduplication.

Cf. *\*tab(b)-* ‘‘uphill, slope’’: Or *tabba*.

#### 2433 \*tVfal-/tVfil- ‘‘spit’’

Sem *\*tVpil-/tVpul-* ‘‘spit’’: Arab *tfl* [-i-, -u-], Jib *tfol*, Hss *tefōl*, Mhr  
*tefōl*, Shh *tfol*.

CCh *\*tVfal-* ‘‘spit’’: Muk *tfala*.

Derived from *\*tuf-* ‘‘spit’’.

#### 2434 \*tVk-tVk- ‘‘trample, knock’’

Sem *\*tVk-tVk-* ‘‘trample’’: Arab *tktk*.

Berb *\*tVk-tVk-* ‘‘knock slightly’’: Ahg *təktək*.

Eg *tktk* ‘‘trample (enemies)’’.

Reduplication of *\*tuk-* ‘‘beat, press’’.

#### 2435 \*tVm-tVm- ‘‘speak indistinctly’’

Sem *\*tVm-tVm-* ‘‘stammer’’<sup>1</sup>, ‘‘grumble’’<sup>2</sup>: Arab *tmtm*<sup>1</sup>, Jib  
*ettəmtim*<sup>2</sup>.

Berb *\*tVm-tVm-* ‘‘whisper’’ (n.): Izd *a-təmtəm*.

Reduplication.

#### 2436 \*tVrVk- ‘‘beat, strike’’

Sem *\*tVrVk-* ‘‘beat’’: Akk *tarāku*.

Berb *\*tVrVk-* ‘‘strike’’: Ahg *ə-trək*.

#### 2437 \*tVwVr- ‘‘flow’’

Sem *\*tūr-* ‘‘flow’’: Arab *twr* [-u-].

Berb *\*tVwVr-* ‘‘be full (of liquid)’’: Ahg *ə-twər*.

Eg *twr* ‘‘waters’’ (BD).

Deverbative?

#### 2438 \*tVy- ‘‘father, chief’’

Berb *\*tVy-* ‘‘stepfather’’: Ahg *tey*.

Eg *ity* ‘‘father, monarch, prince’’ (OK).

\*ṭ

#### 2439 \*ṭa<sup>2</sup>-/\*ṭaw- ‘‘fold, spin’’

Sem *\*ṭūy-* ‘‘spin’’<sup>1</sup>, ‘‘fold, wrap’’<sup>2</sup>, ‘‘turn’’<sup>3</sup>, ‘‘plait, twist’’<sup>4</sup>:  
Akk *ṭawū*<sup>1</sup>, Hbr *ṭwy*<sup>1</sup>, Aram *ṭwy*<sup>1</sup>, Arab *ṭwy* [-i-]<sup>2</sup>, Gz *ṭwy*<sup>3</sup>,  
Tgr *ṭāwa*<sup>3 4</sup>, Hrr *ṭewō*<sup>2</sup>, Gur *aṭwayyā*<sup>4</sup>.

Based on biconsonantal *\*ṭVw-*.

WCh *\*ṭat-* ‘‘spin’’: Ang *tat*.

Reduplication.

Berb *\*ṭVw-/ṭVy-* ‘‘be folded’’<sup>1</sup>, ‘‘fold, bend’’<sup>2</sup>: Ahg *a-ḏə*<sup>1</sup>, Twl  
*a-ḏu*<sup>2</sup>, Sgr *a-ḏi*<sup>2</sup>.

Bed *ḏaṣ* ‘‘plait, weave’’.

LEC *\*ḏaw-* ‘‘spin’’: Or *ḏaw-*.

Consonantal alternation \*ṭ- ~ \*-w-.

#### 2440 \*ṭa<sup>2</sup>-/\*ṭaw- ‘‘go, come’’

Sem *\*ṭū<sup>2</sup>-* ‘‘go and come’’<sup>1</sup>, ‘‘come’’<sup>2</sup>: Arab *ṭw<sup>2</sup>* [-u-]<sup>1</sup>, Hss *ṭewō*<sup>2</sup>.

Based on *\*ṭVw-*.

WCh *\*ṭa<sup>2</sup>-* ‘‘go’’: Wrj *ṭa-n*, Siri *ṭa*, Jmb *da*.

CCh \*ṭuw- < \*ṭVw- ‘go’: Bnn *tuwwa*.

ECh \*ṭawi- ‘go, walk’: Tum *tiw*, Sok *teui*.

Agaw \*ṭaw- ‘enter’: Bil *tuw*, Xmt *ṭaw*, Kwr *tuw*, Dmb *tuw*, Kem *tuw*, Aun *ṭuu*, Dmt *ṭow*.

Consonantal alternation \*-ʾ- ~ \*-w-.

#### 2441 \*ṭaʾ-/ṭaw-/ṭay- ‘cloth’

WCh \*ṭay- ‘mat’: Hs *tailai*, *tailayī*.

Reduplication.

Bed *ḏaʾ* ‘cloth’.

LEC \*ḏaw- ‘cloth’: Or *ḏaw-*.

Omot \*[ṭ]aH- ‘clothes’: Anf *ta-ho*.

Consonantal alternation \*-ʾ- ~ \*-w- ~ \*-y-.

#### 2442 \*ṭaʾum- ‘speak’

WCh \*ṭaʾum- ‘sing’: Mnt *tam*, Wrj *ṭəm*, Mbu *ṭəm*, Kry *tuma*, Paa *təma*, Miya *ṭām*, Jim *duma*.

HEC \*ṭaʾVm- ‘ask’: Sid *ṭaʾm-*, Kab *ṭaʾm-*, Had *ṭam-*.

#### 2443 \*ṭaʾūr- ‘bird’

Sem \*ṭaʾir- ‘bird, fly’: Arab *ṭaʾir-*.

CCh \*ṭūr- < \*ṭVʾur- ‘partridge’: Gis *tūro*.

ECh \*ṭur- ‘hen’: Nch *turo-ba*, Kbl *turo*.

Contraction.

Bed *an-ḏiro* ‘hen’.

Prefix *an-*.

Cf. Berb \*ṭir- ‘falcon’: Izy *ettīl*, Izd *ə-tṭir*.

#### 2444 \*ṭab- ‘tribe’

Sem \*ṭVb- ‘tribe’: Gur *ṭəb*.

Berb \*ṭab- ‘crowd, meeting’: Ahg *ə-tṭabu*.

#### 2445 \*ṭab- ‘plug, bolt’

Sem \*ṭabb- ‘plug’: Arab *ṭabb-at-*.

Berb \*ṭab- ‘lock, bolt’: Siwa *ə-tṭāb-ət*.

Cf. WCh \*ṭVḡ- < \*ṭVb- ‘close, cover’: Kry *ṭəḡə*, Jmb *dḡə*.

#### 2446 \*ṭab- ‘cut, tear’

Sem \*ṭVb- ‘skin’ (v.): Gog *ṭābba* <sup>2</sup>, Gur *ṭābba* <sup>2</sup>, Slt *ṭābā* <sup>2</sup>.

Eg *dbdb* ‘pierce, tear’ (I).

Reduplication.

WCh \*ṭab- < \*ṭab- ‘rip (garment)’: Hs *tāḡe*.

Shift of emphatization.

#### 2447 \*ṭab- ‘catch, seize’

Eg *dbdb* ‘catch, seize’.

Reduplication.

WCh \*ṭab- < \*ṭab- ‘catch, seize’: Hs *ṭəḡe*, Glm *tab*, Gera *taw*, Geji *doḡi*.

CCh \*ṭVḡ- < \*ṭVb- ‘take’: Mofu *ṭəḡ-*.

ECh \*ṭiḡ- < \*ṭib- ‘plunder’: Mkk *tiḡa*.

#### 2448 \*ṭab- ‘container’

Eg *tb.t* ‘box’ (gr).

WCh \*ṭab < \*ṭab- ‘sack, bag, quiver’: Bol *taba*, Ngz *ṭaḡa*.

Cf. Ang *tip* ‘sack’.

CCh \*ṭiḡ- < \*ṭib- ‘calabash’: Gaa *tiḡa*, Gbn *tiḡe*.

Cf. also \*ṭimb- id.: Lame *tembi*, LPe *timbi*, ZBt *timbi*. Secondary \*-i-?

HEC \*ṭab- ‘clay plate’: Had *ṭaabaʾu*, Kmb *ṭaba-ta*.

#### 2449 \*ṭabaḡ- ‘container’

Sem \*ṭabaḡ- ‘tray, pan’: Aram *ṭabāḡ-*, Arab *ṭabaḡ-*.

CCh \*ṭabaḡ- < \*ṭabaḡ- ‘bag’: Gis *ṭabaḡ-*.

If not an Arab loanword.

Derived from \*ṭab- ‘container’.



2450 \**tab*VL- “drum”

Sem \**tabl*- “drum”: Akk *tabalu*, Aram (Syr) *tabl*-, Arab *tabl*-, Gur *tabl*-, Hss *tabl*, Mhr *tābel*, Shh *tel*.

Berb \**tVb*VL- “drum”: Ahg *e-ttebel*, Twl *e-ttebel*, Kby *ə-tt̥bol*.

Sem loanword?

Eg *tbn* “drum” (gr).

Derived from \**tab*- “container”.

2451 \**ta*ĉ- “fly” (v.)

Sem \**tūs*- “fly”<sup>1</sup>, “jump up”<sup>2</sup>: Hbr *twš*<sup>1</sup>, Jib *tešš*<sup>2</sup>.

Based on \**tVš*-.

WCh \**ta*ĉ- “fly”: Hs *tāši*.

2452 \**tag*-/\**tug*- “ear”

ECh \**tug*- “ear”: Kwan *tuga*.

SA \**dag*- “eardrum”: Afar *daaga*.

LEC \**deg*-/\**dog*- “ear”: Som *deg*, Rnd *dogo*.

Vocalism is not clear.

HEC \**tag*- “ear”: Bmb *daga*.

Alternation \**a* ~ \**u*.

2453 \**ta*<sup>c</sup>-*ta*<sup>c</sup>- “trample”

Sem \**tV*<sup>c</sup>-*tV*<sup>c</sup>- “trample”: Arab *tʿtʿ*.

WCh \**ta*t- “kick”: Ang *tat*.

LEC \**da*<sup>c</sup>-*da*<sup>c</sup>- “march, trample”: Som *da*<sup>c</sup>*da*<sup>c</sup>.

Reduplication.

2454 \**ta*<sup>c</sup>am- “taste, eat”

Sem \**tV*<sup>c</sup>am- “taste, eat”: Hbr *tʿm*, Aram *tʿm*, Arab *tʿm* [-a-], Gz *tʿm*, Jib *ta*<sup>c</sup>am, Soq *ta*<sup>c</sup>am, Hss *tām*, Mhr *tām*, Shh *tʿam*.

SA \**da*<sup>c</sup>am- “taste” (v.): Saho *da*<sup>c</sup>am-.

Assimilation of vowels.

LEC \**da*<sup>c</sup>am- “taste” (n.): Som *da*<sup>c</sup>an.

Assimilation of vowels.

Dhl *lem*- “try, look at”.

-e- results from a contraction.

2455 \**ta*han- “grind, forge”

Sem \**tV*han- “grind corn, pound”: Hbr *ṭhn*, Arab *ṭhn* [-a-], Jib *ṭahan*, Soq *ṭahan*, Hss *teḥān*, Mhr *teḥān*, Shh *ṭhān*.

WCh \**ta*Han- “press down”<sup>1</sup>, “forge”<sup>2</sup>: Ang *ten*<sup>1</sup>, Tng *toni*<sup>2</sup>.

Contraction.

2456 \**ta*hin- “tooth”

Sem \**tā*hin- “molar”: Arab *tāhin-at*.

WCh \**tV*hin- “tooth”: Wrj *təyn*-, Kry *tin*, Miya *tiyim*, Paa *udini*, Cagu *dīne*, Mbu *ṭīno*, Jmb *dīna*.

Connected with \**ta*han- “grind, forge” (cf. a similar motivation of IE \**gʷombhos* “tooth” ← \**gʷem*- “grind”).

2457 \**ta*l- “give birth”

SA \**dal*- “give birth”: Saho *dal*, Afar *dal*.

LEC \**dal*- “give birth”: Som *dal*, Or *dal*.

Isolated verbal stem on which more widespread derivatives are based, cf. \**ta*l- “young animal”.

2458 \**ta*l- “young animal”

Berb \**tV*l- “calf”: Twl *ā-dēl*.

WCh \**ta*l- “young animal following its mother”: Hs *tāl-iyō*.

Derived from \**ta*l- “give birth”. Cf. Sem \**ta*lay- “boy” (Aram *ṭalay*-), “she-goat” (Gz *ṭāli*).

2459 \**ta*l- “dew, drop”

Sem \**tall*- “dew, drizzle”: Hbr *tal*, Aram (Syr) *tall*-, Arab *tall*-, Gz *tal*, Hss *tel*, Mhr *tel*, Shh *tehl*.

CCh \**tV*l- “drop” (n.): Bud *tolo*.

Cf. a derivative in LEC \**dol*- “big white cloud”: Som *dol*?

## 2460 \*ṭal-/ṭul- “flow, pour”

Sem \*ṭul- “sprinkle”<sup>1</sup>, “moisten”<sup>2</sup>: Hbr ṭl<sup>1</sup>, Arab ṭll [-u-]<sup>2</sup>, Gz ṭll<sup>2</sup>.

WCh \*ṭal- “flow”: Bks *tal*.

Alternation \*a ~ \*u.

## 2461 \*ṭanaḡ- “weave, sew”

Sem \*ṭVnVḡ- “weave”<sup>1</sup>, “tie, plait”<sup>2</sup>: Akk ṭenu<sup>1</sup>, Hbr ṭnḡ<sup>2</sup>.

WCh \*ṭaḡan- “sew”: Sura *taan*, Mpn *taan*, Ang *ten*, Mnt *tan*, Ank *tan*.

Metathesis. Cf. WCh \*ṭyan-H- “rope”: Sura *teḡ*, Ang *tang*, Mnt *teng*, Ank *tieng*, Mpn *teḡ*.

## 2462 \*ṭaraḡ- “snare”

Sem \*ṭarḡ- “trap, net”: Arab *ṭaraq-*, *ṭarq-*.

WCh \*ṭarVḡ- “snare, trap”: Hs *tarko*.

A Sem loanword?

## 2463 \*ṭarer- “drip”

Berb \*ṭVrVr- “sprinkle”: Ahg *e-drer*.

ECh \*ṭarVr- “water flow”: Mig *tarro*.

LEC \*ḡarer- “dripping”: Som *ḡarer*.

## 2464 \*ṭarip- “tree”

Sem \*ṭarpaḡ- “tamarind”: Akk *ṭarpaḡu*.

ECh \*ṭirip- “kind of tree”: Bid *tirip*.

Assimilation of vowels.

## 2465 \*ṭas- “dish”

Sem \*ṭass- “dish”: Arab *ṭass-*, *ṭās-*.

Berb \*ṭas- “dish”: Izd *a-ṭṭas*, Kby *a-ṭṭas*.

WCh \*ṭas- “dish”: Hs *tāsā*.

Berb and WCh forms may be Arab loanwords.

## 2466 \*ṭaw- “roof”

Eg *twḡ.t* “temple roof” (gr).

Vocalic -ḡ.

WCh \*ṭaw- “roof”: Fyer *taw*, Wrj *tuwai*.

## 2467 \*ṭem- “hide, close”

Sem \*ṭVm- “close (ears)”: Akk *ṭummumu*.

D stirpes.

Eg *tmm* “close” (pyr).

CCh \*ṭyam- “hide”: Bud *tema-hi*.

## 2468 \*ṭiḡuḡ-/ṭiwuḡ- “kill, destroy”

Sem \*ṭūḡ- “perish”: Arab *ṭwḡ*.

Eg *tḡḡ* “kill” (gr).

WCh \*ṭiḡuḡ- “kill”: Sura *tu*, Ang *tu*, Chip *to*, Wrj *təḡ*, Kry *tə:ḡ-*, Diri *tu*, Miya *təḡ*, Cagu *tiyu*, Siri *təḡ*, Mbu *təḡ*, Jmb *tiy-*, Brm *tuge*.

Consonantal alternation \*-ḡ- ~ \*-w-.

## 2469 \*ṭibaḡ- “push”

Sem \*ṭVbaḡ- “put a seal”: Arab *ṭbḡ* [-a-].

LEC \*ḡib- < \*ḡiHab- “push”: Or *ḡiiba*.

Metathesis.

## 2470 \*ṭif- “drop, rain”

Sem \*ṭipp- “drop”: Hbr *ṭippā*, Aram (Bibl) *ṭipp-*.

WCh \*ṭaf- < \*ṭifa- “rainy season”: Bks *tafu*.

CCh \*ṭa-ṭVf- “drizzle”: Mofu *tatəf*.

Partial reduplication.

## 2471 \*ṭif-ṭif- “drizzle, drops”

Sem \*ṭip-ṭip- “drizzle” (n.): Tgr *ṭiftif*, Tgy *ṭiftif*.

Eg *dfdf.l* “drops” (XX).

Reduplication of \*ṭif- “drop, rain”.

## 2472 \*ṭin- ‘‘earth, dirt’’

Sem \*ṭin- ‘‘clay, earth, dirt’’: Aram (Syr) ṭinō, Arab ṭīn-, Jib ṭun, Hss ṭayn, Mhr ṭayn, Shh ṭin.  
 Eg itn, iwtñ ‘‘earth’’ (a).  
 CCh \*ṭVn- ‘‘earth’’: Log tən.

## 2473 \*ṭir- ‘‘mug, pot’’

WCh \*ṭyarVr- ‘‘small basket’’: Hs tērērē.  
 Partial reduplication.  
 ECh \*ṭir- ‘‘mug’’: Kera tirə.  
 LEC \*ḍer- ‘‘pot’’: Som ḍeri.

## 2474 \*ṭob- ‘‘leather strap’’

WCh \*ṭwab- ‘‘loin cloth’’: Hs tōbī.  
 CCh \*ṭVb- < \*ṭVb- ‘‘rope’’: Mafa təḃa.  
 Shift of emphatization.  
 Omot \*ṭub- ‘‘hide used as a shroud’’: Kaf ṭubboo.

## 2475 \*ṭub- ‘‘young person’’

CCh \*ṭub- ‘‘younger sibling’’: Gis tuba.  
 LEC \*ḍob- ‘‘young person’’: Or ṭobbee.  
 Note Or ṭ-.

## 2476 \*ṭub- ‘‘drip, be wet’’

Sem \*ṭVb- ‘‘drip’’: Tgr ṭab bāla, Gur ṭab balā.  
 Cf. also Gz nṭb id.  
 Berb \*ṭVb- ‘‘drip’’: Ahg əṭṭəb.  
 ECh \*ṭubi- ‘‘humid’’: Smr tuba, Nch tibi.  
 LEC \*ḍub- ‘‘soak’’: Or ḍuuba.

## 2477 \*ṭub- ‘‘cover’’

Berb \*ṭVb- ‘‘cover’’: Ayr ə-ḍəb, Twl ə-ḍəb.  
 WCh \*ṭub- < \*ṭub- ‘‘cover’’: Kry təḃə, Jmb duḃa.

## 2478 \*ṭuč- ‘‘cacare, pedere’’

Sem \*ṭVčV- ‘‘cacare’’: Arab ṭč.  
 From biconsonantal \*ṭVč-.  
 WCh \*ṭučī- ‘‘pedere’’<sup>1</sup>, ‘‘cacare’’<sup>2</sup>: Hs tūsa<sup>1</sup>, Bgh ti:s<sup>2</sup>.  
 LEC \*ḍuš- ‘‘pedere’’: Som ḍus, Or ḍuufa.

## 2479 \*ṭučar- ‘‘container’’

Sem \*ṭušar- ‘‘bag’’: Akk tušaru.  
 Eg dšr.t ‘‘vessel’’ (pyr).

## 2480 \*ṭu‘an-/ṭu‘un- ‘‘pierce, pinch’’

Sem \*ṭV‘an- ‘‘pierce with a spear’’<sup>1</sup>, ‘‘thrust at’’<sup>2</sup>: Arab ṭ‘n [-a-]<sup>1</sup>,  
 Hss ṭōn<sup>2</sup>, Mhr ṭān<sup>2</sup>, Shh ṭ‘an<sup>2</sup>.  
 WCh \*ṭuHun- ‘‘pinch’’: Mpn tuun.

## 2481 \*ṭu(m)f- ‘‘fill, be full’’

Sem \*ṭVp- ‘‘be full’’: Akk ṭapāpu.  
 WCh \*ṭumf- ‘‘fill up’’: Hs tumfaye.  
 Secondary nasal infix?

## 2482 \*ṭup- ‘‘jump’’

Sem \*ṭVp- ‘‘jump’’: Hbr ṭpp.  
 HEC \*ṭop(p)- ‘‘jump’’: Had ṭopp-.  
 Omot \*ṭup(p)- ‘‘run away’’<sup>1</sup>, ‘‘jump’’<sup>2</sup>: Kaf ṭup-<sup>1</sup>, Mch ṭupṭi-<sup>2</sup>.

## 2483 \*ṭup- ‘‘clap, grasp, take’’

Sem \*ṭVp- ‘‘take, grasp’’<sup>1</sup>, ‘‘clap’’<sup>2</sup>, ‘‘give’’<sup>3</sup>, ‘‘stretch hand’’<sup>4</sup>:  
 Arab ṭff [-u-]<sup>1</sup>, Gur ṭf, ṭff<sup>2</sup>, Soq ṭef<sup>3</sup>, ṭayif<sup>4</sup>.  
 Berb \*ṭVf- ‘‘grasp, seize’’: Nfs əṭṭəf, Siwa əṭṭəf, Ghat əṭṭəf, Ahg əṭṭəf,  
 Zng yə-ḍəf, Rif əṭṭəf, Kby əṭṭəf.  
 HEC \*ṭep- ‘‘stretch hand’’: Sid ṭeep.  
 Secondary \*-e-?

## 2484 \*turaḥ- “throw, fall”

Sem \*tVraḥ- “throw”: Arab *trḥ* [-a-].

CCh \*turVH- “fall”: Ngw *tiri*, HF *turi*, HNk *təʁe*, HGh *təre*, FKl *təru*<sup>2</sup>, FG *təɾəyə*.

## 2485 \*tVn- “call, speak”

Sem \*tin- “buzz, tinkle”<sup>1</sup>, “call”<sup>2</sup>: Arab *ṭnn* [-i-]<sup>1</sup>, Gur *ṭāna*, *ṭānna*<sup>2</sup>.

WCh \*twan- “speak”: Grk *ke-ton*, Sha *ton*.

Irregular correspondence of vowels.

## 2486 \*tVr- “take away”

Sem \*<sup>3</sup>Vr- “take away”: Akk *eṭēru*.

Other laryngeals may be postulated in the anlaut.

The initial \*HV- appears to be a prefix.

Eg *dr* “take away” (pyr).

Eg *d* < HS \*t is regular.

## \*W

## 2487 \*wa- “burn, roast”

CCh \*wa- “roast”: Mwu *u-wo*.

Cf. reduplicated \*wa-wa- “fire, heat; burn” (Mofu *waw*, *awaw*, Mnd *wawa*).

ECh \*wa- “roast”<sup>1</sup>, “be hot”<sup>2</sup>: Smr *wa*<sup>1</sup>, Tum *woi*<sup>2</sup>.

Agaw \*wa- “burn, be hot”: Kwr *waa*.

2488 \*wa<sup>3</sup>-/\*way- “be glad”

Eg *iwɔ* “be glad, rejoice” (n).

Prefix *l-*. The meaning is not quite definite.

WCh \*way- “be glad”: Tng *way*.

Consonantal alternation \*-ʔ- ~ \*-y-.

2489 \*wa<sup>3</sup>-/\*way- “go, come”

Eg *wɔy* “come” (MK).

Vocalic -ɔ-.

WCh \*wa<sup>3</sup>- “return”<sup>1</sup>, “go (away)”<sup>2</sup>, “come”<sup>3</sup>: Ang *wē*<sup>1</sup>, Mnt *wa*<sup>2</sup>, Dera *wa*-<sup>3</sup>, Tng *wa*-<sup>3</sup>, Fyer *wu*<sup>2</sup>, Bks *wa*<sup>2</sup>.

CCh \*wa<sup>3</sup>i- “go”<sup>1</sup>, “come”<sup>2</sup>: Hwn *wi*, Mba *wo*<sup>2</sup>.

ECh \*wa<sup>3</sup>- “run”: Smr *wa*, Sbn *wa*.

Omot \*waH- “come”: Kaf *waa*, Anf *waa*, Bwo *waa*, Gim *wo*.

Consonantal alternation \*-ʔ- ~ \*-y-.

2490 \*wa<sup>3</sup>ar- “dance” (v.)

Eg *wɔr* “dance” (v.) (gr).

The meaning is not quite definite.

ECh \*waHar- “dance” (v.): Bid *waar*, Mig *waaro*.

2491 \*wa<sup>3</sup>aš- “be happy”

Eg *wɔš* “be happy” (a).

ECh \*waHaš- “be happy”: Kera *waale*.

2492 \*waçV<sup>c</sup>- “bird”

Sem \*waç<sup>c</sup>- “little bird”: Arab *waç<sup>c</sup>*.

Eg *wɔç<sup>c</sup>* “grey crane” (OK).

## 2493 \*waĉ- “man”

Eg *wɔš.t* “description of men” (pyr).

Vocalic -ɔ-.

WCh \*waĉ- “father-in-law”: Bks *was*, DB *waš*.

## 2494 \*waĉ-/ʔoĉ- “hen”

Eg *wɔš.t* “poultry” (MK).

Vocalic -ɔ-.

ECh \*<sup>3</sup>was- “hen”: Mkk <sup>3</sup>*osso*.

Consonantal alternation in the anlaut.

2495 \*wača<sup>č</sup> “stand up”

Sem \*wVšV<sup>č</sup> “climb, mount”: Arab wš<sup>č</sup>.

ECh \*wač- “stand up”: Mig wačaw, Sok wəsə.

## 2496 \*wad- “love, want”

Sem \*wad- “love, want”: Ug ydd, Hbr ydd, Arab wdd [-a-], Gz wdd.

CCh \*wad- “want”: Mofu -wuḏ-, Gis waḏ, wuḏ.

Secondary emphatic.

## 2497 \*wad- “cook, roast”

Eg wdd “be cooked” (med).

Partial reduplication.

WCh \*wad- “cook”: Grk uat, Krk waḏu, Dera wuri, Ngm woḏ-,

Gera waḏ-, Glm wary-.

Secondary emphatic.

LEC \*wad- “roast”: Or waada, Kon waat-, Arb wad-, waad-.

Wrz \*wat- “roast”: Gaw waat-.

## 2498 \*wadak- “fat, grease”

Sem \*wadak- “fat, grease”: Arab wadak-.

WCh \*duk- “fat, grease”: Pol duku.

From \*dVwV<sup>k</sup>-.

CCh \*dwak- < \*dVwak- “fatness”: Gbn ndoku-ri, Hwo ndəw-rara,

Glv ndəyu-ga, Zgh ndəya, Gava ndəya, Gaa daku-raba.

Metathesis in WCh and CCh.

## 2499 \*wagal- “fright, fear”

Sem \*wVgal- “be frightened”: Arab wgl [-a-].

ECh \*walVg- “fright, fear”: Kera walga.

Metathesis.

Cf. \*wagar- “be afraid” and \*wahal- “be afraid”.

## 2500 \*wagar- “be afraid”

Sem \*wVgar- “be afraid”: Hbr ygr, Arab wgr [-a-].

ECh \*ǵurVg- “fear”: Mkk ǵurg-.

Metathesis.

2501 \*wa<sup>č</sup>- “beast of prey”

Sem \*wa<sup>č</sup>-wa<sup>č</sup>- “jackal, fox”: Arab wa<sup>č</sup>wa<sup>č</sup>-.

Reduplication.

Eg w<sup>č</sup>.ty “lion” (gr).

2502 \*wa<sup>č</sup>ab-/ \*ya<sup>č</sup>ab- “wash”

Eg w<sup>č</sup>b “wash” (pyr), Copt \*wop id.: Shd ouop.

CCh \*yaHab- “wash”: Kus ubau, HNK yəḅu-, Kap yaḅu-, FGI ʔyeḅa-,

HGH yaḅa-, Bch yəḅwə.

Consonantal alternation \*w- ~ \*y- in the anlaut.

2503 \*wa<sup>č</sup>an- “conifer”

Eg w<sup>č</sup>n “conifer” (XVIII).

CCh \*waHan- “wood, firewood”: Log wahan, Gul wān.

2504 \*wa<sup>č</sup>ar- “go, run”

Sem \*wV<sup>č</sup>Vr- “walk, go”: Akk āru, wāru.

Eg w<sup>č</sup>r “run away” (MK).

CCh \*wVraw- < \*wVraH- “return”: Zgh wrawa.

Metathesis.

HEC \*waHar- “come”: Had waar-.

Etymologically connected with \*wa<sup>č</sup>Vr- “leg”.

2505 \*wa<sup>č</sup>ül- “antelope”

Sem \*wa<sup>č</sup>il- “antelope”<sup>1</sup>, “ibex”<sup>2</sup>: Ug y<sup>č</sup>l<sup>1</sup>, Hbr yā<sup>č</sup>ēl<sup>1</sup>, Aram yā<sup>č</sup>lā<sup>1</sup>, Arab wa<sup>č</sup>il-, wa<sup>č</sup>ul-<sup>2</sup>, SAr w<sup>č</sup>l<sup>1</sup>, Gz wə<sup>č</sup>la<sup>1</sup>, Mhr wēl<sup>1</sup>, Hss wāl<sup>1</sup>.

WCh \*wul- < \*wV<sup>č</sup>ul- “antelope”: Geji wulli, ulli.

ECh \*wayil- < \*wa<sup>č</sup>il- “antelope”: Lele ol, Kbl yilə.

LEC \*ǵaw(V)l- “gazelle”: Som ǵawl-kii.

Metathesis.

2506 \*wa<sup>C</sup>Vr- “leg”

Eg *w<sup>C</sup>r.t* “leg” (MK).

WCh \**war-* < \**waHVR-* “leg”: Ank *warr*.

CCh \**wVr-* “leg”: Msg *werē*.

Cf. Sem \**warr-* “hip-bone” (Arab *warr-*)?

## 2507 \*wahig-/ \*yahig- “burn”

Sem \**wVhig-/ \*yVhig-* “burn and shine (of fire)”: Arab *whg, yhg* [-i-].

ECh \**Hig-* < \**wVHig-* “burn”: Mig *’iggo*, Bid *’egey*.

Rift \**yog-* “fire”: Asa *yogo*.

Note initial \**y-*.

Consonantal alternation \**w-* ~ \**y-*.

## 2508 \*wahal- “be afraid”

Sem \**wVhal-* “be afraid”: Arab *whl* [-a-].

WCh \**wawal-* < \**waHal-* “be afraid”: Paa *wowal*.

ECh \**yah-* “be afraid”: Sok *yele*.

## 2509 \*wah- “break”

Eg *wh<sup>3</sup>* “break stones” (OK).

Vocalic -*3*.

CCh \**wa[x]-* “break”: Gis *wah*.

Cf. Mofu -*uh-* id.

## 2510 \*wah- “die; death”

Eg *wh<sup>3</sup>* “deadly illness” (med).

Deverbative. -*3* stand for the root vowel \**a*.

WCh \**wah-* “perish”: DB *wah*.

CCh \**waH-/ \*way-* “death”: Gude *wa*, Nza *wo*, Bch *wey*.

## 2511 \*wah- “put”

Eg *w<sup>3</sup>h* “put” (pyr), Copt \**wōh*: Fym *ouōh*, Akh *ouōh*, Boh *ouoh*, Shd *ouōh*.

WCh \**wuH-* “put”: Dera *wui*.

Secondary \**u*.

ECh \**waH-* “lay down”: Jegu *’oo*.

2512 \*wahi<sup>C</sup>- “fish, catch”

Eg *wh<sup>C</sup>* “fish” (v.) (n).

WCh \**waHi-* “fish, catch” (v.): Tng *oi*.

2513 \*wah<sup>V</sup>- “loosen, uncover”

Eg *wh<sup>C</sup>* “loosen” (pyr).

WCh \**waH-* “loosen, uncover, open”: Sura *wōw*, Ank *wau*.

## 2514 \*wah- “want”

Sem \**wVhVy-* “tend, plan, suggest”: Arab *wh<sup>y</sup>* [-i-].

Eg *wh<sup>3</sup>* “want, look for” (MK), Copt \**wōhe*: Fym *ouōš*, Akh *ouōhe*,

Boh *ouōš*, Shd *ouōš*.

CCh \**way-* < \**waH-* “want, look for”: Mnd *waya*, Zime *wa*.

ECh \**wVH-* “look for”: Mkk *wi<sup>2</sup>e*.

## 2515 \*wah- “be dark, be black”

Eg *wh<sup>3</sup>*, *wh<sup>3</sup>* “dark” (MK).

Vocalic -*3*.

WCh \**wuH-* < \**waHu-* “black”: Grk *wuu*.

## 2516 \*wakib- “go”

Sem \**wVkVb-* “go slowly”<sup>1</sup>, “enter”<sup>2</sup>: Arab *wkb* [-i-], Hss *wekōb*<sup>2</sup>, Mhr *wekōb*<sup>2</sup>, Shh *ekob*<sup>2</sup>.

WCh \**kwab-* < \**kawVb-* “come, pass by”: Mnt *kop*, Bol *koḥ-*, Tng *koobe*.

Metathesis. Secondary emphatic in Bol.

Derived from \**kab-* “go, follow”.

## 2517 \*waḱ- “be afraid”

Sem \**wVḱVy-* “be afraid”: Ug *wqy*, Arab (VIII) *wqy*.

Based on \*wVḱ-.

WCh \*waḱ- ‘frighten’: Sura *wuk*, Ang *wok*.

### 2518 \*waḱa- ‘fall’

Sem \*wVḱa- ‘fall’: Arab *wq* [-a-].

WCh \*wuk- ‘fall’: Dera *wukot*, Tng *wuge*, *uk*.

Secondary \*-u-?

CCh \*wak- ‘fall’: Mofu *wak*.

Cf. Kus *akai* id. < \*wakaH-?

### 2519 \*wal- ‘lamentation; weep’

Sem \*wal-wāl- ‘lamentations’: Arab *walwāl-at*.

Reduplication.

WCh \*wal-/\*wil- ‘cry, sob’: Ang *wāl*, Chip *wil*.

ECh \*wal- ‘funeral song’: Sok *olu*.

### 2520 \*walad- ‘boy, child’

Sem \*walad- ‘boy, child’: Akk *ildu*, Ug *yld*, Hbr *yeled*, Arab *walad*-, Gz *wald*.

Cf. Akk *līdu* id.

LEC \*wadal- ‘brother’<sup>1</sup>, ‘young man’<sup>2</sup>: Rnd *walal*<sup>1</sup>, Bay *wadala*<sup>2</sup>.

Metathesis. Assimilation of consonants in Rnd.

Derived from \*wiled- ‘give birth’.

### 2521 \*wala- ‘love’ (v.)

Sem \*wVla- ‘be infatuated’: Arab *wl* [-a-].

WCh \*waHal- ‘love’: Sura *wal*, Mpn *wāl*.

Metathesis.

### 2522 \*walem- ‘right (side)’

Eg *wnmy* ‘to the right’ (pyr), Copt \*winam: Fym *iōnam*, Boh *ouinam*, Shd *ounam*.

Vocalic -y.

ECh \*walyam- ‘right’ (adj.): Kbl *uolema*.

Cf. Smr *oama* id. < \*olama?

### 2523 \*wama- ‘swear, call’

Sem \*wVma- ‘swear, make a sign’: Akk *wamā<sup>3</sup>u*, Aram *imō*, Arab *wm*<sup>3</sup> [-a-].

LEC \*waHam- ‘call, invite’: Or *waama*.

Metathesis.

### 2524 \*wan- ‘open’

Eg *wn* ‘open’ (pyr).

WCh \*wan-H- ‘open’: Sura *waḡ*, Mpn *waḡ*, Fyer *waḡ*.

Note a laryngeal suffix.

ECh \*wVn- ‘open’: Mubi *wen*.

### 2525 \*wan- ‘light’ (n.)

Eg *wny* ‘light’ (gr), Copt \*wōyini: Boh *ouōini*, Shd *ouoein*.  
Suffix -y.

WCh \*wun- ‘day’: Hs *wuni*, Ngz *wəni*.

Secondary \*-u-?

CCh \*wan- ‘day’: Daba *wan*, Mus *waḡ*.

Secondary laryngeal in Mus.

### 2526 \*war- ‘throw’

Sem \*wur- ‘throw’: Ug *yry*, Hbr *yry*, Arab *wrr* [-u-], Gz *wrw*.  
Secondary vocalism after a labial.

ECh \*war- ‘throw, cast’: Kbl *wəri*, *wəri*, Dng *ore*.

Agaw \*wa-wVr- ‘throw’: Aun *wowər-əḡ*.

Partial reduplication.

### 2527 \*war- ‘bull, cow’

Eg *wr*- ‘kind of cattle’ (OK), *wr.t* ‘sacred cow’ (MK).

WCh \*warar- ‘vicious bull’: Hs *wārārī*.

Partial reduplication.

## 2528 \*war- “burn; flame”

Sem \*wVrVy- “be lit up (of fire)”: Arab *wry*.

Based on \*wVr-.

Eg *wr.t* “definition of the flame” (gr).

Cf. Eg *wṣwṣ.t* “fire” (XVIII).

CCh \*war- “roast”: Zime *wor*.

## 2529 \*war-/ʷur- “be big, be strong”

Sem \*wVrVy- “be fat”: Arab *wry*.

Based on biconsonantal \*wVr-.

Eg *wr* “big; strength” (pyr).

WCh \*war- “strength”<sup>1</sup>, “surpass”<sup>2</sup>: Ank *warr*<sup>1</sup>, Glm *war*-<sup>2</sup>,  
Gera *wur*-<sup>2</sup>.

Cf. Ang *war-ŋ* “big”.

Rift ʷur- “big, large”: Irq *ur*.

Consonantal alternation ʷ- ~ \*w-.

## 2530 \*was- “cut”

Eg *wṣy* “saw (wood)” (OK).

Suffix -y.

WCh \*was- “cut”: Bol *wasš*-.

2531 \*wasa<sup>c</sup>- “be big”

Sem \*wVsa<sup>c</sup>- “be spacious, big”: Arab *ws<sup>c</sup>*, *ys<sup>c</sup>* [-a-].

WCh \*was- “swell”: Paa *wasu*.

ECh \*waHas- “swell, become bigger”: Mig *waase*, Bid *waas*.

Metathesis.

## 2532 \*wat- “roll up”

Eg *wt*, *wyt* “roll up” (pyr).

WCh \*wat- “unfold”: Sura *wat*.

## 2533 \*wat- “walk”

Eg *swtwt* “walk” (XVIII).

Reduplication with causative s-.

WCh \*wat- “come”: Pero *wat*, Tng *walo*, Say *wət*.

## 2534 \*wat- “call, speak”

WCh \*wat- “call”: Pero *wat*.

CCh \*wat- “call”: Tera *wat*.

Omot \*wat-/\*yat- “say, speak”: Ome *ot*, *yot*, *iwet*-, Yam *it*-, Gim  
*ayt*-.

## 2535 \*way- “say”

CCh \*way- “answer”: HF *wε*, Kap *wey*, FJ *wəy*.

ECh \*way- “say”: Smr *way*-.

Omot \*way- “say”: Sezo *wε*.

## 2536 \*way- “be far”

Eg *wṣy* “be far away” (pyr), Copt \*wey: Fym *ouēi*, Akh *oue*, Boh  
*ouei*.

WCh \*yi-way- “far”: Wrj *yiwei*.

Prefix \*yi-.

## 2537 \*wayal- “decline, forget”

Eg *wyn* “decline” (MK), *wyṣ* (NK).

Note \*-l- > -n and, later, -ṣ.

ECh \*wayal- “forget”: Mubi *wayal*, *wayil*.

LEC \*walal- “not know”: Or *waPaala*.

Assimilated from \*wayal-?

## 2538 \*wažam- “intestines”

Sem \*wadām- “belly with intestines”: Arab *wadām-at*-.

Eg *wzmmw* “unidentified body-part” (pyr).

Anomalous z < \*ž.

Related or identical to \*wažan-/wažin- “heart, intestines”.



## 2539 \*wažan-/\*wažin- “heart, intestines”

Berb \*wažan- “intestines”: Sus *wadan*.

CCh \*wyaŋži- < \*wažin- “intestines”: Daba *wenži*.

Metathesis.

Agaw \*wažan- “belly, heart”: Bil *wōdān*.

SA \*wažan- “belly”: Saho *wāzano*, *wadano*, Afar *wadanaa*.

LEC \*wažin- “heart”: Som *wadna*, Gel *wōdimi*.

HEC \*wažan- “heart”: Sid *wadana*, *wodana*, Had *wodano*, Ala *wozana*, Bmb *wōdēna*, Kmb *wozāna*, Tmb *wazano*.

Omot \*wažen- “heart”: Ome *wazena*.

Cf. WCh \*hažin- < \*ha-[wa]žin- “intestines” (Hs *hanži*, Krk *azi*, Bol *azin*, Ngm *hazī*, Krf *ažžo*, Gln *aši*, Gera *haza*, Sha *ʔaʔži*) and Dhl *ʔdzone* “spleen”, the latter, probably, reflecting a metathesis of \*wažan- > \*žawan-.

## 2540 \*wiled- “give birth”

Sem \*wVlVd- “give birth”: Akk *walādu*, *alādu*, Ug *yld*, Hbr *yld*, Aram (Syr) *ʔīled*, Arab *wld* [-i-], Gz *wld*.

ECh \*yīdyal- < \*wīdyal- “give birth”: Smr *yidele*.

Metathesis.

## 2541 \*wisan- “sleep”

Sem \*wVsan- “sleep”: Hbr *yšn*, Arab *wsn* [-a-].

CCh \*wisan-H- “sleep”: Log *wisan*, Msg *huisse*.

Suffix \*-H-. Log may be an Arab loanword.

## 2542 \*wi- “tree”

Eg *lwy* “kind of tree” (gr).

CCh \*wi- “bush”: Nza *wiye*.

ECh \*wuy- < \*wi- “acacia”: Sok *wui*.

## 2543 \*wuč- “urine”

Eg *wzš.t*, *wšš.t* “urine” (pyr).

-zš and -šš are graphic symbols for the Eg reflex of \*-č-.

ECh \*wuč- “urine”: Smr *ʔužo*, Ngam *wūžo*, Tum *wuž*, Mobu *uže*, Ndam *wužo*.

## 2544 \*wug- “move quickly”

Sem \*wug- “be fast, be quick”: Arab *wgg* [-u-].

ECh \*wug- “run”: Ndam *wuga*.

## 2545 \*wul- “rope”

Eg *wn.t* “rope” (pyr).

WCh \*wul- “rope”: Gln *wula*, Gera *wula*.

## 2546 \*wuleh- “be green”

Eg *wly* “be green” (pyr).

WCh \*wVl- “green”: Dera *wəli-wəli*.

Reduplication.

CCh \*wulyaH- “green”: Boka *wexa*, Hwo *wuley-ən*.

Contraction in Boka.

## 2547 \*wulig- “enter, pass”

Sem \*wVlig- “enter”: Arab *wlg* [-i-].

WCh \*wulVg- “pass by”: Hs *wulga*.

## 2548 \*wur- “pit, hole”

Sem \*warr- “pit”: Arab *warr-at*.

\*u > a after a labial.

WCh \*wur- “pit, furrow”: Ngz *wuriya*.

Cf. Tng *wure* “dig (a hole)”.

CCh \*wur- “hole”: HNk *wure*.

## 2549 \*wur- “water”

Eg *wrw* “pond” (pyr).

WCh \*wur- “stream” <sup>1</sup>, “lake” <sup>2</sup>: Hs *wuriya* <sup>1</sup>, Miya *wər* <sup>2</sup>.

Contraction.

## 2550 \*wurVm- “roof”

Eg *wrm* “pavilion” (pyr), “roof” (n).

WCh \*wurVm- “cover, thatch”: Tng *wurme*.

Denominative verb?

## 2551 \*wül- “vessel”

Eg *wnw* “beer-mug” (gr).

CCh \**wul*- “bowl, calabash”: Msg *ulai*, Mnj *wula*.

LEC \**wil*- “gourd”: Or *willee*.

## 2552 \*wüç- “send, order”

Sem \**wVçVç*- “order” (v.): Arab *wşy*.

Based on \**wVç*-.

Eg *wđy* “send” (XVIII), *wđ* “order” (BD).

WCh \**wuç*- “send”: Tng *wude*.

## 2553 \*wüp- “open”

Eg *wpy* “open” (pyr).

Vocalic -y. Cf. *wp* “door” (OK).

WCh \**wup*- “open”: Dwot *wup*.

## 2554 \*wVçar- “be hostile”

Sem \**şūr*- “be hostile, persecute”: Hbr *şwr*.

Metathesis.

Berb \**wVçar*- “torture” (v.): Ayr *užar*, Twl *užar*.

Derived from \**çir*- id.

## 2555 \*wVgab- “cut, pierce”

Sem \**gūb*- “cut, pierce”: Arab *gwb* [-u-].

Metathesis.

WCh \**[w]Vgab*- “cut”: Ang *gap*, Chip *gəp*, Mnt *gap*, Ank *gup*, Bol *guw*, Tng *kab*-.

## 2556 \*wVgVm- “strike, grind”

Sem \**wVgVm*- “strike (with fist)”: Arab *wgm*.

Eg *wgm* “grind” (OK).

## 2557 \*wVgVr- “dig; cavern”

Sem \**wagr*- “cavern, hole”: Arab *wagr*-.

Apparently, a deverbative. Cf. *wigār*- id.

WCh \**wugVr*- “hollow out, groove”: Tng *wugre*.

## 2558 \*wVhup- “grass, flower”

Sem \**wVhip*- “be covered with leaves”: Arab *whf* [-i-].

Derived from a nominal stem.

WCh \**wVp*- “grass”: Wnd *wəp*.

ECh \**hVwuf*- “flower”: Kera *huufi*.

Metathesis.

## 2559 \*wVIVm- “eat; food”

Sem \**wVIVm*- “give a meal, feed”<sup>1</sup>, “prepare a meal”<sup>2</sup>: Arab *wlm*<sup>1</sup>, Hss *awlōm*<sup>2</sup>, Mhr *awōlem*<sup>2</sup>, Shh *ulm*<sup>2</sup>.

Eg *wnm* “eat” (pyr).

ECh \**wVIVm*- “food”: Kbl *wəlmə*.

Derived from \**lam*-/\**lum*- “eat”.

## 2560 \*wVriḵ- “be green”

Sem \**wVriḵ*- “be greenish”: Akk *warāqu*, *arāqu*, Hbr *yraq*, Arab *wrq* [-i-].

Eg *wṣḏ* “green color” (BD).

Palatalization of \**k* > *ḏ*.

## 2561 \*wVšVm- “slaughter” (v.)

Sem \**wVšVm*-/\**yVšVm*- “tattoo” (v.): Arab *wšm*, *yšm*.

Eg *wšm* “slaughter” (v.) (gr).

## 2562 \*wVṭen- “dwell, stay”

Sem \**wVṭin*- “dwell, stay”: Arab *wṭn* [-i-].

WCh \**ṭyan*- “sit”: Tala *ten*.

Loss of initial \**wV*-.

\**wV*- may be a prefix.

## 2563 \*wVtVf- ‘rain, pour’

Sem \*wVtVp- ‘rain’ (v.): Arab *wtf*.

Berb \*wVtVf- ‘ritual ablution’: Ahg *ūdūf*.

Derived from \*tj- ‘drop, rain’.

## \*y

## 2564 \*ya- ‘call, speak’

Eg *ly* ‘saying’ (BD).

WCh \*ya- ‘call’: Pero *yo*.

CCh \*ya- ‘call’: Gudu *ya*, Bnn *ya-mu*.

Cf. \*yiw- ‘ask’ (FKi *yiwa*-, HNk *yuwe*, Chb *yuwe*).

ECh \*ya(y)- ‘call’: Gbr *ye*.

Agaw \*yV- ‘say’: Xmr *yi*-, *y*-, Xmt *y*-, Kwr *y*-, Dmb *y*-, Kem *y*-.  
SA \*ya-/ \*yi- ‘say’: Saho *ya*-, *ii*-, Afar *ii*-, *iiy*-.  
LEC \*ya- ‘say’<sup>1</sup>, ‘shout’<sup>2</sup>: Som *ii*-<sup>1</sup>, Or *iyya*<sup>2</sup>, Gel *y*-<sup>1</sup>.  
HEC \*yV- ‘say’: Sid *i*-, *y*-, Had *yi*-, *y*-, Ala *i*-, *yii*-, Bmb *i*-, *y*-, Kmb *yi*-, *y*-.  
Omot \*yV- ‘say’: Ome *y*-, Kaf *y*-.

## 2565 \*ya²- ‘place, house’

Eg *ly.t* ‘place’ (pyr).

CCh \*yay- < \*yaH- ‘building’: Muk *yay*.

Cf. Gude *ya* ‘door’.

ECh \*ya²- ‘house’: Gbr *iā*, Kbl *ya*.

## 2566 \*ya²- ‘go, come, run’

Berb \*yaH- ‘come’: Izy *iya*, Kby *ayya* (imper.).

WCh \*ya²-/ \*yaw- ‘go’<sup>1</sup>, ‘run’<sup>2</sup>, ‘come’<sup>3</sup>: Grk *ya*<sup>1</sup>, Dera *ya*<sup>1</sup>,  
Krf *yow*-<sup>1</sup>, Bgh *yuway*<sup>2</sup>, DB *yo*<sup>1</sup>, Ngz *ya*<sup>3</sup>.

CCh \*ya²- ‘come’: Daba *ya*.

ECh \*ya²- ‘go’: Tum *ye*, Gbr *yə*, Tob *yə*.

LEC \*ya²- ‘run away’: Som *yaa²*-.

Cf. Or *yaa²a* ‘flow’.

Omot \*ya²- ‘come’<sup>1</sup>, ‘run away’<sup>2</sup>: Ome *ya*-<sup>1</sup>, Hozo *yēi*<sup>2</sup>, Sezo *yē*<sup>2</sup>.

## 2567 \*ya²-/ \*yaw- ‘water, river’

CCh \*yaw- ‘water’: Mnd *yewe*, Zgh *yiwē*, Glv *iywa*.

\*-i- is secondary. Cf. also a partial reduplication in Mafa *yayaw*- ‘water used for diluting beer’.

Rift \*ya²- ‘river’ (Irq *ya²e*).

Connected with \*yaw- ‘pour, flow’. Consonantal alternation \*-ɔ- ~ \*-w-.

## 2568 \*ya²-/ \*yaw- ‘foot, leg’

WCh \*yaw- ‘foot’: Dera *yo*, Tng *yo*.

Rift \*ya²- ‘foot, leg’: Irq *ya²e*, Alg *ya²e*, Bur *ya²e*, Kwz *ya²o*.

Connected with \*ya²-/ \*yaw- ‘go, come, run’. Consonantal alternation \*-ɔ- ~ \*-w-.

## 2569 \*yab-/ \*ib- ‘thirst’

WCh \*yab-/ \*yib- ‘thirst’: Bgh *yip*, Kir *yap*.

ECh \*ib-in- ‘thirst’: Jegu *ibin*-.

Derivative in \*-in-.

Bed *yawa* ‘thirst’, *yiwai* ‘thirst’.

Intervocalic \*-b- > -w-.

Consonantal alternation \*-ɔ- ~ \*y- in the anlaut.

## 2570 \*yabil- ‘bull, ram’

Sem \*yabil- ‘ram’: Hbr *yōbēl*.

Eg *ibɔ.w* ‘ovis tragelaphus’ (OK).

-ɔ < HS \*-l-.

CCh \*bVl- ‘kind of ram’: Mafa *bəlaw*.

ECh \*bilVj- ‘buffalo’: Mkk *bilyo*.

Metathesis.

## 2571 \*yaĉ-/wa-yaĉ- “dog”

Eg *iš* pl. “dogs pulling the ship of the Sun-god” (n).

Bed *yaas* “dog”.

HEC \*wis- “dog”: Had *wiša*.

Contraction from \*wV<sub>y</sub>Vs-.

Omot \*wayVs- “dogs”: Ome *wayše*.

A derivative from this root is found in Berb \*wVs[i]n “jackal”:  
Ghd *wēššin*, Sml *uššen*, Nfs *uššen*, Qbl *uššen*. Note prefix \*wa- in  
HEC and Omot.

## 2572 \*yad- “bird”

Eg *idw* “kind of bird” (med).

Suffix -w.

WCh \*yadi- “bird”: Grk *yad*, Dera *yidəyo*, Tng *ʔidi*, Maha *widi*,  
Fyer *yadu*, Klr *yidi*.

2573 \*yada<sup>c</sup>- “know, think”

Sem \*wVdV<sup>c</sup>- “know”: Akk *edû*, Ug *yd<sup>c</sup>*, Hbr *yd<sup>c</sup>*, Aram *yd<sup>c</sup>*, Hss  
*ṣōda*, Mhr *wēda*, Shh *eda<sup>c</sup>*, Soq *eda<sup>c</sup>*.

Eg *id<sup>c</sup>* “clever” (n).

Borrowed from Sem?

LEC \*yaHad- “think”: Or *yaada*.

## 2574 \*yal- “stick, branch”

Eg *l̥̥̥.t* “branch, scepter” (MK).

WCh \*yal- “stick”: Tng *ala*, Bks *yal*.

## 2575 \*yam- “water, sea”

Sem \*yamm- “sea”: Hbr *yām*, Ug *ym*, Arab *yamm*-.

CCh \*yami- “water”: Gbn *yeme*, Chb *yimi*, HNk *yemi*, FKl *yamu*,  
FG *yimu*, Gis *ʔiyam*, Daba *yim*, Msg *yem*, Bld *yam*, Mofu *yam*.

Eg *ym* “sea” (XVIII) is a Sem loanword.

## 2576 \*yam- “day”

Sem \*yawm- “day”: Akk *ūmu*, Ug *ym*, Hbr *yōm*, Aram (Syr) *yawmō*,  
Arab *yawm*-, Soq *yom*.

Cf. Jib *yum* “sun, light”, Gz *yom* “today”. Based on biconsonantal \*yam-?

ECh \*yam- “day”: Jegu *yom*.

Note LEC \*yawan- “(this) time” (Or *yoowana*)?

2577 \*yama<sup>2</sup>- “wood, tree”

Eg *lm̥* “fruit-tree; wood” (pyr).

WCh \*yaHam- “wood, firewood”: Ang *yōm*, Sura *yoyom*.

## 2578 \*yamin- “right (side)”

Sem \*yamin- “right (hand)”: Akk *imnu*, Ug *ymn*, Hbr *yāmīn*, Aram  
(Syr) *yāmināy*, Arab *yamīn*-, Gz *yammān*.

Berb \*(y)VmVn- “direct”: Izy *mni*, *imna*.

Eg *lmn* “right (side)” (pyr).

## 2579 \*yar- “fire; burn”

Eg *ir.t* “flame” (gr).

The meaning is not quite definite.

WCh \*yar- “burn”: Bgh *yar*.

CCh \*yVr- “heat”: Bud *yir-ow*.

ECh \*yar- “burn”: Dng *yere*.

2580 \*yar-/yarah<sup>2</sup>- “cereal”

Sem \*yarah<sup>2</sup>- “kind of barley”: Akk *yarah<sup>2</sup>hu*.

Eg *iry.t* “corn (as donation)” (XVIII).

ECh \*yar- “corn”: Sok *yere*.

2581 \*yara<sup>2</sup>-/\*yaraw- “reed”

Sem \*yara<sup>2</sup>- “reed not used for writing”: Arab *yara<sup>2</sup>*-.

Eg *l̥̥̥rw* “reed, rush” (pyr), *l̥̥̥r* “kind of plant” (med).

WCh \*yVraw- “reed”: Tng *yiro*.

Consonantal alternation \*-ɔ- ~ \*-w-.

### 2582 \*yasar- ‘straight’

Sem \**yašār*- ‘straight’: Akk *išaru*, Hbr *yāšār*, Aram *yašrā*.

Cf. also Arab *yasar*- ‘easy, tractable’.

LEC \**sir*- < \**sVyVr*- ‘straight’: Or *sirri*.

Metathesis.

HEC \**sayar*- ‘straight’: Sid *sēra*.

### 2583 \*yatin- ‘day, sun’

Eg *itn* ‘sun’ (MK).

ECh \**yatin-H*- ‘day’: Jegu *yetiq*, <sup>2</sup>*etiq*.

### 2584 \*yaw- ‘pour, flow’

Eg *iwy* ‘pour out’ (MK).

WCh \**yaw*- ‘leak, drip’: Ngz *yau*.

### 2585 \*yawan-/yawin- ‘silt, clay’

Sem \**yawīn*- ‘silt, dirt’: Hbr *yāwēn*.

WCh \**wan*- < \**yawan*- ‘clay’: Ang *uan*, *wan*, Ank *uan*, Sura *wan*.

### 2586 \*yawin- ‘water’

Eg *itwny* ‘waters’ (gr).

Vocalic -y.

CCh \**yawin*- ‘water’: Bnn *yowino*.

Derived from \**ya<sup>2</sup>*-/\**yaw*- ‘water, river’.

### 2587 \*yawir- ‘neck, throat’

Eg *itwɔy.t* ‘throat’ (gr).

WCh \**ha-yawir*- ‘neck, throat’: Grk *arreu*, Dera *wura*, Wrj *yyir-na*,

Kry *rwir*, *wir*, Mbu *rwiro*, *wiro*, Miya *wir*, Cagu *wire*, Siri *yiri*,

Brm *wiyer*, Dwot *ɣar*, Say *ɣər*, Pol *yuar*, Klr *wir*.

Prefix \**ha*-.

CCh \**wur*- ‘neck’: FG *wuri*, FMch *wura*, FBw *uura*, Gude *wuro*, FK *wura*.

Secondary \*-u-.

ECh \**wVr*- ‘neck’: Jegu *were*.

### 2588 \*yayVh- ‘grass, plant’

Eg *iyh* ‘water plant’ (XVIII).

WCh \**yay*- < \**yayVH*- ‘grass’: Hs *yāyē*.

### 2589 \*yi<sup>2</sup>- ‘back’

Eg *iɔ.t* ‘back’ (OK).

CCh \**ya<sup>2</sup>*-/\**yi<sup>2</sup>*- ‘back’: Mrg *yi*, Log *ya-hə*, Mnd *yi-ga*.

Agaw \**yiw*- ‘small of the back, waist’: Kwr *yewi*.

### 2590 \*yi<sup>2</sup>-/\*yiw- ‘house’

Eg *iwy.t* ‘house, town block’ (MK).

WCh \**yi<sup>2</sup>*- ‘place’: Kry *iyu*, Cagu *yī*, Mbu *yī*.

Consonantal alternation \*-ɔ- ~ \*-w-.

### 2591 \*yil- ‘earth, field’

Eg *lyr* ‘field’ (I).

WCh \**yila*- ‘earth’: Sura *yil*, Ang *yil*, Mnt *ka-iil*, Ank *yil*, Grk *ril*,

Krk *yali*, Tng *yelli*, Pero *illiy*, Ngm *eli*, Glm *yil*, Grn *yil*.

### 2592 \*yipa<sup>c</sup>- ‘shine’

Sem \**yVpV<sup>c</sup>*- ‘shine’: Hbr *yṣ<sup>c</sup>*.

CCh \**pay*- < \**paH*- ‘dawn’<sup>1</sup>, ‘sun’<sup>2</sup>: Daba *pay*<sup>1</sup>, Gid *pāya*<sup>2</sup>.

LEC \**[y]if*- ‘shine’: Or *ifa*.

### 2593 \*yubil- ‘flow’

Sem \**wVbil*- ‘rain abundantly (of the sky)’: Arab *wbl* [-i-].

WCh \**yubVl*- ‘dip, dive’: Yng *yuble*.

Related to \**bol*- ‘flow, be wet’.

## 2594 \*yubVs- “be dry”

Sem \*yVbVš- “be dry”: Hbr *ybs̄*, Arab *ybs*, SAr *ybs*, Gz *ybs*.

WCh \*bu/y/Vs- “dry up”: Hs *būše*.

Metathesis.

## 2595 \*yuw- “cow, bull”

Eg *iw* “bull” (pyr).

Bed *yuwe* “cow”.

## \*3

## 2596 \*3a- “man”

Eg *z* “man” (OK).

WCh \*3a-f/\*3i-f- “man”: Cagu *zafu*, *žufu*, Wrj *žifa*.

Suffix -f-. Other forms have an additional prefix: Diri *nžovu*, Paa *nžuu*.

CCh \*3a-/\*3u- “man”: Kap *za*, HNk *za*, HF *zu*, HBt *zu*.

ECh \*nV-3a(w)- < \*nV-3a(w) “man”: Jegu *ža*, Mubi *nžō*, Brg *ža*.

\*-ž- < \*-3- in contact with the prefix. In Jegu and Brg the initial sonant is lost.

Some of the forms are contaminated with \*3a-/\*3i- “body, meat”.

## 2597 \*3a-/\*3i- “body, meat”

Eg *d.t* “body” (pyr).

*d-* < \*3- before a front vowel?

WCh \*3i-/\*3u- “body”: Bol *zuwo*, Krk *zu*, Krf *ži*, Gera *zuwi*, Glm *ži*, Grm *žii*.

CCh \*3a- “body”: Bura *3a*, Chb *3a*, Ngw *3a*, Klb *3a*, Hld *3aw*, Wmd *ižaw*, Mrg *u3u*, Mrg *wu3u*.

ECh \*3i- “body”: Dng *zi-r*, Mig *zi*, Jegu *zii-to*, Mubi *jo-c*, Bid *zii-te*, Brg *zi*.

Agaw \*3iy- “body, meat”: Xmr *ziyaa*, Xmt *siya*, Kwr *zeyaa*, Dmb *zeyaa*, Kem *siyaa*.

Contaminated with \*3a- “man”. Alternation \*a ~ \*i.

## 2598 \*3a²-/\*3aw- “go, come”

Eg *z3w* “go slowly, crawl” (OK).

WCh \*3a²- “come” ¹, “enter” ²: Hs *zō* ¹, Wrj *zau* ², Kry *zau* ²,

Paa *za* ², Mbu *za-* ², Jmb *za-* ².

CCh \*3aw-/\*3ay- “walk” ¹, “enter” ²: Log *zuwa* ¹, LPe *ze* ².

ECh \*nV-3aw- < \*nV-3aw- “go”: Jegu *žawo*, Mubi *nžaa*, *nžau*.

\*-ž- < \*-3- in contact with the prefix.

Consonantal alternation \*-3- ~ \*-w-.

## 2599 \*3a²- “son”

Eg *z3* “son” (pyr).

CCh \*3a²-/\*3ay- “son”: FG *ža*, Gis *za*, Gude *nzu*, Gudu *nži*, Nza *nzəy*, Bch *nze*.

## 2600 \*3a²ar- “plant”

Eg *z3r.t* “garden plant” (sarc).

WCh \*mu-3aHar- “grass”: Bks *muzaar*.

Prefix \*mu-.

ECh \*3a-3VHVr- “flower”: Bid ³<sub>o</sub>zooro.

Prefix \*3a-.

## 2601 \*3ab- “insect”

Eg *zb.t* “kind of insect, parasite” (MK).

Cf. *ddb.t* “scorpion” (l).

CCh \*3ab- “termite”: Tera *zaḅa*.

Secondary emphatic.

## 2602 \*3ab- “hair, wool”

Sem \*zabab- “wool, down, thick hair”: Arab *zabab-*.

Partial reduplication.

Berb \*3Vb- “hair, wool”: Zng *a²-zbi*.

Eg *zb.t* “hairlock” (RGr).

LEC \*3ab- “hair”: Or *daabee*, *debb-esa*.

## 2603 \*3agül- “monkey”

ECh \*3ugul- “monkey”: Brg *zuguli*.

Assimilation of vowels from \*3agül-.

Agaw \*3agill- “monkey”: Bil *žaggira*, Xmt *ziägeraa*, Kwr *žägiraa*,  
Kem *žegëraa*, Aun *zagree*, Dmt *zagree*.

## 2604 \*3a‘ab-/3a‘ib- “cut; axe”

Sem \*3V<sup>a</sup>ab- “cut, chop”: Arab *z‘ab* [-a-].WCh \*3aHib- “axe”: Hs *zāḥī*, Pero *žibi*.

## 2605 \*3aḥaf- “drag oneself, crawl”

Sem \*3V<sup>h</sup>Vp- “drag oneself, creep, crawl”: Arab *zhf*, Hss *zehāf*,  
Mhr *zehāf*, Shh *zhaf*.LEC \*3aHaf- “drag oneself, crawl”: Kon *taaf*-, Glb *zaaf*-.

## 2606 \*3ak-/3ik- “go, come”

Sem \*3ik- “march (in small steps)”: Arab *zkk* [-i-].WCh \*3Vk- “come”: Tum *žek*.

Alternation \*a ~ \*i.

## 2607 \*3am- “think, remember”

Sem \*3Vm- “think”: Hbr *zmm*.WCh \*3um- < \*3amu- “remember”: Pol *zum*.CCh \*3am- “think”: Glv *dzam*.

## 2608 \*3amVn- “dwell, stay”

Eg *zmn* “stay, dwell” (pyr).WCh \*3amVn- “stay”: Hs *zamna*, *zauna*.An original root may be represented in Dhl *jem*- “stay in a place”.

## 2609 \*3an- “pour, flow”

Sem \*3Vn- “rain” (v.): Akk *zanānu*.WCh \*3an- “pour out”: Diri *zan*.ECh \*3yan- “flow, ooze”: Bid *zenyzeny*.

Reduplication.

## 2610 \*3arik-/3aruk- “throw, push”

Sem \*3VrVk- “throw”<sup>1</sup>, “dart” (v.)<sup>2</sup>: Hbr *zrq*<sup>1</sup>, Aram *zrq*<sup>1</sup>,  
Arab *zrq*<sup>1</sup>, Hss *zerōq*<sup>2</sup>, Mhr *zerōq*<sup>2</sup>, Shh *zoroq*<sup>2</sup>.SA \*3Vrig- “stir”: Saho *-izrig*-, *-idrig*-.LEC \*3arug-/3aruk- “shift, push”: Som *durk*-, *durug*-, Arb *zarug*-,  
Arb *zurg*-, *zurug*-.

\*-g-/\*-k- in SA and LEC seem to continue emphatic \*-k-.

## 2611 \*3aw- “stick”

Eg *zʷw* “twig” (BD).WCh \*3aw- “stick”: Ngz *zawa*.CCh \*3aw- “stick”: Log *zawa*.Cf. Chb *zuwa*, Mrg *əzuwa* that may also go back to \*3uwal-.

## 2612 \*3aw-/3ay- “rope”

Eg *lzy* “rope” (NK).WCh \*3aw-/3ay- “rope”: Miya *žowu*, Ngz *zayi*, Bade *zayi*.CCh \*3aw-/3aʷu- “rope”: Tera *zo*, HGh *zuwi*, HB *zuwo*, Kap  
*zuwe*, Mnd *zāwa*, Gude *zuʷwa*, Nza *zoʷo*, FMch *zuʷu*, Lame *zeo*,  
Mafa *zaya*.ECh \*3a- “rope”: Tum *hā*, Ndam *ha*.

Consonantal alternation \*-w- ~ \*-y-.

## 2613 \*3aw-/3ay- “fly” (v.)

ECh \*3aw-/3ay- “fly” (v.): Kwn *sayi*, Tob *say*, Lele *se*, Bid *zew*,  
Mkk *zaawo*.Rift \*3Vʷ- “fly, jump”: Asa *jiʷ-it*-.Cf. Alg *coʷ-ot*- id. Rift \*3- may be a regular reflex of HS \*3-.

Consonantal alternation \*-w- ~ \*-y-.

## 2614 \*3aw-/3uw- “rain”

Eg *zwzw* “kind of pool” (pyr).

WCh \*3aw-/3a<sup>2</sup>- “water, rain”: Cagu *zāw*, Geji *ziye*, Say *ža*, Dwot *ža*.

Geji reflects \*3ay-/3iy-.

ECh \*3Vw- “rain” (v.): Tum *həw*.

Agaw \*3uw- “rain”: Bil *zuwaa*, Xmr *zoowaa*, Xmt *suwaa*, Kwr *suwaa*, Dmb *suwaa*, Kem *suwaa*.

From \*3aw-.

2615 \*3i<sup>2</sup>Vp- “cut”

Sem \*zV<sup>2</sup>Vp- “be cut off”: Arab *zʔ*.

Berb \*3Vf- “plane, shave”: Ayr *zaf-at*.

Eg *izp* “chop with axe” (OK).

Metathesis. Initial *i*- continues \*<sup>2</sup>- before a HS front vowel.

## 2616 \*3ib- “go, walk”

Eg *zby* “walk, pass” (pyr).

Infinitive in -y.

WCh \*3ib- “follow”: Diri *žibu*.

CCh \*3ib- “go out”<sup>1</sup>, “follow”<sup>2</sup>: WMrg *zuba*<sup>1</sup>, Mrg *ziḅu*<sup>2</sup>, Log *zbi*<sup>2</sup>.

Cf. ECh \*žwab- < \*žab- “follow”: Bid *žob*.

## 2617 \*3ib- “plaiting”

Berb \*3ib- “net (for hairdressing)”: Ghd *ta-zība*.

WCh \*3ib-/3ub- “basket”<sup>1</sup>, “mat”<sup>2</sup>: Hs *zūbā*<sup>1</sup>, Glm *žiba*<sup>2</sup>.

## 2618 \*3iban- “plaiting”

Sem \*zibn- “reed mat”: Akk *zibnu*.

Berb \*3Vban- “palm bast”: Ghd *a-zbān*.

Derived from \*3ib- id.

## 2619 \*3id- “increase”

Sem \*zayad- “increase”: Arab *zyd* [-i-], Hss *zōd*, Mhr *zeyōd*, Shh *zed*, Soq *zed*.

Based on the original \*zid-.

ECh \*3id- “increase”: Kbl *židə*, Dng *ziddiye*, Mok *ziid*- (< Arab?).

## 2620 \*3if- “goat, sheep”

Sem \*zīp- “sheep”: Akk *zīpu*.

CCh \*3if-/3uf- “he-goat”: HF *žifa*, Kap *žufa*.

## 2621 \*3ik- “shoulder”

ECh \*3ik- “arm, shoulder”: Ndam *žik-am*, Kwn *žigi-d*.

Agaw \*3ikk- “shoulder”<sup>1</sup>, “back”<sup>2</sup>: Bil *zeeg*, *zäg*<sup>1</sup>, Xmr *ziig*<sup>1</sup>, Xmt *siig*<sup>2</sup>.

Omot \*zikk- “back”: Ome *zikkoo*.

## 2622 \*3ik- “body, meat”

WCh \*3ik- “body”: Hs *žiki*, Sura *šik*, Ang *šeuk*, Grk *tək*, Dera *yik*,

Tng *ʔik*, Pero *šik*, Ngm *zugo*, Bele *hiko*, Bgh *šok*, Sha *šok*, Klr *zigy*.

ECh \*3i/k/- “body”: Tum *hig*, Ndam *hag*<sup>2</sup>, Mubi *již*.

Agaw \*žik- “meat”: Bil *zegaa*, (pl.) *zik*.

Derived from \*3a-/3i- id.

## 2623 \*3il- “go, come”

Sem \*zil- “walk fast”: Arab *zll* [-i-].

Berb \*zVl- “run”: Kby *azzəl*.

Eg *zny* “come” (MK).

CCh \*3ul- “follow”: HNk *zulu*.

## 2624 \*3imol- “darkness”

Eg *zməw* “darkness” (XVIII).

ECh \*zimwal- “darkness”: Mig *zimolo*.



## 2625 \*3in- ‘hide, leather’

WCh \*3in- ‘hide’: Bol *zino*.Cf. Siri *zənu* ‘skin’ (v.).Omot \*3en- ‘hide’: Gll *zeena*.

## 2626 \*3in- ‘blood’

Eg *znf* ‘blood’ (pyr).Suffix *-f*?WCh \*3in- ‘blood’: Hs *žinī*.2627 \*3ina<sup>3</sup>- ‘urine’Sem \*zVna<sup>3</sup>- ‘keep from urinating’: Arab *zn*<sup>3</sup> [-a-].

Denominative formation.

WCh \*kV-3in-H- ‘urine’: Sura *kə-ziŋ*, Ang *ngəzəŋ*, Chip *kəzəŋ*,Ank *kəsəŋ*.

Prefix \*kV-.

## 2628 \*3inb- ‘gourd vessel’

Eg *znb.t* ‘bottle’ (gr).WCh \*3imb- ‘gourd’: Glm *žimbu*.

Assimilation \*-nb- &gt; \*-mb-.

## 2629 \*3ir- ‘vessel’

Sem \*zīr- ‘big vessel’: Arab *zīr*-.Eg *idr.t* ‘kind of vessel’ (n).*ḏ*- < \*3- before a front vowel?CCh \*3ir- ‘pot’: Tera *žira*.

## 2630 \*3or- ‘bird’

Eg *zwrw.t* ‘kind of bird’ (MK).Suffix *-w*.WCh \*3ar- ‘crow’: Kry *zarazar*.

Reduplication.

CCh \*3war- ‘vulture’: Gis *zorozoro*.

Reduplication.

ECh \*3ar- ‘kind of bird’: Bid *zarzari*.

Reduplication.

Cf. Sem \*zur-zur-, \*zar-zir- ‘kind of bird’ and HS \*3uray(V)k- ‘raven’. Secondary \*-a- in WCh and ECh.

## 2631 \*3ub- ‘pour’

Sem \*zub- ‘fill (wine skin)’: Arab *zbb* [-u-].Cf. Sem \*zūb- ‘flow’: Akk *zābu*, Hbr *zwb*, Aram *zwb*, Arab *zwb*.WCh \*3ub- ‘pour’: Hs *zuba*.

## 2632 \*3um- ‘rob’

Sem \*zVm- ‘be robbed’: Akk *zummū*.*D* stirpes in Akk.CCh \*3um- ‘rob’: Log *zum*.

## 2633 \*3unaḥ- ‘smell, stink’

Sem \*zVnaḥ- ‘be rotten’: Arab *znḥ* [-a-].CCh \*3unaH- ‘smell’ (n.)<sup>1</sup>, ‘smell’ (v.)<sup>2</sup>: Kam *zuḡwi*<sup>1</sup>, FG *zunayi*<sup>1</sup>, Nza *zən*<sup>2</sup>, FM *zunu-ft*<sup>2</sup>.

## 2634 \*3ur- ‘ram’

Eg *zr* ‘ram’ (pyr).CCh \*3ur- ‘ram’: FKl *žūrā*.

## 2635 \*3uray(V)k- ‘raven’

Sem \*zurayk- ‘raven’: Arab *zurayq*-.WCh \*nV-3arak- ‘raven’: Krk *nzaraku*, Miya *žarakə*.Assimilation of vowels. Prefix *n*- in Krk.

Connected with \*3or- ‘bird’?

2636 \*3uwV<sup>c</sup>- ‘be afraid’Sem \*zū<sup>c</sup>- ‘tremble of fear’: Hbr *zw<sup>c</sup>*.

WCh \*3uw- ‘be afraid’: Bol zuw.

### 2637 \*3ük- ‘dig’

Sem \*<sup>c</sup>Vzi<sup>k</sup>- ‘dig’: Hbr <sup>c</sup>z<sup>k</sup>, Arab <sup>c</sup>z<sup>k</sup> [-i-].

Prefix \*<sup>c</sup>V-. Irregular \*<sup>c</sup>-<sup>k</sup>-.

Eg zk ‘dig (a pond)’ (pyr).

WCh \*3uk- ‘dig, scratch’: Bol zuk-, Tng suke.

### 2638 \*3Vb- ‘carry, bring’

Sem \*<sup>z</sup>VbV<sup>y</sup>- ‘carry (load)’: Arab zby [-i-].

Based on \*<sup>z</sup>Vb-.

Eg zby ‘bring’ (pyr).

CCh \*3Vb- ‘take, lift’: Gis zeb, zub, zob.

Secondary emphatic.

### 2639 \*3Vg- ‘marry, join’

Sem \*<sup>z</sup>üg- ‘marry, join’: Hbr zwg, Arab zwg.

Generally believed to be a Gk loanword.

Berb \*3Vg- ‘copulate’: Izy zeg.

### 2640 \*3Vrab- ‘flow’

Sem \*<sup>z</sup>Vrab- ‘flow’: Arab zrb [-a-].

Eg zrb ‘flow’ (pyr).

## \*3

### 2641 \*3a<sup>3</sup>ar- ‘insect’

Eg <sup>d</sup>3r.t ‘scorpion’ (OK).

WCh \*<sup>n</sup>V-3ar- ‘termite’: Sura n3ar.

Prefix \*<sup>n</sup>V-.

CCh \*3aray-/3ayar- < \*3aHar- ‘locust’: Gis 3aray, Msm d3ēr.

ECh \*3aHar- ‘locust’: Bid 3aariyo.

### 2642 \*3a<sup>3</sup>ar- ‘cook, boil’

Eg <sup>d</sup>3r ‘cook’ (gr).

CCh \*3ar- ‘boil’: Msm 3ar.

ECh \*<sup>3</sup>a3Vr- ‘boil’: Tum <sup>3</sup>a3ēr.

Metathesis.

### 2643 \*3a<sup>3</sup>ir- ‘feline, viverra’

WCh \*3ar- ‘lion’: Wrj 3ara-waš.

CCh \*3ar- ‘lion’: Bch 3ara.

LEC \*<sup>3</sup>a3ur- ‘viverra’: Or adurree.

Metathesis.

Wrz \*<sup>3</sup>atur- ‘wild cat’: Dob aturre, Gll aturre.

Metathesis.

Omot \*3aHer- ‘viverra’: Kaf yeeroo, 3äro.

Rift \*3e<sup>3</sup>ir- ‘viverra’: Alg 3e<sup>3</sup>ira, Bur 3i<sup>3</sup>erare.

An alternative reconstruction is \*<sup>3</sup>a3ir-.

### 2644 \*3ab- ‘breast’

WCh \*3ab- ‘breast’: Krk 3aba.

Bed daba, daaba ‘forehead, breast’.

Agaw \*3ab- ‘front’: Bil 3aab, Kwr 3aab, Dmb 3aab, Kem 3aab.

SA \*3abV<sup>c</sup>- ‘armpit’: Afar dab<sup>c</sup>e.

Secondary laryngeal.

Rift \*da<sup>3</sup>ab- ‘breast’: Irq da<sup>3</sup>awe, Alg da<sup>3</sup>awi, Bur da<sup>3</sup>eo.

Laryngeal infix.

### 2645 \*3ab- ‘gather’

Eg <sup>d</sup>db ‘gather’ (MK).

<sup>d</sup>db- stands for \*3-.

CCh \*<sup>n</sup>V-3Vb- ‘gather, collect’: Mofu n3ab.

Prefix \*<sup>n</sup>V-.

ECh \*3ab- ‘gather’: Tum 3aab.

### 2646 \*3abaḥ-/3ibiḥ- ‘make sacrifice’

Sem \*<sup>d</sup>VbVḥ- ‘make sacrifice’: Ug dbḥ, Phn zbḥ, Hbr zbḥ, Aram (Bibl) dbḥ, Arab <sup>d</sup>dbḥ, Gz zbḥ.

ECh \*žiHib- ‘‘make sacrifice’’: Bid ziib.  
Metathesis.

LEC \*žabaḥ- ‘‘slaughter’’: Som dabaah-.

Alternation \*a ~ \*i.

#### 2647 \*žabi<sup>2</sup>- ‘‘clothes’’

Eg *ḍbɔ* ‘‘kind of clothes’’ (NK), *ḍbɔy* (sarc).

CCh \*žabiH- ‘‘loin-cloth’’: Bura žaḇi, Chb zaḇi, Mrg žeḇi.

#### 2648 \*žafor-/žifor- ‘‘temple’’

Sem \*ḍipr- ‘‘temple’’: Arab *ḍifra(y)*-.

Derivative in -ay-.

LEC \*/ž/afor- ‘‘temple’’: Som *ḍafoor*, Or *ḍaffora*.

Alternation \*a ~ \*i.

#### 2649 \*žah- ‘‘back’’

Eg *ḍd* ‘‘backbone’’ (gr).

WCh \*žah- ‘‘lower back’’: Bks žaha.

CCh \*žax- ‘‘back’’: Suk *dzhax*.

Omot \*zaH- ‘‘back’’: Ome *zahi*.

#### 2650 \*žakun-/žikun- ‘‘beard, chin’’

Sem \*ḍakn-/ḍikn- ‘‘beard’’<sup>1</sup>, ‘‘bearded chin’’<sup>2</sup>: Akk *ziqnu*<sup>1</sup>, Ug *dqn*<sup>1</sup>, Hbr *zāqān*<sup>1,2</sup>, Aram *diqn*-<sup>1</sup>, Arab *ḍaq(a)n*-<sup>1</sup>, Soq *diqehon*<sup>1</sup>.

WCh \*žakVn-/žikVn- ‘‘chin’’: Grm *žang-umu*, Ngz *žigəna*.

ECh \*žikun- ‘‘chin, jaw’’: Tum *žigəm*, Mkk *zūkimo*, Mig *zūkumo*, *sūkumo*.

\*-m- < \*-n- after a velar?

Alternation \*a ~ \*i.

#### 2651 \*žam- ‘‘ask’’

Eg *sḍm* ‘‘interrogate’’ (OK).

Causative in s-.

CCh \*žam- ‘‘ask’’: Log *zāma*, Tera *zəmi*.

#### 2652 \*ž(a)m)b- ‘‘fly’’ (n.)

Sem \*ḍumb- ‘‘fly’’: Akk *zumbu*, Tgr *zəmbi*, Amh *zəmb*, Arg *zəmb*, Gaf *zəmbä*, Hrr *zəmbi*, Gur *zəmb*, Mhr *ḍebb-et*, Hrs *ḍebb-et*, Jib *ḍəbb-ət*.

Secondary \*-u- before a labial.

Berb \*ž Vb- ‘‘fly’’: Ghat *a-zəb*, Ayr *e-zəb*, Ahg *a-həb*, Twl *i-zəbb*, Tsl *i-zəbb*, Izy *i-zəβ*.

WCh \*žamb- ‘‘fly’’: Tng *šombo*.

CCh \*žabi<sup>2</sup>- ‘‘fly’’: FG *žih*, FBw *žebi*.

Suffix \*-i<sup>2</sup>-.

#### 2653 \*ž(a)m)bib- ‘‘fly’’ (n.)

Sem \*ḍVbVb- ‘‘fly’’: Hbr *zəbūb*, Aram *dəbbōb*, Arab *ḍubāb*-, *ḍibbāb*-at-, Soq *dbib-oh*.

Berb \*ž Vbib- ‘‘species of coleoptera’’: Ahg *a-zəbibibər*.

HEC \*žVmbib- ‘‘gnat, mosquito’’: Kmb *zəmbib-uite*.

Derived from \*ž(a)m)b- id.

#### 2654 \*žan-/žin- ‘‘child’’

Eg *ḍjn.w* ‘‘young people’’ (pyr).

Vocalic -ɔ-.

WCh \*žin- ‘‘son, child’’: Hs *žinžiri*, Wrj *žina*, Kry *žin*, Mbu *žin*.

Hs reflects a reduplication with dissimilation of sonants.

Agaw \*žan-/žin- ‘‘brother’’: Bil *dan*, Xmr *zin*, Xmt *izzän*, Kwr *zän*, Dmb *zän*, Kem *zän*.

Alternation \*a ~ \*i.

#### 2655 \*žar-/žur- ‘‘throw’’

Sem \*ḍur- ‘‘scatter’’: Arab *ḍrr* [-u-].

ECh \*žar- ‘‘throw’’: Smr *žar*, Dng *zeere*.

Irregular correspondence of vowels.

#### 2656 \*že<sup>2</sup>-/\*žew- ‘‘shout, ask’’

Eg *ḍwy* ‘‘call’’ (pyr).

CCh \*ʒyaw- ‘ask’: Mrg ʒo, Wmd ʒewe.

Rift \*ʒe²- ‘shout, ask’: Irq tse²-, Asa je²-em-it, Kwz tsa²-am-.

Consonantal alternation \*-²- ~ \*-w-.

### 2657 \*ʒef- ‘throw’

Sem \*hVdip- ‘throw’: Arab hdf [-i-].

Prefix \*hV-.

Eg dfy ‘sink’ (med).

Infinitive in -y.

WCh \*ʒyaf- ‘throw’: Hs ʒēfa.

### 2658 \*ʒeHun- ‘elephant’

WCh \*ʒun-H- ‘rhinoceros’: Paa ʒungwa, Diri ʒungwa, Siri ʒəŋwa.  
Metathesis.

CCh \*čuHwan- ‘elephant’: Tera ojuwan, Gbn čuwene, Hwn čūwāna,

FJ ʒu²wuni, Gude čona, FK čuwuna.

Irregular \*č-.

ECh \*ʒun- ‘elephant’: Gbr ʒenu, Kbl ʒuno, Dor ʒunu, Ndam čun.

Irregular anlaut in Ndam.

Agaw \*ʒiHun- ‘elephant’: Bil ʒaanaa, Xmr zehon, Kwr ʒaanaa,

Dmb ʒaanaa, Aun zigoni.

Cf. WCh \*yaHun- ‘elephant’: Bol yauno, Krk uwan, Nga yawan, Krf yuuni, Glm yuwun, Gera üwuni, Mbu yawən, Miya yəwun, Siri yiwani, Jmb yawan. Maybe, \*yaHun- < \*ʒyaHun-. Apparently, this is a cultural word with a complicated history of borrowings from one group to another.

### 2659 \*ʒi²-/ʒuw- ‘insect’

Berb \*ʒVj- ‘fly’: Kby izi.

Eg dw.t ‘kind of insect’ (n).

CCh \*ʒi²-/ʒuw- ‘fly’: FK i ʒu, FJ wʒi²yu, Gude ʒi²-in, Log zū, HF ʒuwi, FMch ji²i, Nak juya, Mafa zuway, Gava njuwa, Glv njuya, Zgh nzuwe.

Rift \*ʒu²- ‘gnat’: Irq tsu²a.

Consonantal alternation \*-²- ~ \*-w-. In WCh the root appears in a reduplicated form, cf. Klr ʒajjuwaw ‘fly’.

### 2660 \*ʒi²ib- ‘beast of prey’

Sem \*di²b- ‘jackal’<sup>1</sup>, ‘wolf’<sup>2</sup>, ‘hyaena’<sup>3</sup>: Akk zību<sup>1</sup>, Hbr zə²ēb<sup>2</sup>, Aram (Syr) di²b-<sup>2</sup>, Arab di²b-<sup>2</sup>, Gz zə²b<sup>3</sup>.

Berb \*dib- ‘jackal’: Izy benḍibbun.

Initial \*d- reflects a HS alternation of \*ʒ- ~ \*d-?

Eg zə²b ‘jackal’ (pyr).

Irregular z-.

WCh \*ʒib- ‘viverra’: Ngz ʒib-da.

ECh \*ʒabi²- ‘hyaena’: Mig ʒabiya, Bid ʒebey-gi.

Bed diib ‘wolf’.

### 2661 \*ʒiba<sup>c</sup>- ‘bull’

Eg db<sup>c</sup> ‘bull’ (math).

CCh \*ʒibay- < \*ʒibaH- ‘cattle tax’: Log ʒibaya.

LEC \*ʒib- ‘young bull’: Or dib-icca.

### 2662 \*ʒibar- ‘bee, fly’

Sem \*dVbār- ‘bee’: Hbr d<sup>b</sup>bōrā, Mhr debēr, Shh edbōr, Hss debēr,  
Soq edbehir.

Note irregular Hbr d-.

WCh \*ma-ʒibar- ‘kind of fly’: Hs māʒiḥāri.

Secondary emphatic. Prefix \*ma-.

Derived from \*ʒa(m)b- ‘fly’?

### 2663 \*ʒigal- ‘bird’

WCh \*ʒigal- ‘griffon-vulture’: Hs ʒigal.

Agaw \*ʒigal- ‘bird’: Bil ʒagalaa, Kwr ʒäkel (pl.), Dmb ʒeelaa, Kem ʒeelaa.

Assimilation of vowels in Bil.

### 2664 \*ʒikan- ‘old man’

Sem \*diqn- ‘old man’: Arab diqn-.

A different pattern in Hbr zāqēn id.

WCh \*ma-ʒikan- ‘old’: Krk mačigan.

Prefix \*ma-.

Agaw \**žV<sub>k</sub>V<sub>n</sub>*- ‘‘old man’’: Bil *dəχna*.

Related to \**žakun-/žikun*- ‘‘beard, chin’’?

### 2665 \**žinab*- ‘‘tail’’

Sem \**danab-/dinab*- ‘‘tail’’: Akk *zibbatu*, Ug *dnbt*, Hbr *zānāb*, Aram (Syr) *dunbō*, Arab *danab*-, Gz *zanab*, Hss *denēb*, Mhr *denōb*, Shh *dunub*, Soq *denob*.

Omot \**žiban-/žuban*- ‘‘tail’’: Baa *doobanna*, Hmr *dubaana*, Kar *dibini*.

Metathesis.

### 2666 \**žo*- ‘‘penis’’

Eg *d.i* ‘‘penis’’ (BD).

ECh \**žwa*- ‘‘penis’’: Ndam *žo*.

### 2667 \**žor*- ‘‘sand, dust’’

Sem \**durw*- ‘‘dust’’: Arab *durw*-.

Based on biconsonantal \**dur*-.

WCh \**žwar*- ‘‘sand’’: DB *žoor*.

### 2668 \**žu*<sup>2</sup>- ‘‘go’’

Eg *wḏ* ‘‘go’’ (MK).

*w*- reflects a rounded root vowel. Cf. also causitive *sḏ* (pyr), *swḏ* (BD).

WCh \**žu*<sup>2</sup>- ‘‘go’’: Ngz *žu*.

### 2669 \**žub*- ‘‘flow, pour’’

Sem \**dūb*- ‘‘flow’’<sup>1</sup>, ‘‘pour’’<sup>2</sup>, ‘‘melt’’<sup>3</sup>: Akk *zābu*<sup>1</sup>, Hbr *zwb*<sup>2</sup>, Aram *dwb*<sup>2</sup>, Arab *dwb* [-u-]<sup>3</sup>, Hss *deyōb*<sup>3</sup>, Mhr *deyōb*<sup>3</sup>, Shh *deḥb*<sup>3</sup>.

Based on \**dVb*-. Cf. also Arab *d<sup>c</sup>b* id.

Eg *d<sup>c</sup>bb* ‘‘waters’’ (n).

Partial reduplication.

WCh \**žub*- ‘‘pour’’: Bol *žubb*-.

CCh \**žub*- ‘‘be wet’’: Mofu *žəb*, Daba *žup*.

### 2670 \**žug*- ‘‘drink, swallow’’

Sem \**dV<sup>2</sup>ag*- ‘‘drink’’: Arab *d<sup>2</sup>g* [-a-].

Based on \**dug*-.

LEC \**žug*- ‘‘swallowing’’: Som *žug*-.

### 2671 \**žVHVž*- ‘‘divide’’

Sem \**dVHVd*- ‘‘divide’’: Akk *zāzu*.

ECh \**žVž*- ‘‘divide’’: Tum *žəž*.

### 2672 \**žVhab*- ‘‘go, trot’’

Sem \**dVhab*- ‘‘go away’’: Arab *d<sup>h</sup>b* [-a-].

WCh \**žVHVb*- ‘‘trot’’: Ang *žōp*.

Regular Ang unvoicing in the auslaut.

## INDEX OF MEANINGS

The present index includes English translations of Hamito-Semitic forms adduced  
in the Dictionary. Numbers refer to Hamito-Semitic reconstructions.

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